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**／ The Emergence and Establishment of Psychoanalysis
in Argentina: An Examination of the Pre-Freudian
and Early Freudian Periods** **／**

by
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A thesis submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
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Department of Psychology

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Abstract

An analysis of the struggles of the ascendancy and emergence of psychoanalytical discourse in Argentina in the first half of the twentieth century demonstrates that existing pre-Freudian discourses in the disciplines of the mind (neurology, psychiatry and psychology) provided the conditions of possibility for a complex history of resistance to, and acceptance of, Freud's theories in this period. The historical narrative presented in this dissertation moves beyond biographies of key figures into issues of disciplinary formation and the transatlantic migration of scientific discourses, which passed through local cultural filters in Argentina.

This dissertation allocates singular significance in the explanation of dilatory conditions of possibility for the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse to the enduring presence of the *Somatiker* paradigm that characterized the pre-Freudian period in Argentina. An important part of this story is the way in which the pre-existing paradigm created considerable resistance to the newly arriving *Psychiker* paradigm proposed by Freud's explanations of the mind-body relationship. As a result, psychoanalytical discourse emerged, changed, shifted and mutated in relation to, but also divorced from, national institutions such as hospitals and universities, thereby creating a parallel institutional niche, the life-blood of which was the International Psychoanalytical Association.

To more fully illustrate the specificity of the emergence of psychoanalysis within the context of Argentina's own existing conditions, a comparison with the United States is drawn. What emerges are heterogeneous and asynchronous histories that confirm the

way in which nation states create distinct conditions of possibility for the emergence of psychoanalytical discourses.

Key words: psychoanalysis, sciences of the mind, Argentina, resistance, emergence, conditions of possibility, pre-Freudian period, early Freudian period, psychoanalytical discourse, *Somatiker* paradigm, *Psychiker* paradigm, mind–body relationship, cultural filters, discipline formation, comparison with US psychoanalysis.

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Abbreviations

APA Argentinean Psychoanalytical Association
AMA Argentinean Medical Association
IPA International Psychoanalytical Association
UBA Universidad de Buenos Aires
CIMP Centro de Investigacion de Medicina Psicosomatica

Periodicals

Acta Neuropsiquiátrica Argentina
Acta Psiquiátrica y Psicológica Argentina
Anales Argentinos de Medicina
Anales de Biotipología, Eugenesia y Medicina Social
Anales de la Sociedad Científica Argentina
Anales del Instituto de Psicología de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Univesidad de Buenos Aires
Archivos de Ciencias de la Educación
Archivos Argentinoss de Psicología Normal y Patológica
El Hogar
La Nación
Revista Argentina de Higiene Mental
Revista Argentina de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal
Revista de Filosofía
Revista de la Asociación Médica Argentina
Revista de Psicoanálisis
Revista de Psiquiatría y Criminología
La Semana Médica

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“Every country creates the psychoanalysis it needs, although it does so unconsciously,” states Kurzweil.¹ This dissertation lays out the history of one country’s disciplinary and institutional creation of psychoanalysis. The story of its emergence and establishment in Argentina and its relationship with other disciplines of the mind, such as psychology, psychiatry and neurology, is an engaging and elucidating one that brings into conscious understanding the scope of Freud’s influence on the professional and scientific culture of the 1930s and 1940s, the period of central interest in this investigation.

Theories seem to migrate from place to place like people do, with intermediate, transforming stops. Following its independence from Spain (1816), Argentina had maintained close cultural and scientific ties with Europe, with Italy and Germany, but with France, in particular. For this reason, Argentinean psychoanalytical thinking developed within a network of both local and imported knowledge, a space determined not only by its relationships with the social institutions in which it emerged, but also, and most importantly, by the other knowledges with which it merged or that it, sometimes, resisted. In the words of Nathan Hale, author of a seminal work on the history of psychoanalysis in the US, “Without analysis of the pre-Freudian order, the nature of Freud’s influence could not be determined.”² For this reason, the narrative that follows weaves the different historical strands that make up the pre-Freudian and early Freudian periods in Argentina.

1.1 Argentina as a Nation: From Spanish Rule to the 1940s.

To understand the historical trajectory of Argentina as a nation and the context that this provided for the formation of local scientific disciplines, in particular the sciences of the mind, it is necessary to include a brief history of Argentina since its birth.

In February 1516, the Spanish navigator Juan Díaz de Solís, then searching for a southwest passage to the East Indies, piloted his vessel into the great estuary now known as the Río de la Plata and claimed the surrounding region in the name of Spain. For the next three centuries, the Spanish Crown's main representative, the Viceroy of the Río de la Plata, ruled this region as a colony. The British and French fleets blocked the port of Buenos Aires early in the nineteenth century in an attempt to expel the Spanish rulers. The British army invaded the city of Buenos Aires on two occasions but after short battles it was defeated. On May 25, 1810, the local leaders (municipal councillors, merchants, bankers and educators) overthrew the viceregal government and installed a provisional governing council. In 1816 they proclaimed independence from Spain and declared the formation of the United Provinces of South America, later known as the Republic of Argentina. Many of the leaders of the May Revolution of 1810 had been educated in Paris and, imbued with the republican ideals of the French Revolution, they fought to sever the political, religious, intellectual and economic ties with the Crown. From this date until the end of the twentieth century, the Argentinean intelligentsia looked to France for guidance and inspiration for the construction of Argentina as a modern nation.³

Periods of great affluence and prosperity as well as periods of stagnation and decline have marked Argentina's history. In the half century following 1880, remarkable economic and social progress was made and, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the country emerged as one of the leading nations of South America. It began to figure prominently in hemispheric affairs and, in 1914, helped to mediate a serious dispute between the United States and Mexico. Argentina remained neutral during World War I but played a major role as supplier of foodstuffs to the Allies.⁴

The world economic crisis that began in 1929 had serious repercussions in Argentina. The political arrangements that had evolved after the nineteenth century wars of independence were transformed in Argentina during the 1930s and 1940s. Unemployment and other hardships caused profound social and political unrest. During the first half of the twentieth century, immigrants and refugees from Europe, in particular from Spain, Italy and Germany, reproduced in Argentina the political struggles taking place in their countries of origin.⁵ Political turbulence, however, intensified during the 1930s. Subversive fascist groups, with the help of German agents who had become extremely active after the victory of National Socialism in Germany, became increasingly visible. So did the activities of the left-wing organizations whose numbers had grown with the arrival of left-wing political refugees from Spain and Italy, called "Republicans". Argentinean right-wing parties, united in a so-called National Front, openly advocated the establishment of a dictatorship.⁶

In 1930, Argentina entered a period of intermittent dictatorships lasting until 1983. During the period under study (i.e., the 1930s and 1940s), Argentineans struggled with a

confused domestic self-image and an even greater confusion about their role in world affairs.

The latter is best illustrated by their divided loyalties during World War II, to the Allies on the one hand and the Axis countries on the other hand. At the Pan-American Defense Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in January 1942, shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Argentina and Chile were the only American nations to refuse to sever relations with the Axis powers. Then, in January 1944, in a complete reversal of foreign policy, the Argentinean government broke diplomatic relations with Japan and Germany. During the 1930s and 1940s the strong European economic connections, beneficial in the past, began to show signs of weakening. However, economic and cultural relations with the USA did not prosper sufficiently during the 1930s and 1940s to effectively replace Argentina's long and deep association with Europe.⁷

Democratic rule ceased in 1930 when, for the first time in the twentieth century, the army took power. Fair and clean elections were not held again until 1946, the year that General Perón won a majority of the popular vote. In October 1946, as president, he promulgated an ambitious five-year plan for the expansion of the economy. During 1947 he deported a number of German agents and expropriated about 60 German firms.⁸ However, President Perón's populism proved stronger than his republicanism and for two successive presidential periods he emulated the style and policies of Mussolini.

Although Argentina had a French-style republican secular birth as an independent nation, its republican spirit has been part of a submerged knowledge intermittently but brutally repressed throughout its history under the weight of institutions and leadership that failed to embody the republican spirit and retained totalitarian and authoritarian notions of a nationalist

state. The struggle for the secularization of knowledge has been central to the history of Argentina and its republican aspirations. It is this political struggle that deeply marked the lives of scientists, academics and their institutions.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a result of the historical attachment to the metaphysics of Spanish scholastic philosophy, the intellectual debate articulated in Argentina was between the *creyentes* (believers) and *ateos* (atheists) or, in fact, if carefully traced, between *creyentes* and *semi-ateos* (semi-atheists). To separate from the Church's thinking and its world vision were the intellectual tasks of the time. After decades of intense and often bloody struggles, in 1918, when a national law separated the Church and the State in matters of education, the university underwent a profound reform. However, the struggle along a secular/republican and scholastic/romantic divide re-emerged at the end of the 1920s.⁹

1.2 Argentina in Latin America

Although all Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America were colonized by Spain, since their independence they have developed distinct histories. Argentina is the second-largest country in Latin America, a heterogeneous region of the world consisting of 25 nations and stretching from Mexico to Patagonia. Although now inhabited mainly by people with origins in Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany and Eastern Europe, the population of Latin America includes people of African descent brought as slaves by the early settlers from different parts of West Africa and indigenous people whose languages derive from many linguistic groups.¹⁰ It is the only continent that is simultaneously “Third World” and Western; as such it provides an interesting cultural geography by which to study certain strands of modernity.

Historically, the pro-European bias of the ruling class in economic and political matters has formed and guided Argentina's foreign policies. Strengthened by the culture and allegiances of the substantial portion of the population who emigrated from Europe in the early twentieth century, this traditional affinity for European culture led to the continued rejection of US influence, not only in the nation's foreign policies but also in the classrooms of the universities as well. As American historian H. Peterson noted, "This pro-European, anti-US orientation was clearly manifest in the Argentine opposition to Pan Americanism and its simultaneous championing of a strategy of insertion in the world political economy."¹¹

In contrast, other Latin American countries, such as Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, established closer economic and cultural ties with the US early in the last century. The three countries of the "southern cone", that is, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, were unique in Latin America in the twentieth century because of their cultural and intellectual ties to France and their secular spirit in matters of education, health, culture and entertainment. They were the first countries in South America to separate the Church from the State and introduce equal rights for women.¹² In Argentina, for example, the national educational system was designed closely following the French model.¹³

One of the distinctive and enduring characteristics of Latin American psychology (in the broadest sense of this term) is the prominent position that psychoanalysis occupies, especially in Argentina. In fact, Latin America is one of the three main psychoanalytical "regions", together with Europe and North America. Of the 78 scientific organizations around the world grouped under the umbrella of the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA), which was founded by Freud in 1910, in 1990 15 (20 %) were Latin American organizations.¹⁴ Psychoanalytical

thinking in Latin America is not limited to clinical or theoretical discourses; since its establishment in the early 1940s, there has been an interlocking continuity with Latin America's cultural and political realities. Ardilla's article on the history of psychology in Latin America, published in 1996, foreshadows the Latin American scholars' increasing interest in documenting the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina. He stated,

Freudian ideas about politics have, in many instances, been taken quite seriously. Although psychoanalytical psychohistory is not a fully developed discipline in Latin America, Freud's ideas concerning political, social and historical problems are part of the psychological culture of our continent, and many thinkers now insist that psychoanalysis should go beyond the therapeutic relationship and be applied to the understanding of social phenomena on a macro dimensional scale.¹⁵

1.3 Psychoanalysis as an Object of Study in Argentina

Only recently (1980s and 1990s) has the history of psychoanalytical thinking and practice become an object of study in Argentina. Very few publications have appeared in English. Most are in Spanish and contain transcripts of discussions and interviews, published as part of symposia or workshops on the history of the founders of the Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (Argentinean Psychoanalytical Association, APA), referred to in the literature as the "Pioneers" of psychoanalysis.¹⁶

The existing literature on the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in Argentina has a conspicuously biographical emphasis. It is rich in personal accounts and lived

experiences of the “Pioneers” but it is divorced from the context of the time and it lacks a historical analysis of the scientific, institutional and political discourses encountered by Freudian theories. Without the study of the pre-Freudian order, it is not possible to understand the emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina or to identify its idiosyncratic characteristics. Of the 18 available texts reviewed for this dissertation, 13 used extensive biographical details and personal accounts to tell the story of the pioneers from 1938 onwards.¹⁷ Of the remaining five authors, only one discussed in detail the period prior to 1938 and only one was an autobiography.

To focus on the differences and similarities, as well as the strengths and limitations of these sources, the texts under review have been grouped under three main themes identified as echoing the priorities and emphases the authors themselves placed on their research materials: i. interviews, biographies and personal accounts; ii. political context, and iii. scientific and cultural diffusion. The focal theme in the interviews, biographies and personal accounts is the lived experiences of the pioneers. These books and articles give the reader the flavour of what it meant to be a pioneer psychoanalyst in Argentina in the 1940s. Personal accounts of the pioneers’ experiences recur throughout this literature.

The second theme identified (political context) addresses an important and persistent theme in the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina, namely, the political role of psychoanalysts as cultural critics of government and society at large. This theme became more prominent in the historical analysis examining the 1960s and 1970s. The third theme, i.e., scientific and cultural diffusion, reminds the reader that there is a scholarly debate about the “origin” of psychoanalysis in Argentina. The controversy is centred around the word “pioneer.” Only one author documents in detail the history of psychoanalysis in the period 1900-1930 and argues that the “Pioneers” of

the late 1930s were not the first to introduce psychoanalysis to Argentina. The authors in this third thematic cluster attempt to go beyond personal accounts and begin to construct arguments to explain the cultural and scientific filters that were in place in Argentina during the first half of the twentieth century. These authors will be discussed in more detail later.

i. Interviews and Personal Accounts.

The books and articles included in this grouping are predominantly concerned with the biographical and chronological events in the establishment of psychoanalysis in Argentina after 1938. Some are many pages long but several short articles that focus on personal accounts give the reader the flavour of the lived experiences of the early practitioners of psychoanalysis in Argentina.

Bibliographical information regarding the lives of the pioneers is plentiful in the writings of Jorge Mom, a training analyst and member of the Department of History of the Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA). This primary source contains the transcripts of interviews with three of the APA pioneers of psychoanalysis, also the founders of the APA: Angel Garma, Celes Cárcamo and Arnaldo Rascovsky. The pioneers were all physicians and in their interviews with Mom they referred to but did not elaborate on events and circumstances related to their institutional settings and activities. These interviews raise a number of questions and offer several points of entry into the historical exploration of the professional and scientific context of the time.¹⁸

Based on his interviews with the pioneers and practitioners of psychoanalysis, Balán attempts to explain the “professional hegemony of psychoanalysis”¹⁹ in Argentina. Gossipy in

tone at times, yet sociological in scope, his book has a distinctive biographical perspective and provides rich details of the lives of the APA founders. Puzzled by the important role of women in European psychoanalysis and Argentinean psychology, Balán puts forward a gender analysis of this idiosyncratic development. Several pages of photographs of the pioneers and of celebratory gatherings of the APA membership are included.²⁰

The majority of the articles that Balán cites were published in the *Revista de Psicoanálisis* (*Journal of Psychoanalysis*) of the APA and very few of his sources take him beyond its membership. Balán does not attempt to group the articles by theme or historical period, nor does he provide an historical elaboration on the authors' and/or editors' choices. Little information is included about publications on the topic of psychoanalysis in other professional journals. Its theoretical links with scientific thinking, the medical profession and the psychotherapy movement are barely discussed.

An important limitation of Balán's book is its time-frame. A century of psychoanalysis (1891-1991) cannot be examined in detail in 230 pages; his stroke is broad and his narrative general. In addition, his gaze is not historical but sociological and he proposes sociological and political explanations for the development of Argentinean psychoanalysis. Balán's references are mostly interview data and personal communications. His accounts of recent decades include more descriptive details and a greater variety of sources.

According to Zalbidea, a Spanish psychologist, the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina starts with the pioneers, notably Angel Garma who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1938. In his article on the Spanish influence on the psychology of Latin America, Zalbidea provides many biographical details of the life of this Spanish pioneer.²¹

Two books, published by the APA Department of History and celebrating the 40th and 50th anniversaries of the association, *APA 1942-1982* and *APA 1942-1992*, are valuable sources for establishing a detailed chronology of recorded events, biographical facts and personal accounts. They don't, however, offer any interpretation of these events or discussions of their historical continuities with the scientific and cultural context of the time.²²

Goldstein, in an article commemorating the APA's 50th anniversary, refers to it "as the mother of psychoanalysis in Latin America." He describes the contributions of the pioneers and the different stages of development of the APA in its half century of existence and includes a large photograph of the members taken in 1942. He listed the following six names as signatories to the founding act of the APA: Angel Garma born in Spain but trained in Berlin; Celes Cárcamo an Argentinean psychoanalyst trained in Paris; Arnaldo Rascovsky, Enrique Pichon Rivière, and Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy all born and trained in Argentina; and Marie Langer, a Viennese psychoanalyst.²³

Aguinis, a training Argentinean analyst from the APA who studied neurosurgery at La Salpêtrière, Paris, abandoned his field of study to become a psychoanalyst. In his short article he describes his training at the APA as "an enchanted garden," attesting to the peace and spirit of reflection he always found within the APA. His article includes a photograph of four pioneers.²⁴

Cucurullo, Faimberg and Wender, three Argentinean psychoanalysts living in Paris, were commissioned to write a chapter on psychoanalysis in Argentina for Jaccard's book *Histoire de la psychanalyse*. The authors refer briefly to the "reverberations of psychoanalysis within the Argentine society" and they consider "the numerous political crises deemed to have stimulated its development."²⁵

In the above mentioned chapter, Cucurullo et al. attribute the first mention of Freud's the concept of the unconscious to the German professor Georg Friedrich at the University of Córdoba in 1922;²⁶ to Luis Lopez Ballesteros they attribute the first translation into Spanish of the *Complete Works* (to date) of Freud in 1923.²⁷ The rest of the chapter is dedicated to the pioneers and the activities of the APA. The chapter concludes with a short section on psychoanalysis in Argentina after 1960. The authors explicitly state at the beginning of their chapter that they will leave aside the analysis of the multiple relationships that exist among psychoanalysis, science, culture and politics in Argentina because "this task requires a book."²⁸

ii. Political Context

The second cluster of historical writings on the topic of psychoanalysis in Argentina focuses on the political context. In her 1982 autobiography, Marie Langer frames her memoirs within her long-lasting dual loyalties: psychoanalysis and Marxism. Many of her personal reflections on the history of psychoanalysis are presented in the context of the political tensions generated by these two theories at the level of practice. In her book, which includes a collection of photographs of personal and political events in Vienna and Argentina, Langer dedicates almost a third to her childhood and adolescent years in Vienna. Her arrival in Buenos Aires in 1942 and her subsequent friendship with the pioneers of psychoanalysis are related only in passing. She emphasizes her double loyalty to psychoanalysis and Marxist political practices and her eventual self-initiated distancing from the APA.²⁹

Most of Langer's description of the internal conflicts in the APA is post 1950, as are her reflections on the psychology of women. Debate on the neutrality of the psychoanalyst's role and the notion of solidarity in the practice of psychoanalysis takes up almost a third of her book. Since her text is primarily an autobiography, the historical explanations of the cultural and scientific context in which psychoanalysis developed are alluded to incidentally but are not the focus of her analysis.

The history of the psychoanalytical movement in Argentina from the 1940s onwards is also examined within the context of political developments by Nancy Caro-Hollander. In her article, Caro-Hollander maps the evolving convergence between Freud and Marx in both Europe and Argentina to understand why the psychoanalytical community was an important target of the military's "dirty war" against its citizens. Caro-Hollander's article surveys the "repression" of psychoanalysts and the psychoanalytical movement, in particular during the last military dictatorship (1976-83). With the exception of the discussion on the convergence of psychoanalysis and Marxism, this article's primary contribution is an analysis of the fate of the political psychoanalysts in Argentina after 1976.³⁰

iii. Scientific and Cultural Diffusion

The books and articles clustered under this theme begin to articulate historical arguments that go beyond personal accounts and lived experiences of the pioneers. In 1976, Clara Kizer, in her article "*La Psychanalyse en Argentine*", summarized the main areas of interest pursued by several early members of the APA in their research and publications as: psychosomatic medicine, epistemology, social sciences, theory of communication, linguistics and semiology,

Kizer's short article begins to address the analysis of the content of psychoanalytical studies and research in Argentina, outlining the main features of an "Argentinean school." At the time, the APA publications and activities reflected "not a monolithic block" of unified theory and practice but "a variety of divergent lines of thought evolved from the principal psychoanalytic thinkers."³¹ She lists four APA publications: *Revista de Psicoanálisis* (*Journal of Psychoanalysis*), *Revista de Psicología y Psicoterapia de Grupo* (*Journal of Psychology and Group Psychotherapy*), *Revista Argentina de Psiquiatría y Psicología de la Infancia y de la Adolescencia* (*Argentinean Journal of Psychiatry and Infant and Adolescent Psychology*) and a regular publication of the Centro de Investigacion de Medicina Psicosomatica (CIMP) (Psychosomatic Medicine Research Centre).

Kizer's article was published in 1976, the same year the coup by the armed forces put an end to the democratically elected Peronist government (1973-76). In the last section of her article, in what later proved to be a prescient remark, she notes that "it is becoming more and more difficult to conceive of a psychoanalysis that does not take into account the social reality and political tensions"; these tensions "influence the psychoanalytic work, the analyst and the patient." She goes on to affirm that "it is certain that in the case of Latin America, where the social reality is so violent and menacing, the analyst would have great difficulty in remaining neutral when confronting certain situations." She concludes that psychoanalysis was facing the great challenge of "illuminating and reversing the use of politics as an instrument of adaptation where its spirit of interrogation is ignored."³² Kizer was hopeful that psychoanalysis would rise to the challenge in Latin America on the strength of its interdisciplinary tradition and fertile interpretation, in particular with sociology, history, economics, anthropology and linguistics.

Klappenbach and Pavesi, in a comprehensive and well-researched article on the history of psychology in Latin America, discuss the role of the empirical sciences in the secularization of institutions. They focus in particular on the connection between experimental psychology and pedagogy as an important applied field at the turn of the twentieth century. In their opinion, psychology as an experimental discipline appeared in Latin America as a result of the medicalization of the education process.³³

Klappenbach and Pavesi refer to psychoanalysis as one of the three main schools of thought in Latin America in the area of psychology, the other two being behaviourism and French psychology.³⁴ The authors remark on the important number of pioneers in the field of psychology in Latin America who were political refugees, among them Angel Garma. Psychoanalysis is not the focus of this article. However, the large canvas drawn by the authors brings together an extensive number of valuable sources on psychology in Latin America.

Hugo Vezzetti frames his historical analysis in the first three decades of the twentieth century, before the creation of the APA in 1942. In 1989, he published an anthology of early texts on Freud written by scientific and literary Argentinean authors. His latest book, published in 1996, focuses primarily on a group of individuals who discussed Freud's theories from a scientific and literary perspective.³⁵

Mariano Plotkin's book, *Freud in the Pampas*, published in 2001, was generously funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities in the United States. Plotkin, an Argentinean-born academic living in the US, documents the sociological and cultural factors that contributed to the success of psychoanalysis and its predominance in popular culture from 1960 onwards. He investigates "the development of an Argentinean psychoanalytical culture as a vital

component of Argentine urban culture.”³⁶ In this well-researched book, the author concentrates primarily on “the diffusion of psychoanalysis...as a result of a unique combination of social, cultural, economic, intellectual, and political factors.”³⁷

1.4 Psychoanalysis in Argentina: Its Historiography

The topic of the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina raises several important historiographic issues. As already noted, a prominent characteristic of publications concerning the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina is their reliance on oral and biographical materials. In the biographies of specific persons responsible for the transmission of psychoanalysis within the medical profession, little information is provided about their institutional affiliations beyond the APA; their role in the medical profession at large is not described or discussed. Although some of the controversies and conflicts are described in the literature, in most cases discussion is restricted to the life and tribulations of the APA and its membership. The scientific theories contributing to these controversies in the first half of the twentieth century are implied only in passing.

In the literature reviewed above, the analysis of the relationships of psychoanalysis to other scientific disciplines is given scant attention. With the exception of Plotkin and Vezzetti, no author moves beyond the biographical perspective to an historical examination of the continuities and discontinuities with the pre-Freudian and early Freudian discourses. Vezzetti is one of the most prolific authors on the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina. His scholarly works are widely read and respected. Two of his most important books focus on the period prior

to the establishment of the APA in 1942 and examine the lives of those who wrote and/or taught Freud's theories from the turn of the century to the end of the 1930s. This group, all men and most of them physicians, but also philosophers and writers, he designates "the Freudians."³⁸

Vezzetti's books are well researched; in addition to biographical information he provides the different interpretations of Freud's theories put forward by Argentinean authors writing before the 1940s. Because these theories had arrived in Argentina earlier in the twentieth century through the group he calls "the Freudians," he argues against calling the group of physicians who founded the APA in 1942 "the Pioneers." However, Vezzetti does not examine the resistance to Freud's theories in the context of existing pre-Freudian discourses. Nor does he elaborate on the evidence that most of the authors he designates as the "the Freudians" ended up abandoning Freud's theories and in some cases becoming active detractors of Freud's ideas.

Plotkin set out to document the sociological and cultural factors that contributed to the success of psychoanalysis and its predominance in popular culture from 1960 onwards. In contrast, this dissertation documents the scientific paradigms that shaped the field that psychoanalysis entered—that is, the ground where the seed fell. From this perspective, the question to be answered by this investigation is: Why did the emergence of psychoanalysis take four decades in Argentina? Meanwhile, Plotkin's question is: Why did psychoanalysis diffuse so profoundly and so rapidly from the 1960s onwards?

Concisely, Plotkin's emphasis is on the successful diffusion of psychoanalysis, while this dissertation focusses on the struggle of its emergence. At the turn of the century, Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists were reading the same authors and attending the same conferences as, for example, their American colleagues. However, psychoanalysis took

four decades to formally appear (1942) in Argentina, while in the US, the first formal association was created in 1911.

This thesis argues that the dilatory factors in the process of emergence of Freud's theories are associated with a deeply established *Somatiker* paradigm in the sciences of the mind which operated as a resistant episteme to the *Psychiker* understanding of the mind-body relationship proposed by Freud. Variant to the present thesis, Plotkin's arguments do not allocate singular significance to the enduring presence of the *Somatiker* paradigm that characterized the pre-Freudian period. The struggle for ascendancy and emergence of a psychoanalytical discourse is the preoccupation of the present investigation, while Plotkin's book records its dominance as a "belief system" omnipresent in the urban social discourse from 1960 onwards.³⁹

Argentinean authors writing on the history of psychoanalysis, with the exception of Plotkin and Vezzetti, seem to have invested a great deal of effort in the creation of what Nietzsche referred to as an "origin" myth. American psychologists Hilgard, Leary and McGuire defined an origin myth as "a story that purports to clarify how these persons and events served as founders and precedents of some current theory, practice or field."⁴⁰ This ritual legitimization of the reconstruction of the past has also been termed "monumental" history.⁴¹ In the texts reviewed, the biographies of the influential psychoanalysts predominate, a situation described by Hilgard et al. as the "great man" theory of history. They argue that "Eminence is a concept to be ascribed and understood with care..."⁴² and that it has a limited explanatory reach. How, then, can we conceive of an historical study of psychoanalysis that avoids the twin traps of simplistic notions of the prevailing *Zeitgeist*—itself an idealist notion—and the explanations of the "great man" theory of history?⁴³

The historical narrative that follows attempts to integrate respect for both individual and social factors into a critical history that extends the analysis well beyond biographical notes into the broader issues of transatlantic migration of scientific theories and discipline formation in Argentina in the first half of the twentieth century. It is a critical history that does not interpret the individual actors as autonomous historical subjects but rather as members of groups who share a common problematic.

Individuals who share a common problematic also share a common culture, or in the words of Michel Foucault, a common discursive framework. In this context, the Argentinean actors in the disciplines of the mind appeared within a network of knowledges, a space determined not only by their relationships with the educational institutions in which they worked, practised and taught, but also, and most importantly for the understanding of critical history, a space determined by other knowledges layered in the *episteme* they inhabited. An *episteme*, for Foucault, is the conditions of possibility for empirical sciences at a given time—the contextual relations that present themselves as a general arrangement of knowledge within a given epoch. In this sense *episteme* is equivalent to Thomas Kuhn's conceptual paradigm. These conditions of possibility are not transcendental, but historical; they are not only political or institutional, but, above all, epistemological and discursive.⁴⁴

History, from this perspective, is best understood as a field of multiple-force relations; it cannot be reduced to a single principle of explanation. The history of psychoanalysis is no exception; it emerged out of a multiplicity of relations, national as well as international, cultural as well as scientific. These contextual relations, which presented themselves as a general

arrangement of knowledge within an epoch in Argentina, operated as a conceptual paradigm or discursive framework.⁴⁵

It is a fundamental assumption of all critical histories of psychoanalysis, including Henri Ellenberger's, that psychoanalysis emerged out of the struggle between certain conceptual paradigms, which were gradually overthrown to give way to new ones; such is the case of the *Somatiker* and *Psychiker* paradigms in the disciplines of the mind.⁴⁶ The assumption is that psychoanalysis, like all science, emerged not merely, or even, from new empirical data, but from the way in which those data are interpreted. Whether one uses the Kuhnian concept of paradigm or Foucault's related concept of the episteme (which is broader insofar as it posits a horizontal field across a range of different disciplinary discourses in any historical moment), the working assumption, in this investigation of psychoanalysis in Argentina, is that conceptual paradigms decide what counts as knowledge at any given moment and are, therefore, decisive in admitting into evidence or rejecting new data and theories.⁴⁷

The critical history undertaken in this investigation differentiates the discursive, institutional and political levels and reconstitutes the lines along which they are connected and engender one another. What counted as knowledge in Argentina's disciplines of the mind formed a discursive framework made up of new scientific theories, as well as remnants of those from the past, and institutional practices, all coming to pass in the turbulent political history of Argentina. That political history determined its institutional structures and is, therefore, an inseparable part of any history of Argentinean psychoanalysis. The institutional field, to use Pierre Bourdieu's notion, was in Argentina "a partially autonomous field of forces,...a field of struggle for positions within it." As such, the institutional field of the disciplines of the mind in Argentina

was an area of struggle tied together in its own world, with its “own laws and forms of symbolic and cultural capital.”⁴⁸

The emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina is, therefore, the result of a struggle at a given historical moment of contradictory discourses in play—new ones infiltrating dominant ones, others gaining ascendance. It is in this sense a struggle for power in the discursive, institutional and political context of the time. In terms of discourse, the question of power is really, Whom does discourse serve? In terms of the institutions, the question of power is, Who runs the institutions and how did political events of the time shape the structure of and practices in the institutions, their innovation or the lack thereof? ⁴⁹

The metaphor of cultural filter is used in this investigation to designate the arrangement of knowledges within a given epoch that is culturally specific to Argentina in spite of having originated in Europe. Psychoanalysis in Argentina is a product of European local traditions—borrowed, but also resisted.⁵⁰ In the US, for example, the practice of psychoanalysis by lay analysts was rejected from the beginning as an undesirable aspect of Freud’s theories, but it allowed medical analysis through its filter. In the case of Argentina, the practice of psychoanalysis by lay analysts survived unchallenged until 1954. In the first decades of the twentieth century, only French versions of Freud filtered through. In the 1940s, English versions arrived, filtering in psychosomatic psychoanalysis, and later in the decade, the teachings of Melanie Klein, while filtering out the school of Anna Freud, widely accepted in the US.⁵¹

In Argentina, previous discursive frameworks created great resistance to *Psychiker* explanations of the mind at the scientific and institutional levels, the existing paradigm did not shift in the period under study.⁵² Instead, psychoanalysis created a parallel institutional niche for

itself, the life blood of which was the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA). An existing discursive framework was not easily dislodged by the early arrival of Freud's theories and this pre-history is fundamental to understanding why certain new ways of thinking were accepted or resisted in the ensuing contest for discursive dominance.

Therefore, the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina cannot be grasped only as an orderly sequence of the lives of theorists and practitioners. What was accepted in Argentina in the first half of the twentieth century and/or contested at various times was always accepted—and contested—on the basis of existing historical discourses on the sciences of the mind and debates on the mind-body relationship. This intellectual sedimentary field, left behind by years of filtering different French, German and Italian theories, shaped an idiosyncratic and local discursive framework that operated as a cultural filter that qualified and disqualified newly arriving theories. In this manner, the existing discursive framework in the pre-Freudian period in Argentina structured all the particular relationship that new theories created with existing ones. The entire mode of apperception of new theories is structured around the existing dominant *Somatiker* paradigm.

This dissertation intends to map and fill in unexplored or insufficiently explored areas, layers and threads of the complexly patterned weave of the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina. Its main contribution is not intended to be theoretical or meta-theoretical (i.e., self-conscious about its theory), but to investigate primary data that go beyond personal accounts towards an understanding of the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis as an historical event in Argentina.⁵³ The notions of conceptual paradigm and discursive frameworks are used interchangeably throughout to answer questions, such as: What counted as knowledge in

Argentina in the pre-Freudian and early Freudian periods? Which countries and authors mediated the arrival of Freud's theories in Argentina? How did successive translations, interpretations and adaptations to the local (Argentinean) constellation of theories of the mind transform Freud's theories?

The purpose of the present investigation is consequently two-fold: **first**, to understand the pre-Freudian conceptual paradigm in the sciences of the mind (namely neurology, psychiatry and psychology) that existed in Argentina before the emergence⁵⁴ and establishment of psychoanalysis and their anticipatory or dilatory effects on the arrival of Freudian theories; **second**, to take historical explanations of the emergence of psychoanalysis beyond personal accounts and to explore the cultural filters that account for the shape it took in Argentina in the pre-Freudian and early Freudian periods. Special attention will be given to the relationship of psychoanalysis to the professional and academic disciplines of psychology, psychiatry and neurology during the pre-Freudian and early Freudian periods and to the practice and teaching of psychoanalysis in institutions such as hospitals and universities.

The body of this dissertation is organized as follow. **Chapter 2** details the methodology of the current investigation. As background to the main thesis, **Chapter 3** examines the pre-Freudian discourse in neurology, psychiatry and psychology in Argentina from the turn of the century until 1930. It demonstrates the presence of the somatic paradigm in the most important Argentinean university, the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) and in the main psychiatric hospitals. As a firmly established pre-Freudian order that was pervasive and slow to innovate, the somatic paradigm, it is argued, delayed the entrance of Freud's theories and other *Psychiker* explanations of pathology. Two main questions guide this narrative: Which theories of the mind

and healing practices were prevalent in Argentinean universities and hospitals when Freud's theories arrived? Which specific characteristics did the pre-psychoanalytical discourse exhibit?

In **Chapter 4**, using primary and secondary sources, the “origin” debate on the arrival of psychoanalysis in Argentina is examined, along with its acceptance, resistance to it and modifications to psychoanalytic theory and practice until the end of the 1930s. It examines the “origin” question by studying two different explanations of the “arrival” of psychoanalysis in Argentina and contests both. One explanation credits the “Freudians” as the great men who introduced Freud to Argentina, the other places the “Pioneers” at the origin.

Chapter 4 contests the designation of “Freudians,” assigned by Vezzetti to physicians, philosophers and writers who read and applied Freud's theories prior to the creation of the Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina in 1942. Hence, in this thesis, this group of men is re-named the “Groundbreakers” in recognition of their contribution as the first scholars to discuss Freud in Argentina. However, a close examination of the texts written by them suggests that they just turned the soil, then abandoned the field. It was up to the founders of the APA, the “Pioneers”, to plant and harvest Freud's theories in Argentina for many seasons to come.

Chapter 5 discusses the lives of the “Pioneers” in the political context of the late 1930s in Argentina and identifies the main features of an Argentinean School of psychoanalysis. Key questions that guide the investigation of the early Freudian period are: Which disciplines and which authors became “agents of transmission”?⁵⁵ With which other scientific discourses did psychoanalysis intersect? Was there any resistance to the introduction of Freudian theories? In which institutions? By whom? Which specific characteristics of the pre-psychoanalytical discourse delayed or promoted the introduction of Freud's ideas? In the 1940s, did the

“Pioneers”, transform the existing psychoanalytical discourse sustained by the “Groudbreakers”? To what extent did that which was accepted or rejected follow from discourses already in place? What specific characteristics did the psychoanalytical discourse develop in Argentina during the period under study?

One productive strategy for analyzing the impact of psychoanalysis in the professional and scientific culture in Argentina is to examine its reception in other countries as a basis for comparison. Because the reception and development of psychoanalysis in the US has been discussed in scholarly literature from many points of view, and therefore provides a rich source of comparative themes, it will be used here as a contrasting case study. Hence, in **Chapter 6** comparison is undertaken, to identify key factors arising from these two countries’ different patterns of acceptance, rejection and modification of psychoanalytical theory and practice.

Chapter 6 draws a comparison with the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in the US, where it became as successful as in Argentina. Parallels and comparisons are put forward as illustrations of heterogeneous histories. In contrast to Argentina, in the US Freud’s theories had been actively discussed since the end of the nineteenth century and, according to Hale, the somatic paradigm cracked early in the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Early discussions of Freud in Argentina, conversely, remained wrapped in the language of legal medicine and the restrained concept of heredity proposed by Janet. Psychoanalysis developed inside US academic and medical institutions. In Argentina, the APA was created as an institution parallel to the medical establishment; it was accredited and intellectually sustained by the International Psychoanalytical Association but ignored by Argentinean academic and medical institutions.

As will be demonstrated throughout this thesis, and discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, Kurzweil's argument is confirmed: national states "create" distinct conditions of possibility for the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse.⁵⁷ Tracing when, where and how these conditions of possibility appeared in Argentina is the object of this dissertation.

Endnotes for Chapter 1

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- ¹ Kurzweil, E. The Freudians. A Comparative Perspective. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989: 1.
 - ² Hale, N. Freud and the Americans. The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States. 1876-1917. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971: xii.
 - ³ Summarized from Argentina, Microsoft ® Encarta. Copyright 1994 Microsoft Corporation. See also, Busaniche, J.L. Historia Argentina. Bs.As.: Solar-Hachette, 1984.
 - ⁴ Ferns, H.S. Britain and the Argentine in the XIXth century. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960
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 - Lopez Alonso, G. Cincuenta años de historia argentina 1930-1980 . Bs.As.: Editorial de Belgrano, 1982.
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 - ⁵ Rodino, H.J. Inmigrantes españoles en Argentina: adaptación e identidad. Bs.As.: Biblioteca Nacional. 1999.
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 - ⁶ Jackisch, C. Los refugiados alemanes en la Argentina. 1933-1945. Todo es Historia XXI, No.244, Octubre, (1977): 6-33.
 - Unamuno, M. La primera gran represión. Todo es Historia. XXII, No 248, Febrero, (1988): 6-33.
 - ⁷ Corradi, J.E. The Fitful Republic. Enconomy, Society and Politics in Argentina. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.

Corradi, J.E. et al. Fear at the Edge. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Crowford, W.R. A Century of Latin American Thought. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1945.

Grossman, E. (Ed.). El derecho de la transición de la dictadura a la democracia: la experiencia de América Latina. Bs.As.: Centro Editor de America Latina., 1990.

Karl, T.L. Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America. Comparative Politics, 23, 1, (1990): 1-23.

Loveman, B. Protected Democracies and Military Guardianship: Political Transitions in Latin America, Journal of Inter-American Studies & World Affairs, 36, (1994): 105-189.

McGann, T. Argentina, the United States and the Inter-American System, 1880-1914. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Peterson, H. Argentina and the United States, 1810-1960. New York: State University of New York Press, 1964.

⁸ Microsoft ® Encarta. Copyright 1994 Microsoft Corporation. See also, endnote 4.

⁹ The term 'scholastic' refers to the philosophical school of thought of the Catholic Church's teachings of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. Those leading the secularization of the educational institutions in Argentina contested this philosophical tradition ardently at the turn of the twentieth century.

¹⁰ Ardila, R. Political Psychology: The Latin American Perspective. Political Psychology, 17, 2, (1996): 339-351.

¹¹ Peterson (1964)

See also McGann (1957)

¹² See endnote 4.

¹³ See Appendix 6 for a summary of Horacio Piñero's article in French published in 1903.

¹⁴ Zalbidea, M.A. La influencia española en la psicología de los países Latinoamericanos: Angel Garma y el psicoanálisis en Argentina. Revista de Historia de la Psicología, 12, (1991): 175-182.

Vera Fernandez, J.A. La presencia de Freud en el psicoanálisis Argentino actual (1974-1983). Revista de Historia de la Psicología, 9, (1988): 357-368.

- 15 Ardilla (1996) 340. The growing interest in the psychological culture of the South American continent is not unrelated to the current dialogue, mostly European, between psychoanalysis and the social theories of our times. For example, Anthony Elliot (1992) Social Theory and Psychoanalysis in Transition: Self and Society from Freud to Kristeva, offers a wide-ranging study of critical history (Frankfurt School), Lacanian and post-Lacanian thought, post-structuralism and feminism and their point of intersection in contemporary thought. In particular, Elliot formulates a novel account of the relations between self and society and argues for the importance of the imaginary and the unconscious as key concepts through which issues about self and self-identity, ideology and power, sexual differences and gender, should be sustained.

- 16 *Pioneers* is the term used in the literature to refer to the founders of the Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA). This term is central to the debates on the “origin” of psychoanalysis in Argentina and is contested by authors who argued that many others pioneered Freud’s theories there since the turn of the twentieth century. See the section: Psychoanalysis in Argentina: Its historiography, in this chapter and also endnotes 1 and 2 in Chapter 4.

- 17 Literature Review items in alphabetical order. Aguinis, M. El jardín encantado de la formación psicoanalítica. La Nacion, Bs.As.: La Nacion, 29 de noviembre, 1992; APA. 1942-1982 (1982); APA. 1942-1992. (1992). Balán, J. Cuéntame tu vida. Una biografía colectiva del psicoanálisis argentino. Bs.As.: Planeta, 1991; Goldstein, N. (1992). Viena...Buenos Aires. La Nacion. Buenos Aires: La Nacion, 29 de Noviembre. Kizer, C. (1976). La Psychanalyse en Argentine. Critique, 32, 253-262; Klappenback, H. A. and Pavesi, P. (1994). Una Historia de la Psicología en Lationoamerica. Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología. 26, 3, 445-482; Langer, M. (1981). Memoria, Historia. y Dialogo Psicoanalitico. Mexico: Folios Ediciones; Mom, J. (1983). Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los Fundadores (I). Angel Garma. Revista de Psicoanalisis, 40, 5/6, 899-914.; Mom, J. (1984). Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los Fundadores (II). Arnaldo Rascovsky. Revista de Psicoanalisis, 41, 2/3, 201-226; Mom, J. (1984). Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los Fundadores (III). Celes E. Carcamo. Revista de Psicoanalisis, 41, 6, 987-1000; Plotkin, M.B. Freud in the Pampas. The Emergence and Development of a Psychoanalytic Culture in Argentina. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001; Vezzetti, H. Aventuras de Freud en el pais de la argentinos. Bs.As.: Paidós, 1996; Vezzetti, H. Freud in Buenos Aires, Bs.As: Universidad de Quilmes, 1982; Zalbidea, M.A. (1991). La Influencia Espanola en la Psicología de los Países Latinoamericanos: Angel Garma y el Psicoanalisis en Argentina. Revista de Historia de la Psicología, 12, 175-182.

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- 18 Mom, J. Los pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores. (I). Angel Garma. Revista de Psicoanálisis, 40, 5/6, (1983): 899-914.
- Mom, J. Los pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores. (II). Arnaldo Rascovsky. Revista de Psicoanálisis, 41, 2/3, (1984): 201-226.
- Mom, J. Los pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores. (III). Celes Cárcamo. Revista de Psicoanálisis, 41, 6, (1984a): 987-1000.
- 19 Balán (1991) 15.
- 20 See Appendix 11. Pioneers' photographs.
- 21 Zalbidea (1991).
- 22 Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA) 1942-1982. Bs.As.: APA. Biblioteca de Psicoanálisis, 1982.
- Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA). 1942-1992. Bs.As.: APA. Biblioteca de Psicoanálisis, 1994.
- 23 Goldstein, N. Viena...Buenos Aires. La Nación. Bs.As: La Nación, 29 de noviembre, 1992.
- 24 Aguinis, M. El jardín encantado de la formación psicoanalítica. La Nación. Bs.As.: La Nación, 29 de noviembre, 1992.
- 25 Cucurullo, A., Faimberg, H. and Wender, L. La Psychanalyse en Argentine. In Roland Jaccard (Ed.) Histoire de la Psychanalyse. II, Paris: Hachette, (1982): 396
- 26 Ibid (1982) 400.
- 27 Ibid (1982) 401.
- 28 Ibid (1982) 395.
- 29 Langer, M. Memoria. Historia y Dialogo Psicoanalítico. Mexico: Folios ediciones, 1981.
- 30 Caro Hollander, N. Psychoanalysis confronts the Politics of Repression: The Case of Argentina. Social Science and Medicine, 28, 7, (1989): 751-758.
- 31 Kizer, C. La Psychanalyse en Argentine. Critique, 32, (1976): 255.

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- 32 Ibid (1976) 262.
- 33 Klappenbach, H. A. and Pavesi, P. Una historia de la psicología en Latinoamérica. Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología, 26, 3, (1994): 459.
- 34 Ibid (1994) 462.
- 35 Vezzetti, H. Aventuras de Freud en el país de los argentinos. Bs.As.: Paidós, 1996.
----- Freud en Buenos Aires, Bs.As: Universidad de Quilmes, 1982.
- 36 Plotkin, M.B. Freud in the Pampas. The Emergence and Development of a Psychoanalytic Culture in Argentina. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001: x.
- 37 Ibid (2001) 6.
- 38 Vezzetti (1996) 7. See also Vezzetti (1982).
- 39 Plotkin (2001) 4,6,8.

Some of the conceptual categories chosen by Plotkin to explain historical events in Argentina confuse rather than clarify. For example, on page 25, he discriminates between groups using the “left-right” dichotomy, which does not work when he pairs it with Catholic-right and secular-left. Perón, who in Plotkin’s narrative is associated with the Catholic-right, burnt Churches in the early 1950s and introduced legislation to legalize divorce. After that the Church became one of the staunchest oppositions to his regime. Left-right is, therefore, insufficient as a conceptual divide in this period in Argentina. To confuse matters further in the early 1970s, a period examined by Plotkin, when Perón was in exile in Spain and the army was in power, the Peronist Youth created an underground subversive movement, called the Montoneros, that was supported by ‘Third World’ Catholic priests. Eventually, the subversive activities of the Montoneros forced President General Lanusse to call a free election in 1973. Perón’s representative, Dr. Cámpora, won in a landslide; Perón later replaced him in 1974. The military coup that installed the most abusive and cruel of all Argentinean dictatorships took place in March 1976; they were anti-Communists and anti-Perónists. Argentina did not have free elections until 1983.

- 40 Rabinow, P. (Ed). Nietzsche, Genealogy, History. Foucault Reader. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, 77-78.

Hilgard, E.R., Leary, D.E., and McGuire, G.R. The History of Psychology: A Survey and Critical Assessment. Annual Review of Psychology. (1991): 93.

41 Hilgard (1991) 92

42 Ibid (1991) 92

43 The notion of 'Zeitgeist' belongs to a German idealist tradition that refers to the 'spirit of the age' as an explanatory agency in the construction of history. This perspective is at odds with a material or discursive notion of history. The literature on critical history is extensive but a seminal author writing on the 'non-idealist' explanations of history is Nietzsche. Among contemporary authors, Michel Foucault stands as one of the most productive critical historians of the late twentieth century. If we examine for example, Foucault's essay Nietzsche, Genealogy, History, we find a comprehensive discussion on what it means for an historian to do critical history. This essay first appeared in 1971 in Hommage a Jean Hyppolite, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. It was reproduced in Paul Rabinow (ed.) Foucault Reader, New York: Phanteon Books, 1984 and it is from this publication that I am quoting. "An entire historical tradition (theological or rationalistic) aims at dissolving the singular event into an ideal continuity—as a teleological movement or a natural process... The forces operating in history are not controlled by destiny or regulative mechanisms, but respond to haphazard conflicts." (88) Citing Nietzsche, he added "in history...there is only 'the iron hand of necessity shaking the dice-box of chance' (Nietzsche, Dawn, no.130, as cited by Foucault, 89). For Foucault, "chance is not simply the drawing of lots, but raising the stakes in every attempt to master chance through the *will of power* [emphasis added], and giving rise to the risk of an even greater chance." (89)

44 Foucault, M. The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. [1966]. New York: Random House, 1970: xxii;.

The episteme refers to the interaction through time of heterogeneous elements, such as institutions, techniques, social groups, professional organizations and scientific beliefs, that create a discourse, i.e., a knowledge that counts as truth in a given period. The concept of an *episteme* implies that what can be said at a certain time (within the sciences) is not independent of other things that can be said. This "historical a priori" which "delimits the totality of experience of a field of knowledge, defines the mode of being of the objects that appears in that field, provides an everyday perception with theoretical powers, and defines the conditions in which a discipline can sustain a discourse about things that are recognized to be true". Foucault, M. The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences. [1966]. New York: Random House, 1970: 157-58.

- 45 Foucault (1970) (1984).
- 46 Ellenberger, H.F. The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry. New York: Basic Books, 1970: 284.
- 47 In a postscript, written in 1969, to the 1962 edition of The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn clarified the two “different senses”(175) in which he uses the concept of paradigm. “On the one hand, it stands for the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community. On the other, it denotes one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science.” The first sense he considered to be sociological in nature and the second philosophical (175). Kuhn’s philosophical sense of paradigm comes very close to Foucault’s notion of episteme when he argues that the student of science discovers “a way to see his problem as *like* [italics in the original] a problem he has already encountered. Having seen the resemblance, grasped the analogy between two or more distinct problems, he can interrelate symbols and attach them to nature in the ways that have proved effective before.”(189). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).
- Foucault (1970)
- 48 Bourdieu, P. The Field of Cultural Production, or: the economic world reversed, Poetics, 12, (1982): 312.
- Harker, R, Mahar, C. & Wilkes, C. (Eds). An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu. The Practice Theory. London: MacMillan, 1990, 24. In a footnote, these authors describe the history of the concept of ‘field’ in Bourdieu as follows: “Bourdieu began to develop his idea of the field while teaching about Weber and his theory of religious agents (i.e., priests, sorcerers and prophets)...It is partly through this development of the microcosm of the clerical world that Bourdieu came to write about the ‘field.’
- See also Bourdieu, P. & Johnson, R. (Ed.) The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature. New York: Columbia University Press. UK: Polity Press, 1993 and Jenkins, R. Pierre Bourdieu, London: Routledge, 1992.
- 49 Rabinow, P. (Ed). Truth and Power. Foucault Reader. New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, 51-75.
- 50 In this sense, the notion of cultural filter put forward here as a conceptual lens to understand the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina, is not dissimilar to the function of

the 'censor.' And like the unconscious censor of Freud, the reception filter that psychoanalysis had to go through in its process of arrival and emergence as an established discourse in Argentina has been unconscious.

The function of a filter is to allow passage and to retain. This metaphor is useful to explain how and why every country creates the psychoanalysis it deserves. What are the particles retained in the cultural filter, withheld upon arrival and establishment? What are the particles allowed to filter through? What aids or blocks the passage? In other words, a filter is the reception mechanism and belongs to the conceptual paradigm in place. It can be said that the filter is the culturally specific paradigm operating in a given place and a given time. This important mechanism at play in the process of migration of ideas articulates an idiosyncratic reception pattern rooted in the history of Argentina.

51 See Chapter 5 and 6.

52 The original intention was to limit this study to the period up to the 1950s; in some sections this could not be maintained and occasional references are made to relevant material that appeared later than this.

53 For the critical historian, an historical event "is not a decision, a treaty, a reign, or a battle, but the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it,..., the entry of a masked 'other'." (Foucault, 1984, 88).

54 The term 'emergence' has deliberately been chosen to indicate that the appearance of a historical event such as psychoanalysis in Argentina, is "always produced through a particular stage of forces"(Foucault, 1984, 83.). The term emergence implies a struggle of birth. On this struggle Foucault elaborated, "Emergence is thus the entry of forces; it is their eruption, the leap from the wings to center stage,...emergence designates a place of confrontation, but not as a closed field offering the spectacle of a struggle among equals. Rather, as Nietzsche demonstrates in his analysis of good and evil, it is a 'non-place', a pure distance, which indicates that the adversaries do not belong to a common space. Consequently, no one is responsible for an emergence; no one can glory in it, since it always occurs in the interstice. (84,85).

55 Burham, J.C. Psychoanalysis and American Medicine: 1894-1918. Medicine, Science and Culture. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., (1967): 124.

56 Hale (1971) 96

57 The assumption behind this statement is that discourses emerge, change, shift and mutate, in relation to a wider field of the *episteme* that is always historical.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Essay on Sources

Historical research begins with the location of sources and the historian is dependent on those sources that were preserved. Discovering appropriate sources is an important part of the work of a researcher; to a great extent this task is never complete. The first step in my attempt to reconstruct the past was to bring together all the sources that I could find containing any information on the period under investigation, (i.e., the 1930s and 1940s). To provide the background to this period and to document pre-Freudian theories, I also searched for primary and secondary sources in neurology, psychiatry and psychology from the 1850s onwards.

When I started this investigation I did not know the quality or quantity of archival and library materials in Argentina on the subject of neurology, psychiatry, psychology and psychoanalysis. I knew only of the existence of the APA and its well-stocked library containing materials dating from the late 1930s to the present. In my visits to Argentina, I discovered that materials related to these disciplines were stored in many different places.¹ In all, I visited nine depositories. I also learned that an important archive containing hospital and public health records had been badly damaged by flooding in the 1970s. A large proportion of the sources consulted are articles in journals no longer published, unpublished theses, and out-of-print books, as well as minutes, interview transcripts, course outlines, textbooks, memoranda, newspaper clippings, tables of contents, bibliographies, conference proceedings, scientific and technical

reports, personal and official correspondence, government reports and hospital's architectural drawings.

Three extended visits to the Argentinean archives and libraries took place: one in 1999, one in 2000 and one in 2001.² The depositories that yielded the most interesting materials for this dissertation were in the Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Philosophy, Asociación Médica Argentina (Argentine Medical Association; AMA) and the APA. The archive of the AMA is one of the oldest archives in Argentina and has kept all records since the early nineteenth century. The records in the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Philosophy go back to the 1850s.

I was privileged to receive special consideration as a foreign student at all archives and libraries. The directors or chief librarians gave me their time on several occasions and helped me identify relevant materials. It was not possible to access the archives of psychiatric hospitals to examine their records and consult their reports.

To formulate and subsequently narrow the research topic, I initially read widely in secondary sources for background knowledge on the emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina. Background reading suggested the breadth of the subject, previous research on the problem, gaps in knowledge and possible sources. One of the most important insights obtained was the importance of understanding the pre-Freudian period and the need to document, through a scholarly examination of primary sources, the somatic paradigm in Argentina. To complement the background reading and to learn about the opinions of current practitioners of psychoanalysis, I used as archival material four oral testimonies of Argentine psychoanalysts recorded in 1998. Three of these recordings took place in Buenos Aires and one in Ottawa. Through these interviews I gained insight into current perspectives on the history of

psychoanalysis from practitioners trained in Argentina in the 1950s and 1960s.³ These interviews were invaluable in recreating the scientific and political environment for psychoanalysis during the period under study and, I believe, offered a supplementary perspective on the material examined later in my research.

My background reading, interviews of practitioners and visits to Argentina led me to a vast number of primary sources. The materials produced by many of the authors who were writing during the period under study were found deep in the storage floors of the Archives and Library of the Faculty of Medicine of the UBA.⁴ Materials related to the disciplines of neurology, psychiatry, psychology and psychoanalysis were spread among different floors, spanning several feet of shelf space. These archives and library holdings are the nation's most extensive collection of material on the disciplines of the mind. Most of them were catalogued and bound in leather volumes, but many remained uncatalogued and unindexed and were stored in boxes. With the generous help of the staff, I was able to examine many boxes. The records stored in cabinets, boxes and small storage rooms are voluminous and valuable; however, the Faculty of Medicine has neither the staff nor the space to properly maintain the collection. In one box I found the unpublished thesis of Sosa y Sanchez, a medical student at the UBA, written in 1920 titled *Los sueños y psicoanalisis* (Dreams and Psychoanalysis), an item not identified in any of the secondary sources I examined on the history of psychoanalysis. To my knowledge, it appears to be the first Argentinean work written entirely about Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*. None of the contemporary articles and books on the history of psychoanalysis identified during this investigation cites his thesis. In these boxes, I also found newspapers articles, various speeches, drafts and personal correspondence.^{5 6}

The most valuable archival material concerning the history of medicine is stored in the offices of the Chair of the History of Medicine at the UBA, Dr. Kohn-Loncarica, who was kind enough to allow me to interview him and to use his exclusive files of materials. He provided me with a variety of documents detailing the early years of the Chair of Clinical Psychiatry. I spent a considerable amount of time discussing with him the relevance of some of my findings.

I was fortunate to be allowed access to the collection in the APA, with the helpful assistance of its archivist and the invaluable guidance of Dr. Carlos Mario Aslán, past-coordinator of the Departamento de Historia del Psicoanálisis de la Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (Department of the History of Psychoanalysis of the Argentine Psychoanalytical Association). I spent many hours with Dr. Aslán discussing various aspects of the relationship of the discipline of psychiatry to psychoanalysis in Argentina, as well as his childhood recollection of the Sunday study group.⁷ The archives of the APA and its public library are very complete and well catalogued; however, the materials rarely go back further than the 1930s. These records contain rich information about the founders of the APA as well as materials that address the association's internal history; for example, organizational memoranda, including minutes of board of directors' meetings, unpublished scientific and technical reports and correspondence between members of the association and foreign colleagues.

Dr. Aslán was also instrumental in gaining access to the archives of the Argentinean Medical Association (AMA). He introduced me to the chief librarian and I was able to spend many hours examining of the activities of the Society of Neurology and Psychiatry, including minutes, newspaper articles, pamphlets, letters, memoranda, conference proceedings, and annual meeting reports.

At the archives of the Sociedad Científica Argentina (Argentine Scientific Society)

I had access to a small collection of important transcripts from a conference organized by the Society in 1910. These transcripts specifically addressed, and proved to be quite valuable in understanding the emergence and establishment of the discipline of psychology in Argentina.

The collection in the Faculty of Philosophy is very large and contains important materials relating directly to the emergence of psychology as a separate discipline and to the forging of collaborative networks with the Faculty of Medicine and the penal system of the time. I was fortunate to be allowed access to this collection and found that a number of course outlines dating from the end of the nineteenth century had been preserved, some catalogued and bound, others uncatalogued and stored in a box.

The Faculty of Psychology, created in 1984, has a small archive and many of the items in it are also found in other libraries and archives. I did, however, spend time reviewing new secondary sources and talking to the chief librarian.

Because of the comparative nature of this dissertation, background reading included an extensive number of secondary sources written by American authors on the history of psychoanalysis in the United States. Background reading also led me to a number of secondary sources on the history of psychoanalysis and related disciplines in Argentina.⁸ All secondary sources collected on the history of psychoanalysis were examined to identify historiographic issues pertaining to this literature. Of this secondary literature on the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina, I asked the questions: Who was speaking? For whom? What events were profiled as important? To what extent have the authors of the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina taken into account how psychoanalytical discourse emerged and functioned in relation to other

disciplines? Were these authors using primary sources for their analysis? Did the authors pay attention to the cultural filters in place during the period under investigation? Did the authors discuss the origin and languages of the references used in the primary sources? Did the authors identify different interpretations of Freud's theories in the primary sources?

It is important to note that the literature review in Chapter 1 is of secondary sources, with the exception of two items: interviews with the 'pioneers' and the autobiography of Marie Langer. In Chapter 3, I have used both primary and secondary sources to make my arguments about the pre-Freudian order. Primary sources and archival documents such as autobiographies, journal articles, out-of-print books and articles, conference proceedings, course outlines, petitions, doctoral theses, official minutes, newspaper clippings, speeches, catalogues and textbooks provide evidence of the existence of a pre-Freudian period characterized by a well-developed somatic paradigm in neurology and psychiatry and an experimental/clinical paradigm in psychology at the turn of the twentieth century. These sources were examined for their explanations of insanity and the causes of pathology. Paying particular attention to the authors cited as references, the following questions were used to examine these sources: What theories of insanity and mental pathology is this author using in his arguments? What authors is he citing as references? When were the references used by this author published? Where were these references published? In which languages were the references originally written? Does this author cite a reference written in a language other than Spanish? Is the non-Spanish reference cited in its original language or in a translated version (other than Spanish)?

In Chapter 4 and 5, I used almost exclusively primary sources to demonstrate the shifts, transformations, substitutions and cultural filtration within the psychoanalytical discourse in the

1930s and 1940s. Primary sources and archival documents obtained at the APA in Buenos Aires, as well as at the Faculty of Medicine and Faculty of Psychology formed the core of the multiple histories that emerged when I examined the early Freudian period and its different strands of psychoanalytical discourses. In Chapter 4, most of the primary sources were found in the library and archives of the Faculty of Medicine and Faculty of Psychology. The majority of the primary sources and archival documents for Chapter 5 were obtained at the APA in Buenos Aires; and many articles, minutes, interview transcripts, memoranda, newspaper clippings, tables of contents and bibliographies were examined. When reading this material, I asked the same questions noted above and in addition, I wanted to identify the key features of an Argentinean school in psychoanalysis. What areas of study preoccupied psychoanalysts in the 1930s and 1940s? What topics did they choose to write about? What titles did they give to their publications? What type of research were they engaged in? In which language did they read Freud? In which language did they teach Freud? How did they network with other disciplines, for example, medicine, psychiatry, neurology and psychology? How did they network with institutions such as hospitals and universities?

In Canada, I consulted the following repositories: MacOdrum Library, Carleton University; Morisset Library, University of Ottawa, and the National Archives. On my behalf, the Interlibrary Loans office of the McOdrum Library; requested several articles and books on the history of psychology in Argentina and Latin America from libraries in North America and Europe. I am reasonably satisfied that most, if not all, the materials published in English before 2002 regarding psychoanalysis in Argentina have been located. I checked the Psychlit CD-ROM

periodically for new articles on the topic. In the McOdrum Library I also found the references for the history of psychoanalysis in the United States.

2.2 Key Words

Sources containing the following key words were selected: Psychology, Psychoanalysis, History of Psychology, Pioneers of Psychoanalysis, History of the APA, Foundation of the APA, Psychiatry, Psychopathology, History of Psychoanalysis, Experimental Psychology, Neurology, Psychiatry, Psychology and Politics, Psychology and Psychoanalysis, Psychoanalytic therapy, Psychosomatic diseases, Politics and Psychoanalysis, Psychoanalysis and the Media, Philosophical Psychology, History of the Social Sciences, Science of the Mind, beginnings of, cultural influence.....; scientific influence..., insanity, mental illness, among other.

Endnotes for Chapter 2

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- 1 Archives and Libraries Consulted: Archivos de la Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA) (Archives of the Argentinean Psychoanalytical Association), address: Rodriguez Peña 1674, Buenos Aires 1021; Biblioteca Nacional (National Library), address: Austria 2700, Buenos Aires; Archivos y Biblioteca de la Facultad de Medicina Jose Arce (Archives and Library of the Faculty of Medicine), Paraguay 2000, Buenos Aires; Archivos de la Facultad de Psicología (Archives of the Faculty of Psychology), University of Buenos Aires, Independencia 610, Buenos Aires; Archivos de la Facultad de Filosofía (Archives of the Faculty of Philosophy), Viamonte 478, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina; Archivos de la Asociación Médica Argentina (Archives of the Argentine Medical Association), Santa Fe 1080, Buenos Aires, Argentina; Biblioteca del Congreso (Library of Congress), Callao y Rivadavia, Buenos Aires and the Archivos de la Sociedad Científica Argentina (Argentinean Scientific Society Archives), Santa Fe 1240, Buenos Aires.
 - 2 The technological challenges facing researchers in Argentina are monumental. The researcher must endure a number of serious inconveniences, such as malfunctioning or broken down photocopiers, unhelpful and untrained personnel and insufficient numbers of tables and chairs in reading rooms, to name a few.
 - 3 See Appendix 1 for a summary of interviews
 - 4 The Archives and Library of the Faculty of Medicine has seven floors of storage. Three of these floors are underground. Users are not allowed to access the shelves directly, each item must be requested in duplicate at the counter and an identity card with photograph and address must be deposited with the staff before the request is processed. I had the privilege of being allowed into the stacks to peruse the shelves.
 - 5 I was able to identify valuable sources for a scholarly study of the eugenic movement in Argentina during the first half of the twentieth century, documenting its existence inside as well as outside of the university. These records are damaged and many of the pages are loose and in danger of disappearing. I offered to make a donation for them to be rebound but there are no precedents of private donations of this type and my offer was not accepted.
 - 6 A significant addition to the Argentinean archives will result from this dissertation. I was able to locate personal correspondence sent to Wilhelm Wundt by Prof. Felix Krueger from Argentina. While discussing the role of psychology in the pre-Freudian period in Argentina with Prof. Dave Robinson, from Truman State University, Missouri, a

specialist in Wundt, I mentioned that I have read that Prof. Felix Krueger, a disciple of Wundt, who was a visiting professor in 1907 at the UBA, had succeeded Wundt in his Chair at the University of Leipzig. Prof. Robinson was able to locate personal correspondence sent to Wundt by Prof. Felix Krueger from Argentina. A translation into Spanish of this correspondence, included in German in Appendix 7 will be donated to the Archives of the Faculty of Medicine.

⁷ See Chapter 4.

⁸ Many of the secondary sources on the history of neurology, psychiatry, psychology and psychoanalysis were obtained with the invaluable help of the interlibrary loan office at Carleton. They requested books and articles of my interest from all over Canada, the US and Europe. Similarly for the books and articles on the history of psychoanalysis in the US, the office of interlibrary loans was extremely effective.

Chapter 3

3.1 The Pre-Freudian Period: The *Somatiker* Paradigm

The historical background of the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in Argentina is named “pre-Freudian” to indicate that Freud’s theories and psychoanalytical practices were still novel and discussed by only a few neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists prior to the 1930s. In the disciplines of the mind--neurology, psychiatry and psychology-- the pre-Freudian period in Argentina was dominated by nineteenth century theories of degeneracy and somatic explanations of insanity imported from Germany and France. This organicist approach, also referred to as the German *Somatiker* tradition, attributed mental diseases to physical causes and to brain conditions, as opposed to the French *Psychiker* tradition, which experienced a revival in France around 1880, and emphasized the emotional causes of such diseases.¹

Using primary and secondary sources, this chapter documents the existence of a somatic paradigm in Argentina during the period designated as pre-Freudian and extends the analysis of previously available biographical notes to the discussion of broader issues of trans-Atlantic migration of scientific discourses. Issues range from how the pre-Freudian explanations of insanity emerged in universities and hospitals of the time to how these knowledge networks filtered newly arriving theories. The narrative weaves together different themes at play in the articulation of an idiosyncratic reception pattern rooted in the history of a place and time.

By summarizing what neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists taught in Argentina to their students and practiced with their patients, this chapter formulates a description of what has been designated as the Argentinean school in neurology, psychiatry and psychology in the pre-

Freudian period. The chapter concludes with an examination of the institutional settings (i.e., psychiatric hospitals and universities) for the practice of neurology, psychiatry and psychology during the period under study

Throughout Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, the study of brain anatomy became of prime importance to explain the physical causes of mental illnesses. This organicist tendency, which included the hereditary theories of the French psychiatrist Morel, dominated until the 1880s the entire field of psychiatry in Germany, France and Italy; the belief that “mental diseases are brain diseases” was also widespread in Argentina.^{2 3} As a consequence of these beliefs, the main task of neurologists and psychiatrists was to study the anatomopathology of the brain and to house the patient in more “humane” conditions than previously done in the era of confinement when the insane were chained and brutally handled. Treatment was limited to specific diets, prolonged baths and labour therapy. For example, Adolfo Sierra, an Argentinean psychiatrist, described the psychiatric technique of therapeutic baths, first introduced by Kraepelin in 1903 in Munich,

the baths consisted in submerging the insane individual in a bath tub full of water at 37 or 39 degrees Celsius for a time that could vary from 24 hours to 3 or 4 months uninterrupted. This implies constant supervision since one must renew the water each time the patient soils himself or when the temperature of the water is too low. To protect the skin in the patients hands and feet it is customary to rub these regions with vaseline or other greasy creams.”⁴ *

* Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of Argentinean writers have been translated by the present author for the purpose of this dissertation.

In neurology, research efforts concentrated on the anatomopathology of the brain, after the influence of the German school of Fleschig. Nineteenth century theories of degeneracy and insanity continued to be argued, published and taught in Argentina by university professors, (eg., de Veyga) as late as the 1940s. The Sociedad Eugénica Argentina was founded in 1919 but its theories of degeneracy were conceptually renewed and given a new scientific validity when the Biotypology, Eugenics and Social Medicine Institute was created and a journal of the same name began to appear in 1933. This institute was affiliated to a center with the same name in Genoa, directed by its founder, the Italian endocrinologist, Nicole Pende.⁶

During the pre-Freudian period, research in psychiatry and psychology in Argentina, centred on the study of the criminal mind (after the influence of Italian leading criminologist Cesare Lombroso) and on physiological experimentation in animal psychology. Extensive networks, established early in the twentieth century, linked the University of Buenos Aires (UBA) Chair in Legal Medicine to other educational institutions (Faculty of Philosophy, Faculty of Law and Teacher's College), hospitals, jails and government departments.⁷ These networks absorbed many talented graduates.

The psychoneuroses received scant attention in the medical and psychological curricula of the time. The interdisciplinary field constituted by courses in Medical Psychology was absent in the UBA until 1942 when a graduate program in Psychiatry, which included a course in Medical Psychology, was formalized for the first time. Individual neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in psychoneuroses and in Freud's work did not reach prominent institutional positions of authority within the institutional settings of universities and hospitals and they were, therefore, unable to shape their respective disciplines during this period.⁸

In Argentina, the three disciplines of the mind, neurology, psychiatry and psychology, followed different historical developments. For this reason, the examination of the pre-Freudian period is addressed in two separate sections. One section groups neurology and psychiatry which shared close links in the past; the other is dedicated exclusively to psychology which was influenced by a different intellectual tradition than neurology and psychiatry. Both sections trace the emergence of various discourses in the science of the mind at a given historical moment and reveal different filters and reception patterns of European migrating theories

3.2 The Pre-Freudian School in Neurology and Psychiatry

The salient features of the theories and practices that prevailed during the pre-Freudian period in Argentina are discussed in this section. Throughout the nineteenth century, French, German and Italian theories and practices in the field of neurology and psychiatry had migrated to Argentina “inside people.”⁵ The intellectual sedimentary layers, left behind by years of filtering in different French, German and Italian theories, shaped an idiosyncratic and local discursive framework that operated as a cultural filter that qualified and disqualified newly arriving theories. The entire mode of apperception of new theories in the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry was structured around the existing, dominant *Somatiker* paradigm.

3.2.i. The People and their Context

Respect for the “insane” arrived in Argentina with the teachings of Phillippe Pinel (1747-1826) who, early in the nineteenth century in France, declared as obsolete cruel therapies such as flogging, sudden immersion and bleeding. In 1906, Francisco De Veyga, an Argentinean

psychiatrist, commented on the importance of Pinel's reforms.

All the world knows that Pinel produced a revolution exactly a century ago declaring that the insane were sick, and his energetic entrance in the Salpêtrière, to tear away the chains that tied them up, was considered an heroic act of a genius."⁹

The site of insanity was transferred from the spirit to the brain. Early in the nineteenth century, the treatment of the insane in Argentina followed the instructions of the French surgeon Le Roy, also influenced by the German *Somatiker* paradigm. His book, which recommended intense purges for the insane, was translated into Spanish and became a best-seller in Buenos Aires. His main thesis was that "nervous exaltation could be corrected by the organic action caused by the purges"¹⁰. It is important to note that this thesis was a definite improvement in the treatment of the insane, since Le Roy opposed corporal punishment and coercive methods and proposed instead a cleansing catharsis of the organism. The colonial medical authorities (Tribunal del Protomedicato de Buenos Aires) prohibited the use of purges in hospitals in 1831.¹¹

The first graduating thesis on a psychiatric topic was by Diego Alcorta published in 1827 and titled *Disertación en manía aguda (Dissertation on Acute Mania)*.¹² It contains the first recorded citation of Phillippe Pinel by an Argentinean author. Inspired by the reforms introduced by Pinel in French psychiatric hospitals at the beginning of the nineteenth century, many of the physicians chronicled in Argentinean sources during the second half of the nineteenth century are considered to be the pioneers of the alienist movement. "Alienists" is the nineteenth century name for those individuals who took care of mentally ill patients in public hospitals. They usually had less training than neurologist and psychiatrists, and often resided in the asylums.¹³ In Argentina these professional distinctions were less marked than in Europe or the US. Alienists, neurologists

and psychiatrists travelled regularly from Argentina to Europe. During these visits they updated their knowledge and observed new practices which they then brought back to Argentina. The majority went to Paris as students to attend courses or to participate in international conferences. Less frequently, their travels included Italy and Germany. Very few Argentineans seem to have visited academic centres in England or the United States, and only two visited Vienna, both in the 1930s.^{14 15}

A surprisingly large number of these alienists, neurologists and psychiatrists were born in less-affluent provinces of Argentina, such as La Rioja and Corrientes. Careers as alienists and/or psychiatrists attracted outsiders rather than the sons of the more affluent *porteño* society.¹⁶ A few first-generation immigrants also made their marks in these fields. All of them seem to have dedicated a great deal of energy to building institutions and drafting legislation on the care and treatment of the mentally ill, while also pursuing their literary inclinations. Many published novels, poems and psycho-biographical accounts of Argentinean political leaders.¹⁷

These neurologists and psychiatrists worked in psychiatric hospitals; most of them also pursued academic careers, primarily through the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry in the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Buenos Aires. Academics occupying other chairs also contributed to the understanding of mental illnesses. In the Faculty of Medicine, the chairs in Clinical Neurology and in Legal Medicine and Criminology were particularly important. As well, interest in the study of psychopathology was also evident in the courses offered in the Faculty of Philosophy.¹⁸

There is among these authors consistent evidence that the study of mental illnesses by neurologists and psychiatrists in the pre-Freudian period in Argentina was characterized by organicist explanations linked conceptually to German theories of brain diseases and the

hereditary theories of the French psychiatrist Morel. Notions of degeneracy, understood to mean an impoverished genetic endowment of the individual, were also central to this somaticist approach. In the 1850s, Morel formulated a psychiatric theory in which almost all chronic mental disturbances were united under the name “mental degeneration”. This theory met with great success; in the 1880s it dominated French psychiatry along with the ideas of Magnan, who attributed most severe sexual perversions to constitutional causes. Osvaldo Loudet, an Argentinean psychiatrist, writing on the history of his discipline, in 1971, observed that

The doctrine of hereditary degeneration, in fashion in those days, was very important. It was created by Morel in 1857, expanded by Trelat in 1861, popularized by Griessinger, considered in England by Maudsley, and applied to clinical work by Magnan in 1882.¹⁹

In Italy, Lombroso contributed to the notion of “mental degeneration” by speaking of the “born criminal”, an individual who as a result of degeneracy had regressed “to a kind of ancestral man.”²⁰ These explanations were imported to Argentina from Europe, in particular from France, Italy and Germany, countries visited often by Argentinean physicians, either as students or as participants in international conferences. Not all authors’ theories migrated in their original language. Most of the German authors came to Argentina via France. A French cultural filter had been applied before their arrival to Argentina where further filtration occurred.

Although the occupants of the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry in Argentina seem to have paid some attention to the French *Psychiker* tradition as evidenced by its teachings of the French School of psychopathology led by Charcot in Paris, they remained firmly rooted in the *Somatiker* theories of mental pathology that had originated in Germany and were also prevalent in Paris during the pre-Charcot period. Charcot’s studies on hysteria and hypnotism are cited by many

published Argentinean authors of the time, such as Ingenieros, Piñero, Ponce, Mouchet and Bosch. However, the important debate taking place in France between the school of Paris and the school of Nancy regarding the extent of the influence of *Psychiker* factors on mental pathology seemed to have been ignored or under-represented in Argentinean scientific literature.²¹

There is no clear evidence that any Argentineans visited Bernheim at Nancy. This is a significant finding and explains one of the reasons for the delayed arrival of Freudian theories to Argentina. As the nineteenth century came to a close, the difference between the interpretations of the school of Paris and the school of Nancy on the psychic factors in hysteria and hypnosis became central to Freud's own arguments. There was "an embittered struggle"²² between Charcot and Bernheim. The School of Nancy accepted Charcot's explanations but advanced his psychic arguments even further. Taking issue with Charcot, Bernheim argued that "it was absurd to suppose that hypnosis was a rarity, induced only in hysterics. Hypnosis was nothing but sleep caused by suggestion, and every normal person was suggestible."²² Janet, who is cited extensively by Argentinean authors well into the 1930s, sided with the school of Paris and distanced himself from the assumptions of the school of Nancy. Freud, on the other hand, visited Nancy and developed an interest in Bernheim's theories on suggestion and hypnosis and agreed with him that the mechanism of hysterical symptoms was psychic and not physical but contradicted Bernheim by saying that this mechanism was not one of simple suggestion. The importance of the School of Nancy in the Freudian project can not be overestimated. Performing as a stepping stone, Freud's attempt to resolve this controversy reinforced the direction of his research and it helped him gradually to move from physiological to psychological explanations.²³

Visits to Vienna by Argentinean scientists were rare. None of the Argentinean brain anatomists who applied the anatomoclinical method--that is, checking clinical diagnoses against

the findings of autopsies as perfected by Meynert--seem to have studied in Vienna. Meynert reduced psychology to physiology and was considered “the greatest brain anatomist in Europe, along with Flechsig from Germany.”²⁴ There is no evidence that Argentinean scientists studied with Meynert at the time he was Director of the Psychiatric Department of the Vienna General Hospital where Freud also worked. It is reasonable to conclude that Argentinean scientists, given their more frequent visits to Germany than to Austria, learned the anatomoclinical method from German brain anatomists such as Flechsig or his disciples.²⁵

One of many examples of German influence in Argentina is found in Jose Tiburcio Borda, who had a sustained interest in anatomopathology and described himself as a “passionate organicist;”²⁶ he visited Germany in 1889. One of his most important publications, “*Trecientas autopsias cerebrales de parálisis general progresiva*” (*Three Hundred Cerebral Autopsies of Progressive General Paralysis*), was presented at the Second Medical Congress in Latin America in 1925.²⁷

As important as the German and French influence on Argentinean disciplines of the mind was the Italian influence in forensic matters. Forensic psychiatry developed early as a specialty among young Argentinean psychiatrists at the turn of the century, attracting more graduates than other areas of study in Argentina. The works of Italian theorists, in particular Cesare Lombroso and Sante de Sanctis, appeared in the bibliographies of numerous articles. Lombroso’s contributions to forensic psychiatry greatly influenced the Argentinean forensic psychiatrists. Studies on forensic psychopathology and discussions around the different degrees of legal responsibility in criminal behaviour were taken up by almost all psychiatrists at the time.²⁸ During this period legal medicine was referred to as the “bridge between the biological sciences and the science of jurisprudence in order to arrive at enlightened justice.”²⁹ Efforts to clarify

these issues based on science were relevant to the successive [failed] attempts made in 1892 to obtain approval in the National Congress for a law regarding the protection of the mentally ill (insane and semi-insane) population in Argentina.³⁰

The institutional collaboration between the Faculty of Medicine and the penal system in Argentina was formalized as early as 1897. In that year several “depositories for the alienated” in the municipal jails were opened to medical students for the purpose of observation and criminological research at the same time that the theories of Lombroso and Magnan and the classification of Kraepelin were taught in classrooms. The first director of this observation facility was Francisco de Veyga, who designated Jose Ingenieros as the head of the clinic. It is important to note that the same facility functioned continuously until 1957, when the patients/inmates were transferred to a neuropsychiatric hospital.³¹ Collaborative practices between these institutions created an important condition of possibility for the discourse of legal medicine to flourish. A way of speaking, observing, describing and teaching about patients began to circulate at an institutional level as discourse, that is, as what counted as knowledge. The discursive level created by collaborative practices between the university and the penal system expanded further in the twentieth century.

Collaboration between the Faculty of Medicine and the penal system was shaped into a teaching network when, in 1898, de Veyga, who was at the time professor of legal medicine and Director of the Military Hospital, brought the Public Service of Autopsies, located in the police morgue in Buenos Aires, under the administration of the Faculty of Medicine, where he taught thanatology and traumatology. De Veyga is considered to be the founder of forensic psychopathology in Argentina by virtue of having combined “biological psychology and criminal anthropology.”³² The forensic network was further complemented by the creation in 1907 of the

Institute of Criminology, directed by Jose Ingenieros. It dedicated its resources to the study of psychopathology of delinquents and their scientific classification and associated its productive efforts with the Chair of Legal Medicine and the courses in psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy. Eventually the institute developed its own observation facilities and published the *Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal (Journal of Criminology, Psychiatry and Legal Medicine)*.³³

To conclude, the anatomoclinical method-- that is, checking clinical diagnoses against the findings of autopsies-- seems to have been central to the training of neurologists and psychiatrists in Argentina until the middle of the twentieth century. This German *Somatiker* tradition attributed mental diseases to physical causes and to brain conditions associated to the explanations of hereditary and degenerance proposed by Morel and did not recognize the claims of the French *Psychiker* tradition which emphasized the emotional causes of diseases. The revival of the *Psychiker* tradition that started in Europe around 1880 arrived in Argentina through Charcot and Janet. However, these teachings did not expand to include the theoretical position of the School of Nancy on hysteria and hypnosis, and in particular the novel notion that hereditary did not play a major role in these ailments. Therefore the conditions for the possibility for an early reception of Freud's theories were not created. What counted as knowledge in the pre-Freudian period in the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry in Argentina was the *Somatiker* discourse. Like a thread made up of many fibers, within this discourse faint strands of *Psychiker* explanations began to circulate. But the shifts, transformations and substitutions in the *Somatiker* discourse that were provoked by the introduction of Charcot and Janet's theories were filtered out and did not result in abandoning the hereditary and degeneracy discourse. It merely created new developments in the study of the criminal mind. What was governing the *Somatiker* discourse had

not been disturbed, that is, their mind-body theory remained fundamentally somatic. The institutional and technical sites from which neurologists and psychiatrists perceived, spoke, observed, treated and described their patients and taught their students remained undisturbed.³⁴

The physicians who strove to introduce *Psychiker* understanding and treatment of mental patients were very few and the administration of large hospitals and the Chair of Clinical Psychiatry remained firmly in the hands of *Somatikers* well into the twentieth century. Preoccupation with the understanding of heredity, degeneracy and the nature of mental illness still appears as late as the 1940s. For example, in De Veyga's last publication in 1946, titled *Degeneración y Degenerados*, he stated

What I propose is not to demonstrate the relationship between the degenerative states and madness, and this last one with vice and delinquency, because it is an axiomatic fact that medicine does not dispute any longer. Instead I would like to call attention to the enormous development that these conditions [degenerancy] have reached in the world, especially in our country, and to formulate a plan of extremely urgent measures designed to remedy such a disastrous situation.³⁵

The Argentinean School of neurology and psychiatry in the pre-Freudian period embraced Pinel's institutional reforms in the care and treatment of the insane; French and German teachings on anatomopathology of the brain and the importance of hereditary factors; Italian understanding of the criminal mind, and in an abridged and qualified manner the teachings of the School of Paris, led by Charcot, on the *Psychiker* causes of disease. *Somatiker* explanations of insanity remained the preeminent scientific paradigm well into the twentieth century.

3.2.ii. The Institutional Field: Neurology and Psychiatry in Hospitals and the University

In order to integrate individual biographies and scientific context in the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in Argentina, it is necessary to map the institutional field shared by neurologists and psychiatrists during the pre-Freudian period. The focus in this section is on institutions, and the intent is to sketch the specific institutional arrangements of the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry in Argentina. Two institutions have been chosen for examination: the hospitals and the university. This section investigates how these institutions incorporated certain types of knowledge and excluded others; how they networked with other disciplines; and how authority and expertise was attributed to individuals pursuing certain kinds of work, while those pursuing other kinds were considered unscientific or unscholarly.

Hospitals

The reception of new theories, in this case psychoanalysis, is in part explained by the readiness of the institutions responsible for the care and treatment of mentally ill patients. By understanding the type and quality of care provided by psychiatric hospitals in Argentina in the pre-Freudian period, it is possible to assess their readiness for innovation. Patients in psychiatric hospitals at the turn of the century seem to have received an uneven quality of care.³⁶ However, the last three decades of the nineteenth century seemed to have brought about significant improvements in the lives of the confined. By the turn of the century the Hospicio de las Mercedes was described as organized following the system proposed by Esquirol, a disciple of Pinel. It was built around several square courtyards, with some isolated pavilions for chronic care, separated from the delinquents and with a well-equipped laboratory for anatomopathology. Workshops for crafts, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, printing and photography, and large industrial washing and

ironing operations were housed on the premises. Patients' work generated considerable income for the institution.³⁷

In the opinion of Argentinean authors, Domingo Cabred “was the Argentinean Pinel” as he inaugurated the “open-door” approach to institutionalization of the insane.³⁸ In 1896, Cabred travelled to France. When he returned, he founded the Institute of Clinical Psychiatry. At the end of the nineteenth century, during his administration of the Hospicio de las Mercedes, he introduced the role of the intern, created areas for clinical therapy, and eliminated all violent methods of control. In this hospital a veritable school of psychiatry was gradually instituted with the regular attendance of graduate students and young physicians interested in psychiatric problems. The patients were given freedom of movement and the possibility to earn money working in in-house workshops. In a long campaign, starting in 1894, Cabred lobbied authorities for the creation of an “open-door” facility in the countryside. He cited German and Scottish examples of similar installations that were beneficial and that functioned under the mandate of “liberty, work and welfare” for mental patients. In 1899, construction of a facility modeled on the Alt Scherbitz asylum in Saxony, Germany, started. The Colonia Nacional de Alienados in the Province of Buenos Aires was opened in 1901 and Cabred was appointed its first director. After this date several open-door facilities were created in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Córdoba.³⁹ In the literature, the first three decades of the twentieth century are identified as the take-off point towards radical changes in psychiatric treatment in Argentina.⁴⁰ New strategies of collaboration with municipal clinics and the opening of outpatient clinics channelled the new and better-trained human resources into the sector.

Systematic collection of statistics in psychiatric hospitals began in the 1920s. In 1922, Ameghino, a psychiatrist, remarked on the increased number of hospitalized patients and argued

that it was because of increased immigration. A large proportion of hospital admissions were immigrants and, as in other countries, for example in the US, this fact seems to have alarmed many of the psychiatrists and neurologists of the time. Numerous publications addressed this phenomenon and the authors concluded “alienation was a condition more prevalent in immigrants than in the Argentinean-born population.”⁴¹ The nationalities of most patients admitted were Italian, Spanish and French. They were between 20 and 40 years of age; most were labourers. Twice as many single people were admitted, and the most common diagnoses were dementia, manias and melancholy. The causes were framed in terms of hereditary and degeneracy and the presenting problems most frequently cited were alcohol, epilepsy and business problems.⁴²

The creation of out-patient clinics is an important innovation in the treatment of mentally ill patients. This innovation took place not in Buenos Aires but in the Province of Santa Fé, where the first such clinic for adults and children was created in 1922, at the Hospital de Alienados in the city of Rosario. Two years later, in 1924, the Hospital Nacional de Alienadas of Buenos Aires opened its first out-patient clinic in neurology and psychiatry and the Hospicio de las Mercedes opened its first clinic seven years later, in 1931. It is important to note that this innovation, considered key for the adoption of new treatments of patients, did not occur first in the institutions closely linked to the UBA where, in theory, neurologists and psychiatrists had the greatest opportunity to connect with treatment innovations in Europe.^{43 44}

Another significant institutional development was the creation of the Escuela de Visitadoras Sociales de Higiene Mental (School of Psychiatric Social Workers) in 1934, by Gonzalo Bosch. This initiative was short-lived and it was only in 1954, when the National Institute of Mental Health was created, that several schools for psychiatric social workers were re-opened in psychiatric hospitals.⁴⁵

In summary, then, it can be concluded that psychiatric hospitals in Argentina were administered by alienists who were also university professors in neurology and psychiatry. Action rather than research was identified as the strength of these neurology and psychiatry professors. They improved the conditions of the patients by redesigning psychiatric hospital buildings, lobbying authorities for new legislation, and raising the professional standards of related professions and ancillary staff. Several research laboratories were established at psychiatric hospitals at the turn of the century and were in most cases directed by newly arrived immigrants, such as Jakobs from Germany, and Onelli and Tedeschi from Italy ⁴⁶.

The care practices implemented in psychiatric hospitals evolved slowly. Pinel's ideas arrived early in the nineteenth century but reforms in psychiatric hospitals were introduced unevenly and often in a temporary fashion. When energetic reformers retired from their administrative appointments, hospitals abandoned innovative practices reverting back to "old ways."

University

A catalogue published by the Faculty of Medicine in 1918 lists the titles of all medical theses presented by graduating physicians up to that year. In the fields of psychiatry and neurology, these topics included epilepsy, alcoholism and hysteria, mania, melancholy, general paralysis and moral insanity. In most, the causes of insanity were associated with hereditary and degeneracy factors following the writings of Morel and the classification system of Kraepelin.⁴⁷ These theses indicate that somatic rather than psychic explanations of mental conditions were the most prevalent. In the first two decades of the century, only one thesis in the library of the Faculty of Medicine, published in 1920 by Angel Sosa y Sanchez and titled *Los sueños y el psicoanálisis*

(Dreams and Psychoanalysis), cites Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, *On Dreams* and *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*, in their English versions.⁴⁸

Although psychiatry did not exist as a graduate specialization at the University of Buenos Aires at the end of the nineteenth century, the Chair in Mental Pathology, later renamed Clinical Psychiatry, was created in 1884 and Lucio Melendez was appointed its first professor.⁴⁹ Most of the prestigious psychiatrists of the time were professors at the UBA as well as directors of asylums, and later of psychiatric hospitals.

The history of medicine in Argentina is well documented.⁵⁰ The library of the Faculty of Medicine has an extensive section on the history of medicine in Argentina. An area not well documented is the political nature of university appointments and promotions as an important aspect of this history. Without any critical commentary, for instance, Guerrino, an Argentinean psychiatrist, mentions that Roca, the president of Argentina, was the ultimate authority in the selection of the best candidate for the newly created Chair in Mental Pathology.⁵¹ Three candidates were presented to him by university authorities in 1884; the government selected Melendez. There are no records of the selection criteria applied by Roca. Another documented case is the selection of a professor to occupy the professorship in legal medicine in 1914. President Roque Saenz Peña denied this appointment to Ingenieros, who was the best-qualified candidate and due for promotion. Ingenieros decided to take voluntary exile and moved to France.⁵²

Professors in neurology and psychiatry did not dedicate themselves full time to their academic careers; in most cases they also served for long periods as directors of large psychiatric hospitals. Few of them invested their intellectual energy in basic and/or applied research. Other

activities, such as the drafting of legislation, government lobbying or literary ambitions, seemed to have received greater attention than research endeavours.⁵³

Few professorships were available to an increasingly large and well-educated professional class. The Faculties of Medicine at the UBA and the University of La Plata were the only academic centres in the Province of Buenos Aires, a province whose population grew exponentially from 1900 to 1950. The bottleneck effect of this situation and the relatively small number of prominent provincial universities, combined with very few poorly endowed research institutes and scientific centers, turned academic survival at the UBA into a “deadly political battle.”⁵⁴ Different chairs were identified with different political parties and politics became the main criteria on which promotional decisions were based. Young and relatively unknown academics with few political connections inside and outside the university, like many of the neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in Freud’s theories, had little opportunity to win positions of power within the university. As can be discerned from the biographical notes in Appendix 2, professors in the Faculty of Medicine waited many years to be promoted to Extra Ordinarius professor. Then, in most cases, they remained in this position for many years before finally being promoted to the top position of Ordinarius professorship.⁵⁵

Compared with similar faculties in Europe, the Chair in Mental Pathology was introduced relatively early in the history of the Faculty of Medicine. However, the specialization of psychiatry as graduate training was not formalized as part of the curriculum until 1942 when a set of related courses were configured as a specialization.⁵⁶ It is worth noting that this development arrived more than twenty years after legal medicine was instituted as a specialization in the Faculty of Medicine in 1920.⁵⁷

In 1942, Osvaldo Loudet, Sr, proposed the creation of psychiatry as a graduate specialization; he also proposed the creation, for the second time, of a corresponding Institute of Clinical Psychiatry. (The Institute created by Cabred at the turn of the century had ceased to exist). Loudet was not the first to urge the academic authorities to consider the creation of a course in medical psychology as part of psychiatric specialization. Citing Kretschmer from the University of Thuringia, Germany, he argued that it is difficult to clearly and absolutely separate normal psychology and psychopathology. In his opinion the proposed course in medical psychology would give students the opportunity to practice different “methods of psychotherapy and the psychoanalytical method.”⁵⁸

The specialization in psychiatry was designed to take two years and included eight courses plus an internship. To strengthen his proposal Loudet listed eight faculties of medicine in Europe and North America that had created a course in medical psychology, either attached to or independent from their courses in clinical psychiatry. Repeated requests for the introduction of a course in medical psychology can be identified in the literature.⁵⁹ The specialization of psychiatry within the Faculty of Medicine developed slowly. Although formally approved in 1942, it culminated in a full set of courses and organized internships in 1946. However, a course in medical psychology was not offered regularly or consistently for subsequent generations of students.⁶⁰ Loudet reproduced in his book the university resolution creating the Institute of Clinical Psychiatry and the corresponding courses necessary to become a “medical psychiatrist.”⁶¹ The university resolution included the following as mandatory courses for graduate students: medical psychology, psychiatric semiology, anatomopathology, neurology, clinical psychiatry, infantile neuropsychiatry, forensic psychiatry and neurosurgery. Loudet remarked that all courses were offered intermittently.

Interdisciplinary territory between neurology, psychiatry and psychology was not created around the course on Medical Psychology as it was in other countries, for example in the United States ⁶² but instead in the area of legal medicine, with a Chair in Legal Medicine in the Faculty of Medicine created in 1920. Neither hospitals nor universities offered an interdisciplinary forum for neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists to meet, discuss and practice innovative psychotherapies, such as psychoanalysis.

3.3 The Pre-Freudian School in Psychology

Psychology as an emerging discipline did not escape the influence of the somatic paradigm prevalent in the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry but it was also recipient, early in the nineteenth century, of French secular philosophical influences, such as “sensasionism.” At the turn of the twentieth century empirical psychologists in Argentina began to delineate their disciplinary boundaries by combining the teachings of Wilhelm Wundt on experimentation and mental testing and the clinical teachings of Theodore Ribot on psychopathology and obsrverction of the abnormal mind. However, the discipline of psychology in Argentina reached the decade of the 1950s with blurred disciplinary boundaries and constituting itself as a specialized field of studies for philosophers.

In Argentina, as elsewhere, individuals as non-religious subjects had become objects of study in empirical psychology, said study finding a niche in the sprawling university of the time. This epistemological discontinuity between religious and secular knowledge ruptured the institutions as the new discourse at the turn of the century announced its autonomy from philosophy and confronted the harsh opposition of the ecclesiastical sectors in Argentina entrenched behind the defence of the scholastic understanding of a spiritual and transcendental

subject. In a recent article, the current Chair in the History of Medicine, Alfredo Kohn-Loncarica wrote,

Faced with an educational legacy with a strong scholastic tradition, the new modern leaders of Argentina in the 19th century, considered science one more mechanism for the liberation of man, for his ‘de-medievalization’, for his secularization.⁶³

The secularization of the institution is a decisive condition of possibility for the creation and reception of psychological knowledge. In the UBA, as elsewhere, psychological knowledge was born at the crossroads of philosophical and theoretical consideration of the subject, and the creation of practices of intervention promoting “modern secular values” in the private and public domains. Experimentalism was the dominant view in Argentina between 1890 and 1930.⁶⁴

3.3.i. The People and their Context

Followers of a French philosophical school called ‘ideology’ or ‘sensationalism’ appeared in Argentina early in the nineteenth century; this theory permeated medicine, science and philosophy. The term sensationism was used to refer to a philosophical movement that attempted to combine the analytical rationalism of the French Enlightenment with English empiricism. In France, Cabanis, one of its main proponents, argued that thought is a product of brain activity and that the moral domain is not different from the physical domain because there is mutual influence, similar to the influence that observed in organic functions. Condillac, also part of this school of thought, reduced all mental processes to sensations.⁶⁵

Wundt’s experimental theories were also accepted quickly in Argentina and allowed Horacio Piñero to tear psychology away from the moral sciences at the end of the nineteenth

century and to establish a new space (the laboratory) within the university, and a new scientific status for the discipline.⁶⁶ However, the Argentinean tradition initiated by Piñero combined Wundt's teachings and Ribot's (a contemporary of Charcot and a teacher of Janet) clinical approach to the study of psychopathology.⁶⁷

Considered to be one of the founders of this psychology of pathology, Ribot was a philosopher who shared with the positivists of the time a disdain for metaphysics. Among his most prominent disciples were Pierre Janet (1859-1947), who continued Ribot's chair in the College de France, and G. Dumas (1866-1946), who became a member of Charcot's team and eventually directed the Laboratory of Pathological Psychology at the Salpêtière Clinic. Dumas also occupied the Chair of Experimental Psychology vacated by Ribot in 1905 at the Sorbonne.⁶⁸ Although Ribot knew the work of Wundt, he did not conduct experiments. He developed instead the pathological method based on observation and experience, as a substitute for the experimental method. Ribot affirmed that, "illness is an experimentation of a highly subtle order, instituted by nature itself, in very clearly determined circumstances and with procedures that are not available to the art of humans."⁶⁹

In 1903, addressing L'Institut Général Psychologique of the Société de Psychologie in Paris, Piñero referred to the influence of Ribot in Argentina as "extraordinary":

"[Le travaux] du professeur Ribot ont eu une influence extraordinaire sur notre jeune intellectualité, et la *Revue Philosophique*, fondée par lui, comme le héraut de la vérité à travers le monde, a bouleversé les fanatiques, les systématiques et les doctrinaires pour édifier solidement la science de l'esprit sur des bases inamovibles, sur la nature même... La psychologie de M. Ribot a révolutionné aussi notre pédagogie transcendente, pour ainsi dire; et voilà,

messieurs, que, depuis une dizaine d'annes, nous sommes en train de changer, par son influence, tout notre *système d'éducation* [italics in the original]"(279) ⁷⁰ .

Going on to describe the influence of Wundt in Argentina and comparing it to his influence in the US, Piñero stated:

· "L'école de Wundt, fondateur de la psychologie d'expérimentation à Leipzig, a eu aussi de l'influence sur nos études; mais je dois le dire, elle n'a pas eu le succès énorme qu'elle a rencontré dans l'Amérique du Nord, où cinquante laboratoires suivent encore l'orientation spéciale du grand maître. A mon avis, ils ont fait trop de psychométrie, et je pense que celle-ci n'est qu'un petit chapitre de la psychologie"

In Argentina, experimental psychology at the turn of the century was eclectic. From Germany it retained an epistemological and ontological preoccupation, and from France a clinical perspective. In particular, the influence of Ribot gave rise to a discipline quite different from the one evolving in the United States where Wundt's ideas were profoundly transformed and Ribot's virtually ignored. In Argentina, empirical psychology did not exclude clinical psychology but "on the contrary it comes immediately behind it. In this sense, the clinical gaze, simultaneously investigates." ⁷¹ In Argentina, like in France, as Foucault remarked in *The Birth of the Clinic*, "hospital patients [were] the most appropriate subjects for an experimental course." ⁷²

The clinical empiricists gained territory during the early part of the twentieth century, instituting a genuine Argentinean academic tradition of the physician-psychologist. During the 1920s, however, a shift took place from the empirical understanding of the individual towards a romantic eclecticism, called spiritualism, which had come from Germany and France. The spiritualists in Argentina, led by Korn and Alberini, were anti-reductionists; their point of

departure was the notion of psychic totality centered in the experience of the individual, a view considerably different from the pure experimentalists. For them, consciousness was spiritual, a “vital force” à la Bergson; or the “will” of Schopenhauer.⁷³

In summary, during the pre-Freudian period in Argentina, psychology was split into two camps: the empirical psychologists and the spiritualists. The former was, potentially, more open to Freud’s oncoming influence. Early in the century, the empirical psychologists, such as Ingenieros and Piñero, read and quoted Spencer’s *Principles of Psychology* and Darwin’s *On the Origin of the Species*, and believed that “mental operations mediating between the environment and the needs of the organism should be the subject matter of the discipline of psychology.”⁷⁴ This tradition shared with Freud its allegiance to Darwinism and it initiated a trend in Argentina which augured favorably for Freud’s theories. The empirical psychologists also shared with Freud a clinical perspective and an interest in the study of psychopathology. The teachings of Ribot tied psychology to mental pathology, a characteristic of the French tradition of double training, medical and psychological, that was inscribed in Argentina from the start.

Among the empirical psychologists, early in the century, Ingenieros became interested in introspection, suggestion, hypnosis and hysteria; he often quoted Charcot and Janet. However, he did not become an active agent of transmission for Freud’s theories because he did not recognize their autonomous nature; rather he considered them a variation on Janet’s ideas. Ingenieros abandoned his interest in the psychoneuroses to become an expert in criminology and a prolific writer on the social implications of deviance.

Other factors contributed to the delayed emergence of psychoanalysis in psychology in Argentina. Theories seem to migrate from place to place like people do, with intermediate, transforming stops where different strands at play weave an idiosyncratic reception pattern rooted

in the history of a place and time. In the case of Freud's writings, they reached the Argentinean empirical psychologists during the first three decades of the twentieth century through the cultural filter of French thinkers who belonged to literary rather than scientific circles. These French writers, such as Vaschide, Courbon, Bourget, Sokolnicka, and Dujardin⁷⁵ associated Freud's theories to romantic medicine dealing in intuition, intentions and purposes rather than to his scientific method of observation and his gradually increasing interest in psychological theorizing.⁷⁶ In this French version, Freud became more accessible to Argentinean cultural critics, thus less accessible to the empirical psychologists, than if they had read Freud as a primary source, without this French mediation. In addition, the empirical tradition in psychology in Argentina was short-lived. Pinero's and Ingenieros' disciples abandoned these theories in the early 1920s.

In Argentina, the spiritualists rejected Freud's natural determinism; they re-created the theoretical chasm between the animal and human worlds that Ingenieros had attempted to bridge early in the century with his comparative studies in experimental animal psychology. From the spiritualist tradition, psychology in Argentina emerged as a human science concerned with ethical and axiological problems and a clear humanistic preoccupation, closer to the discipline of philosophy than to the discipline of psychology.

The empirical psychologists who defined psychology as a natural science were displaced from positions of influence by the spiritualists during the 1920s. Falcone, an historian, noted that "a progressive systematic dismantling and disarticulation of the Laboratories for Experimental Psychology" took place at the UBA during the 1920s and early 1930s. This withdrawal of funds and interest in empirical psychology is confirmed by L.F. Gonzalez of Costa Rica who visited Argentina in 1927 and wrote a report for the Secretary of Education of his country.⁷⁷

In his analysis of Freud's scientific method, Boring concludes that "Freud's technic lay

somewhere between that of the experimental psychologists...and the philosopher-psychologists”⁷⁸ In Argentina, however, these two schools of thought in psychology were so far apart, so epistemologically divorced from each other during the first three decades of the century, that although both were represented in the academic and scientific circles of the time, psychoanalysis did not find a receptive niche among either school. Psychoanalysis was minimally taught in the program of Psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy until the early 1960s when the non-naturalistic psychoanalysis of Jacques Lacan found its way into the newly created Department of Psychology and became its central axis.

To conclude, at the turn of the century Argentina’s experimental psychologists understood the world as their laboratory. In Argentina, more than in any other Latin American country, empiricism and positivism became a scientific philosophy, especially in biology and psychology. Empirical psychology based on the elaboration of scientific biology became a significant part of medicine.

In this conception, the scientific status of psychology is not reached through the laboratory but through the clinical gaze of the medical sciences and their understanding of pathology. Ingenieros and Piñero, both physician-psychologists, are considered the founders of scientific (empirical) psychology at the UBA; they too adhered to the pathological method of Ribot and praised it for “having cemented psychophysiology in a descriptive and comparative method of the natural sciences rather than in the physical sciences.”⁷⁹

Empirical psychology was, then, inscribed within a space that had been structured by a clinical perspective and it gained entry into the UBA through the French cultural filter of Ribot. These conditions of possibility are different from the ones encountered by Wundt’s discourse in other countries. In any case, Ribot’s ideas tied the emerging field of psychology in Argentina to

mental pathology, a characteristic of the French tradition of double training, medical and psychological, mentioned above, which was inscribed in Argentina at the turn of the century.

3.3.ii. The Institutional Field: Psychology in Hospitals and the University

Psychology as an independent discipline did not exist in Argentina during the nineteenth century. Psychological knowledge was taught by professors of law as part of moral sciences (ethics) in the Faculty of Law. In the hospitals, care was given either by neurologists and psychiatrists or by religious members of the Catholic faith. At the end of the nineteenth century psychological knowledge began to create its own space within the institutional settings of hospitals and the university.

Hospitals

At the turn of the century, there were few scientists dedicated to the creation and dissemination of psychological knowledge; therefore their presence in psychiatric hospitals and the university was minimal. However, they conducted their experiments in laboratories for psychological experimentation in university premises as well as in hospitals. Christofredo Jakob, an anatomopathologist, who taught a course in biological psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy, conducted laboratory research at the Hospital de Alienados. Piñero, Ingenieros and Jakob theorized from data produced either by hospital and university-based laboratories procedures or obtained by neurological investigation. All sought to measure physiological functions and avoid the problem of the psychic reality of the individual, as well as the problems posed by an explanation of consciousness.⁸⁰

Jacob's first appointment at the turn of the century had been at the Faculty of Medicine and at one of its affiliated teaching hospitals, Hospicio de las Mercedes, discussed previously. He

broke his relationship with this hospital and returned to Germany for a few years before coming back to Argentina in 1906 to conduct research at the Hospital de Alienados and to teach, for over forty years, courses in biology at the Faculty of Philosophy.⁸¹

University

Until 1901, when the first course in psychology was offered in the Faculty of Philosophy, psychological knowledge had been taught in the Faculty of Law. Psychology remained a program within the Faculty of Philosophy until the 1950s when it became a department. In 1984, it was established as an independent Faculty.⁸²

In the UBA, the scientific interest in the study of psychopathology extended beyond the Faculty of Medicine to include courses on experimental psychology and on normal and abnormal psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy. Physician-psychologists often taught in two faculties, the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Medicine, in particular as part of the Chair in Legal Medicine. Philosophers teaching courses in psychology also remained central to the discipline of psychology through the first half of the twentieth century. The turn-of-the-century period corresponds to the creation and development of the UBA courses in psychology, the founding of scientific societies, the organisation of congresses and the first international contacts, as well as the first local and international publications in psychology.⁸³

Adopting an empirical tradition, Piñero, a physician-psychologist, taught his students to obtain psychological data in the laboratory. His experimental psychology paralleled the lines of research carried out by Ingenieros who espoused a physio-neurological approach. Piñero's course, Psychology I, was first taught in 1901, when he set up a laboratory of experimental psychology. It "emphasized the anatomical and physiological basis of emotions, attention, perception, memory, thinking, and language."⁸⁴

In 1907, Professor Felix Krueger, a disciple of Wundt, arrived at the UBA to teach a new course, Psychology II, in the Faculty of Philosophy. “He introduced for the first time the notion of psychic totality centred in the experience of the individual, a view considerably different from pure analytic experimentalism.”⁸⁵ Krueger’s ideas did not succeed immediately among the academics of the time in Argentina; according to Rossi he “did not find an echo, his position was considered tenuous, weak, and excessively close to philosophical sources”⁸⁶ by Pinero and Ingenieros. According to Vezzetti, “the terrain [in Argentina] was not favourable to Krueger’s ideas and he found himself in an academic milieu dominated by the ideas of a deterministic positivism.”⁸⁷

Krueger left Argentina and returned the following year to Germany to occupy Wundt’s chair at Leipzig. His ideas had encountered an epistemological resistance: the conditions of possibility for the emergence of such a new psychological discourse did not exist in Argentina. A marked discontinuity was emerging between a certain accepted way of talking, describing, discussing and documenting evidence in the domain called empirical psychology at the UBA and the notion and discursive implications of the Wundtian concept of psychic totality. What counted as knowledge within the experimental field at the time excluded all notions of consciousness as an object of study. The empirical psychologists in Argentina had to sustain an unambiguous empiricist discourse to fence off any philosophical encroachment of notions that attempted to explain the totalizing consciousness of the subject, conceptualizations considered too close to the scholastic understanding of the metaphysical nature of the soul.

This protective discursive position perhaps explains the “cold shoulder” given by Piñero and Ingenieros to Krueger’s discourse on the psychic unity of the individual and the totality of experience as the appropriate object of study for a psychological discipline. In addition, the

academic model considered ideal by Piñero and Ingenieros for the teaching of empirical psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy was the model proposed by Ribot, in other words, an experimental psychology filtered through France and removed from the German experimental psychology that Krueger wanted to teach. Krueger seems to have been regarded as paradoxically both too philosophical for the empiricists and yet not philosophical enough to lead (immediately) to the embryonic anti-empiricists opposition articulated a few years later by Alberini and Korn.

Led by Alberini, a disciple of Piñero, the anti-reductionists invited Ortega y Gasset, a Spanish philosopher, to give a course on Kant in 1916 as a way to return the discourse to the origins of the dispute on the status of experimental psychology as a science.⁸⁸ Alberini replaced the once-hegemonic discourse of the Argentinean empiricism of Piñero and Ingenieros with an anti-empiricist critique that manifested the continuation of a theoretical preoccupation regarding the distinction between psychology and philosophy. Alberini and Jakob exercised a powerful influence in shaping this program of research. Freud's name is not found among their bibliographic citations. They both taught exclusively in the Faculty of Philosophy. Jakob taught biological psychology until 1945. Concentrating on neurological research studies, he sought to capture the psychic event, the soul in the brain, and shared with Alberini a belief in the complexity of the psyche. However, Jakob's criteria were strictly medical and neurological.⁸⁹

Institutional positions in psychology were held for long periods of time as was the case in the Faculty of Medicine, described above. For 30 years, Alberini taught philosophy and Psychology II (first taught by Felix Krueger), from 1916 until 1946. Although he was a disciple of Piñero, Alberini adhered to a very different theoretical framework than his teacher. He rejected an empirical approach to psychology, and argued for the existence of the soul in the individual. Alberini's courses expressed a perpetual mistrust of any reductive definition of psychology. His

approach emphasized the importance of signification as part of a complex conceptualization of the subject, with an emphasis on the characteristics inherently human, such as sentiments, values, language and signification processes.⁹⁰

Alberini considered himself a metaphysical philosopher, profoundly influenced by Bergson, and a passionate defender of the irreducible nature of the psyche. The psyche, in his opinion, belonged to the spiritual domain. Alberini's advanced psychology course was centred on the problem of psychology and the philosophy of values. In his course, he used only European texts, preferably in their original languages. Among his required readings were Hegel, Nietzsche, Scheler, Brentano, Bergson, Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl, Jaspers, Koelher, Croce, Ribot and Ortega y Gasset, among others. As a young professor Alberini was very active during the university reform of 1918 and, together with others, managed to obtain independence for the university from the jurisdiction of the executive power (the presidency) of the country. In the late 1920s, Alberini became Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy.⁹¹

Mediating between the theoretical differences of these two intellectual leaders--Alberini and Jakob--was Mouchet, a physician-psychologist. Authorship of the program in psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy at the UBA after the 1930s also rests with Mouchet, who in his courses bridged the theoretical views of Alberini and Jakob, combining to some extent areas of studies that his colleagues offered as part of opposing paradigms for psychological knowledge. Mouchet cannot strictly be regarded as belonging to the pre-Freudian period since he included, in the 1920s, Freud among his course readings. In his eclectic approach, Mouchet opted for an ample, flexible and non-sectarian definition of psychology, and his course became a point of convergence for various influences and styles, Freudian being one of many. In his experimental psychology course, Mouchet continued the articulation of psychiatry and neurology as proposed by

Ingenieros. His students visited orphanages, prisons and institutes for the mentally delayed, but in his theoretical courses there was an overt critique of empirical psychology and its limitations. His course readings included Bergson, Berkeley, Darwin, Freud, Jaspers, Kant, Koelher, Ribot, Schopenhauer, Spencer and Wundt, among others.⁹²

The connections with Germany were re-vitalized when in 1934, Carlos Jesinhaus, a professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, who had emigrated from Germany to Argentina in 1913, attended the International Congress of Psychology in Tuebingen, Germany. Upon his return to Argentina he prepared a report. In his opening statements, he wrote "... the Congress was a manifestation of the constructive mentality that characterizes the 'New Germany' [quotation marks in the original]."⁹³ This Congress was sponsored by the German Psychological Society, whose president at the time was Felix Krueger. Jesinhaus reported that Krueger gave the keynote speech for the section on Social Psychology. Other sections of the International Congress are listed as Hereditary and Race; Individual typology and social life; Psychodiagnostics; Regional Social Psychology in Germany; Psychological structures of special communities, i.e., families, rural residential schools, working compounds, professions; and Military Psychology.

To conclude, the presence of the empirical psychology school of thought in hospitals and the UBA was short-lived. Piñero's first generation of disciples abandoned empirical psychology for the study of metaphysical explanations of the mind. In the university throughout the period under study, schools of thought competed for dominance and the gains made by the empiricists at the turn of the century had to be defended against the anti-empiricists, who had mounted a well-organized philosophical rebuttal carefully incorporated into the course outlines of the psychology curriculum. A double tutelage over the curriculum consisting of two different theoretical streams-- empirical and spiritualist-- was ushered in by the end of the 1920s. The war of discourses in the

University of Buenos Aires had changed from colonial scholastics versus empiricists at the turn of the century to scientific naturalism versus anti-reductionists/anti-positivists by the 1930s. If the European theories migrating to Argentina in Piñero's and Ingenieros' period arrived through a distinct French filter, the theories informing the anti-empiricists were originally German. However, since few Argentinean academics read German these authors had to be read either in French, Italian or Spanish translations. The discipline of psychology which began to develop a clear identity at the turn of the century, with Piñero and his research laboratory of experimental psychology, reached the 1950s with blurred disciplinary boundaries and constituting itself as a specialized field of studies for philosophers.

Endnotes for chapter 3

- ¹ Ellenberger, H.F. The Discovery of the Unconscious. Basic Books, 1970: 284. In his section on psychiatry and psychotherapy in the nineteenth century, Ellenberger discussed two main schools , “...two main psychiatric trends prevailed in the first decades of the nineteenth century: that of the *Somatiker*, and that of the *Psychiker* (as they were called in Germany). The first attributed mental diseases to physical causes and to brain conditions, the second emphasized the emotional causes of such diseases.” The German *Somatiker* theories of insanity had influenced French psychiatry during the nineteenth century, particularly between 1840 and 1880. Ellenberger added that *Psychiker* explanations of insanity declined in 1840 to re-emerged with Charcot’s theories in the 1880s.

- ² A prominent representative of the *Somatiker* school in Argentina was Christfried Jakob. A German anatomopathologist who trained with Strümpell, Jakob emigrated to Argentina in 1899 in his early thirties. In his first academic appointment, he taught Biology in the Faculty of Medicine and was director of the Laboratory of Anatomopathology at the Hospicio de las Mercedes. He travelled back to Germany in 1909, returning to Argentina in 1913 to teach Biology at the Faculty of Philosophy, UBA, where he also set up a laboratory. See, for example, Jakob, C. Problemas actuales de psiquiatría general y sus relaciones con las ciencias sociales y jurídicas. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. 1916, Part I: 245-269 ; Parte II: 357-378. In this article he made multiple references to the *Somatiker* paradigm, in particular pages 248, 249, 251, 255, 258; and to the “psychopatic disposition of degenerates,” pages 263-265.

- Alurralde, M., Sepish M. and Benjamin Spota. Sobre Neurosis Traumática. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Tomo I, No. 4, Julio-Agosto, 1927:398-406.

- Ameghino, A. Lucio Melendez. Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Septiembre-Octubre. (1931): 42-56.

- Solari, B. El Doctor Lúcio Meléndez. La Semana Médica, 12 de diciembre, 1901: 12-18.

- Summary of speech given by H.G. Piñero. Inaugural Speech for the appointment of Dr. C. Jakob to the Chair in Biology in the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Buenos Aires. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina, Año XIII, 15, (1913): 1144-1146.

- Spota, B.B. Historia y Evolución del concepto de las neurosis traumáticas. El Hospital Argentino, No.9, 15 Diciembre (1930): 631-640.

- De Veyga, F. Genio y degeneración. A propósito de la última obra de Lombroso. Archivos de Psiquiatría y Criminología. Año V, Bs.As: Publicada por Jose Ingenieros, 1906. This article was first published by El Mercurio, Diciembre 1899. According to A. Foradi, De Veyga met Lombroso in Rome in 1905. See note 35 for complete reference.

Mouchet, E. La enseñanza de la fisiología en la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Nuestra Escuela de Fisiología. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina, Año XIII, No.144, Agosto (1913): 1485-1501.

Sepich, M.J. Review of a Book. Neurosis Traumática. Estudio Medico Legal. Basado en una tesis de 151 paginas con fotograbados y radiografías. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año, Número 3, Mayo-Junio (1927): 614-615.

Guerrino, A.A, J.Lardies Gonzales and E.E. Omacini. Síntesis Evolutiva de la Psiquiatría Argentina. Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Medicina de Buenos Aires. Vol 53, 2 Semestre, (1975): 321-322. Guerrino et al. do not use the term *Somatiker* in their analysis but their text makes multiple references to scientific explanations of the time that attributed mental diseases to physical causes and to brain conditions.

³ Ellenberger (1970) 241. "Mental diseases are brain diseases" is a phrase attributed to the German *Somatiker* psychiatrist, Wilhelm Griesinger (1817-1869) (241).

⁴ Sierra, Adolfo M. Problemas médicos actuales sobre tratamiento, profilaxis y eugénesis mentales. Revista Argentina de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año IV, No.19, Enero-Febrero (1930):1-39. In this article the author reviewed treatment approaches in use in different countries in Europe. In 1927, he visited Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. Sierra noted that prolonged bath treatments were still in use in Europe, since they were first introduced in 1903 by Kraepelin when he was appointed professor in Munich. He added "...in effect the electrical equipment that we observed in our last visit to the Kraepelin Clinic (permanent bath service), are of great simplicity and of modest cost. With respect to their therapeutic benefit, they have received a unanimous favorable opinion because until now whoever has tried them speak of their excellent results. Lately the Swiss (Zurich clinic) and some French and Italian services such as Profesor Abadie's, (Burgogne Clinic) and Mingasini's (Rome Clinic), have adopted systematically the treatment of permanent baths. Among us, it is more than 15 years since we have tried the Kraepelin method at the Hospicio de las Mercedes, the baths were later abandoned but they are now back in use and the results until now are good in general, however, we'll have to wait months or may a couple of years before we can state scientific conclusions." (10).

Meléndez, L. Hospicio de las Mercedes. Revista Médico-Quirúrgica. (1879). Labour therapy was introduced at the end of the century; prior to this innovation, Melendez noted "...the therapeutic means applied in the treatment of the insane was reduced to bleeding, sedatives, and opium." (38).

Anonymous. A newspaper article of the 15 of December, 1884, described one of the provincial mental hospital's architecture, organization and treatment approaches as follows: "The patients are free to move within the establishment because to restrain them inflames the passions, exciting the encephalic mass, this organ is most affected by this type of organic alterations." as quoted in an historical review published on the occasion of

the 100 Anniversary of the foundation of the Neuropsychiatric Hospital, Dr. Alejandro Korn, 1884-1984, (no date): 5.

6

In association with Nicola Pende, an Italian endocrinologist well known in Argentina, prominent Argentinean clinicians, psychiatrists and psychologists (e.g., Mariano Castex, Bosch and Mercante) contributed to the journal and built a wide teaching network that linked the Chair of Clinical Medicine (led by Castex), the Institute of Biotipología, Eugenecia y Medicina Social (Biotypology, Eugenic and Social Medicine) and its corresponding bimonthly journal. The institute trained medical students, nurses, social workers and members of society at large, almost exclusively women. The journal received numerous articles from Italy, Germany and France on theories and legislation relating to race, eugenics and policies for the improvement of the Latin race.

Anonymous. Letter of invitation to the inauguration meeting from the Sociedad Eugénica Argentina to the Director of the medical journal La Semana Médica, published in La Semana Médica, Primer Trimestre, (1919): 328

Castex, M. Discurso de la sesión inaugural en la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas de Buenos Aires. Anales de Biotipología, Eugenésia y Medicina Social, Año 1, No.1, 1ero de Abril, (1933): 2.

De Veyga, F. Discurso del Dr. Francisco de Veyga. La Semana Médica. Diciembre 31, (1908): 1776. Also see by the same author, Genio y Degeneración (1899).

7

De Veyga (1906); Jakob (1916); Guerrino (1982).

Homenaje a Francisco de Veyga, F. Discurso del Dr. Francisco de Veyga. La Semana Médica. Diciembre 31, (1908): 1776. Also see from the same author, Genio y Degeneración (1899).

AMA. Sociedad de Neurologia y Psiquiatria. Minutes of Sixt Session. Honouring the Master Emil Kraepelin. Revista de Neurologia, Psiquiatria y Medician Legal, Año 1, No.4, Julio-Agosto (1927): 531.

Loudet, O. La historia de la clínica criminologica. Anales del Instituto de Psicología. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Tomo I, Bs.As.: Imprenta de la UBA, (1935): 153-186.

8

Delgado H. Necesidad de introducir el estudio de la psicología en la instrucción médica. La Semana Médica. Primer Semestre, (1920): 31-315. This is one of several references found in relation to the need for an interdisciplinary course in Medical Psychology.

Loudet, O. Problemas Universitarios. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Tomo XIV, Año 1914: 49-54 and Tomo XV, (1914): 145-158.

Mouchet, J.A. Hacia la Universidad Futura. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Tomo XIV, (1914): 62-67.

Alberti, J. Los Estudios Psicológicos en la Escuela de Medicina. Archivos del Laboratorio de Buenos Aires, Bs.As: Imprenta de la Universidad, (1931): 301-314. This author wrote this article when he was the Director of the Laboratory in Psychology.

Silva, R. La Perturbación del instinto de defensa como eje clínico de la paranoia y de la locura maní-depresiva. Asociación Médica Argentina. Sociedad de Neurología y Psiquiatría. Sesiones Extraordinarias en Rosario y Novena Sesión Ordinaria, Bs.As:AMA, 30 de Diciembre, (1931): 209. In the conclusion of his article, Silva wrote "The study of the instincts can contribute effectively to the knowledge of mental conditions. To promote their study [study of the instincts] a Chair in Medical Psychology should be created in the Faculty of Medicine, as it has been already indicated and requested by Dr. Mouchet, Dr. Alberti and ourselves."

Anonymous. Cincuenta Años de la Asociación Médica Argentina. Bs.As: AMA, 1941. "Dr. Loudet is planning a course in Medical Psychology" (72).

5 Ziman, J. M. Ideas Move Around Inside People. London: Birkhead College and J. W. Ruddock, 1974, as cited by Paul Hoch, Migration and the Generations of New Scientific Ideas. Minerva 25, (1987): 209-237. In this thesis the notion that "ideas move around inside people" will be problematized, by focusing on the interface between the subject and the scientific/institutional context, i.e., the cultural filter of a given time and space.

9 De Veyga, F. (1906): 299. In this article there are multiple references to Pinel and the impact of his ideas within Argentinean institutions. All de Veyga's citations are of French authors, some in the original language, some translated into Spanish.

Also see, Osvaldo Loudet y Osvaldo Elías Loudet. Historia de la Psiquiatría Argentina. Bs.As.:Ediciones Troquel, 1971 and Antonio Alberto Guerrino. La Psiquiatría Argentina. Bs.As.: Ediciones Cuatro, 1982.

In English see, Henri Ellenberger. The discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry. New York: Basic Books, 1970. Ellenberger documented the impact of Pinel's teachings and reforms in Europe in pages 93,160,197,283, 284, 769,887.

10 Casais de Corne, A.E. Extraña repercusión en el Río de la Plata de un sistema médico del siglo XVIII. Archivos de Historia de la Medicina Argentina, Año 2, Vol 1, No. 2, 1972:3. Le Roy was a proponent in 1802, of the "saline cathartics", a mixture of wine, a drachm of tartar, potassium, root of turpeth, and brandy. This mixture provoked violent vomiting and

worked as a potent purge. It was recommended for mental conditions such as delirium, depressive and manic states, hysteria, etc.

Guerrino (1982) 25-26

¹¹ Guerrino (1982) 23-24.

¹² Diego Alcorta's thesis and a list of theses presented at the UBA from 1827 to 1973, are published as appendices in Antonio Alberto Guerrino. La Psiquiatria Argentina, Bs.As.: Editores Cuatro, (1982): 205-232.

Commentaries on Diego Alcorta's thesis are also found in Osvaldo Loudet and Osvaldo Elias Loudet. Historia de la Psiquiatria Argentina. Bs.As.:Ediciones Troquel, 1971:17.

¹³ *Alienist* : This term is used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and referred to psychiatrists working in asylums, later known as mental hospitals or neuropsychiatric hospitals.

Edward Shorter in A History of Psychiatry. From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac, New York : John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1997, clarifies the meaning of this term as follows, "Eighteen-century alienists covered only a narrow segment of the broad spectrum of disorders that the term psychiatry embraces today" (26). Werner Heinz, a German psychiatrist, speaking in 1928 about who became an alienist said "...those who are intellectually inadequate, who instinctually seek out an asylum because they will stand out less there,[they] later become the superintendents [of the asylums]" as cited by Shorter also page 26.

Also see, Nathan Hale. Freud and the Americans. The Beginning of Psychoanalysis in the US. 1876-1917. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. "American alienists tended to come from small towns and farming communities; many of them did not attend college before medical school; fewer studied in Europe. The neurologists, however, often were born and raised in great cities and several were old, professional families. They attended the mayor colleges and often received long additional training in Europe. ...Neurologists pride themselves on their wide culture. A surprising number wrote novels, plays, poetry and journalism..." (50).

¹⁴ Piñero, H.Enseñanza actual de la psicología en Europa, y America. Curso 1902. Trabajos de Psicología. Normal y Patológica. Reunidos y Publicados con motivo de los congresos científicos del centenario de la Independencia. 1816-1916. Vol I, 1905-1910. Bs.As.: Publicación del Laboratorio, Facultad de Filosofía, UBA. (1916) 9-15. In this article, Piñero reviews the teachings of Wundt, Charcot, Ribot and Janet, and reported on his progress in creating a laboratory and museum in the Faculty of Philosophy designed according to Janet's plans for experimental psychology.

A list of Argentinean psychiatrists and psychologists who visited France seeking training includes: Cabred, Ingenieros, Borda, Ameghino, Loudet, Esteves Balado, De Veyga, Piñero, Nerio Rojas, Beltran, Bermann, Pizarro Crespo, Thenon, and Ponce, among others. See Loudet, (1971); Guerino (1982); Balan (1991) and Chapter 4 of this thesis.

- 15 Gregorio Bremann and Nerio Rojas, both Professors of Legal Medicine visited Freud in Vienna in the 1930s. Their visit to Freud is discussed in Chapter 4.

- 16 *Porteño*: This term designates those born in Buenos Aires. *Puerto* means port; literally, *porteño* means born in the port of Buenos Aires.

- 17 Loudet, (1971); Guerino (1982); Balan (1991).

- 18 Summary of the speech of Dr. H. Piñero on the occasion of the inauguration of the Chair in Biology, Faculty of Philosophy. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina, Año XIII, No.145, September (1913):1144.

To understand the importance of legal medicine in Argentina, see Nerio Rojas, Medicina Legal. Bs.As: Ateneo, (1ra.Edición, 1934), 8va. Edición, 1964. According to Rojas, first Chair including the legal aspects of medicine was created in 1826 with the name “chair in Confinements, Legal Medicine and Children’s Illnesses”(17).

Beltrán, J.R. La tumba de Lombroso. Medicina Legal. La Semana Médica, Segundo Semestre, 1929. When he published this article, Beltran was Professor of Legal Medicine in the Faculty of Medicine and Professor of Experimental Psychology and Physiology at the Faculty of Philosophy, UBA.

----- El factor semita en la obra de Lombroso. El Dia Medico. Bs.As., 4 de Agosto, (1930): 43-47.

- 19 Loudet (1971) 57.

Guerrino, A.A, J.Lardies Gonzales and E.E. Omacini. Sintesis Evolutiva de la Psiquiatría Argentina. Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Medicina de Buenos Aires. Vol 53, 2 Semestre, (1975): 321-322. Guerrino et al. do not use the term *Somatiker* in their analysis but their text makes multiple references to scientific explanations of the time that attributed mental diseases to physical causes and to brain conditions.

Ellenberger (1970) “The notion of decadence and degeneration, under all imaginable forms and disguises, pervaded the thinking of that time. In the 1850s Morel had formulated a psychiatric theory in which almost all mental chronic disturbances were united under the name of “mental degeneration”. Morel’s theory met with great success, and in the 1880’s it dominated French psychiatry with Magnan....Morel’s and Magnan’s medical theories were popularized by the novels of Zola and other naturalist writers. But it also spread in a more subtle way through Neo-Romantic groups.”(281).

Gorriti, F. Episodios sexuales en un delirio crónico de Magnan. La Semana Médica. Primer Trimestre, (1931): 1329-1333.

- 20 Loudet, O. La historia de la Clínica Criminológica. Anales del Instituto de Psicología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Tomo I, Bs.As.: Imprenta de la UBA, 1935. "The indisputable glory of Lombroso and the Italian school was to study the criminal mind applying rigorous scientific methods...genetic concepts must be applied to a delinquent's hereditary or organic defects and must be made part of his clinical history" (186). This article also includes samples of the forms used at the National Correctional Services in Bs.As. to take down the "criminological" clinical history of inmates (163). Numerous references to Magnan's and Morel's writing (1860) are also found. See for example page 193, on the link between hereditary and temperament. It is important to note that Loudet briefly mentioned without any elaboration "the school of Freud" and the repression of erotic infantile adventures in paranoid ideation. (194)

Loudet, O. Sobresimulación de la locura en una alienada delincuente. Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año XVII, No. 97, Enero-Febrero, (1930): 111.

De Veyga (1906) Lombroso is referred to and discussed in pages: 300-303, 305, 307-312.

Also see Beltrán (1929).

In English see, Henri Ellenberger (1970) In this book we found multiple references to Lombroso and the studies of the "born criminal". When discussing Lombroso, he cites Count Arthur de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, 4 volumes, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1853-1855. Lombroso is also referred to and discussed, pages 303, 340, 342, 515, 541, 665, 759, 786.

- 21 Ellenberger (1970) discussed at length the Paris-Nancy debates on the influence of "constitution" in mental pathology. "Liébaux may be considered as the spiritual father of the Nancy School, but its actual leader was Hippolyte Berheim (1840-1919)" (87). There was "an embittered struggle" (87) between Charcot and Berheim. Berheim proclaimed that "hypnosis was not a pathological condition found only in hysterics, but it was the effect of suggestion" (87). This difference of understanding with respect to hypnotism between Charcot and Berheim was critical because it implied that every human being could potentially be hypnotized. "He [Berheim] vehemently denied the validity of Charcot's theory of hysteria." (87). The School of Nancy termed their technique of suggestion "psychotherapeutics" in H. Berheim. *Hypnotisme, suggestion, psychotherapie. Etudes Nouvelles*. Paris: Doin, 1891, as cited by Ellenberger, 1970:87.

Very few references to this debate were identified in the Argentinean primary sources. Freud visited Nancy twice (1889 and 1893) and is referred to along with Breuer, as the "Austrian branch of the Nancy School", Ellenberger 1970 :777.

Ingenieros, J. Histeria y Sugestion. Estudios de psicologia clinica. Bs.As.: Talleres Graficos de L.J. Rosso y Cia, 5ta. Edition, 1919:37. Discussing Babinski's contributions, Ingenieros remarked, "It is important to point out that the ideas of Berheim and Babinsky, [spelled with a y in the original] although contrary to the *clinical* [italics in the original] conception of Charcot, represent an improvement of his [Charcot's] psychological conception; it tends, in effect, to corroborate this fundamental fact: hysteria is an illness fundamentally psychic or psychological, since its born out of suggestion and it is cured by persuasion" (37). Ingenieros made a synthesis of the differences among Charcot, Janet, Berheim, Babinski, Freud, Grasset and Sollier on the nature and pathogenesis of hysteria (40). He concluded that these theories are "somewhat different but not contradictory or exclusive and rarely antithetical" (40). When discussing the differences between Janet and Freud's methods, he wrote, "It is visible that his [Janet's] method of psychological analysis is more fertile than the "psycho-analysis" of Freud, ..." (43).

Escardo, F. Freud y los Médicos. Boletin del Servicio bibliográfico de Roche, No.6, Año 15, Agosto 1947:41-42. One of the few articles that mentioned the School of Nancy. "Although Charcot, Pierre Janet and the men of the School of Nancy had occupied themselves seriously of the existence and reality [of the unconscious], it has fallen to Freud to demonstrate the prevalent importance that the unconscious acquires in the psychic life of the conscious mind..."(41-42).

Rojas, N. Definicion moderna de la histeria. Revista del Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina, Ano XXI, No.239, Julio, (1921): 745-761, p.746.

22

Ellenberger (1970) 87.

The main ideas gathered about this controversy can be summarized as follows. In the prologue to Berheim's book Suggestion and Its Therapeutic Applications, (1888-1889), Freud attempted to solve the controversy between the School of the Salpêtrière, and the School of Nancy. For the School of the Salpêtrière hypnosis was a somatic state, that is, a physiological state produced by physical excitations, independent of suggestion. For the School of Nancy, hypnosis was a psychic phenomenon in which the "idea" of the physician is captured by the patient and accepted by his brain. The idea is responsible for the phenomenon of hypnotism and anyone can be hypnotized through suggestion. "Berheim defended the Nancy position, namely, that anyone could be hypnotized" (Ellenberger, 1970, 759). See also the section, The decline of the Salpêtrière School (762).

For Freud the theory of suggestion is simplistic and it was too close to the already existing theory of simulation proposed by the German physicians who reduced hysteria to simulation. Facing this controversy, Freud argued that, if the theory of suggestion of the School of Nancy is correct, all the observations of the Salpêtrière are invalid. The hypnosis of hysterics would not have any specific characteristics and its symptomatology could be reproduced in any hypnotized patient. Freud did not accept this implication;

neither did he agree completely with the School of the Salpêtrière that the mechanism of hysterical symptoms is purely physical. In his opinion, the mechanism of hysterical symptoms is psychic and not physical but this mechanism is not one of simple suggestion. In other words, he distanced his emerging understanding of hysterical symptoms from both schools of thought.

This distinction is critical for Freud's next discovery (with Breuer) of the psychic mechanism discussed in his 1893 publication "Preliminary Communication", where hypnosis was used to investigate the premises under which the symptoms existed, i.e., the ideas/experiences already in the patients' history and their dynamic connection to the symptoms. Freud's attempt to resolve the Salpêtrière-Nancy controversy helped him to refine his understanding of hysteric symptoms. Freud could not ignore the existence of suggestion as a psychic phenomena but he couldn't accept that this phenomenon explained hypnotism or the genesis of the hysteric symptoms.

The nuances of this conceptual debate are partially present in the Argentinean literature written at the turn of the twentieth century. The Argentinean authors did not catch on to the important differences emerging in Freud's understanding of hysterical symptoms, in particular differences with Berheim's on issues of suggestion, with Charcot on issues of hereditary and with Janet on issues of therapeutics.

See also Endnote 21.

Nathan Hale (1971) in page 125, referring to Berheim's theory of suggestion wrote, "Berheim defined suggestion vaguely as the influence 'exercised by an idea that has been suggested and has been accepted by the brain' (Pierre Janet, Psychological Healing, New York: The Mac Millan Co, 1925, I: 173)".

"Berheim defended the Nancy position, namely, that anyone could be hypnotized". Ellenberger, 1970, 759. See also, The decline of the Salpêtrière School in page 762.

Discussing Freud's intentions with respect to his patients and the current confusion with respect to the concept of resistance, Jacques Lacan quotes one of Freud's texts on suggestion. He quotes a passage from Freud's Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego, a passage from chapter four, entitled, 'Suggestion and libido.' *"We shall therefore be prepared for the statement that suggestion (or more correctly suggestibility) is actually an irreducible, primitive phenomenon, a fundamental fact in the mental life of man. Such, too, was the opinion of Bernheim, of whose astonishing arts I was a witness in the year 1889. But I can remember even then feeling a muffled hostility to this tyranny of suggestion. When a patient who showed himself unamenable was met with the shout: 'What are you doing? Vous vous contre-suggesionez!' I said to myself that this was an evident injustice and an act of violence. For the man certainly had a right to counter-suggestions if people were trying to subdue him with suggestions. Later on my resistance took the direction of protesting against the view that suggestion, which explained everything, was itself to be exempt from explanation. Thinking of it, I repeated the old*

conundrum: Christoph trug Christum, Christum trug die ganze Welt, Sag' wo hat Christoph, Damals hin des Fuss gestellt? (Christopher bore Christ; Christ bore the whole world; Say where did Christopher then put his foot?' The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book I, Jacques-Alain Miller (ed.), New York: Norton, 1975, 56.

- 23 See also Ellenberger, (1970). In Chapter 6, endnote 40, Ellenberger wrote "Janet gave his impressions on Argentina in the *Journal des Nations Americaines: Argentine, Nouvelle Serie*, I, No.7, (June 18, 1933)." (411).

Janet, P. Discusión del rol de la emoción en la génesis de los estados neurpáticos. La Semana Médica, Año XIX, No. 12, Bs.As., Marzo (1912):553-557. (Original text published in 1909).

Ellenberger (1970) 779, 793. After the death of Charcot, Janet was displaced from La Salpêtrière by Charcot's disciples Babinski, Raymond and Dumas. His lectures at the Collège de France were attended by colleagues and foreign visitors but few students. In his new position, Janet did not have access to clinical settings to continue developing his theories. From then on his publications began to explore philosophical, cultural and religious issues.

After the WWI, Janet travelled to Latin America to give lectures, twice to Mexico in the 1920s and once to Brazil and Argentina in 1933. It is reasonable to presume that his lectures were translated into Spanish and made available to Latin American scientists.

- 24 Ellenberger (1970) 434. Ellenberger added "He [Meynert] was also a poet, a connoisseur of music and art, and his social circle comprised the intellectual elite of Vienna, even though he was a difficult personality and had violent enmities." (434). Freud spent five months working in Meynert's department in 1883, before moving to the "Medical Division headed by doctor Scholtz, where he acquired excellent clinical experience with neurological patients." (434).

- 25 In the primary sources examined, I found many more references to Fleschig than to Meynert.

Jakob, (1916) 251

Loudet (1971)

Borda, J.T. Trescientas autopsias cerebrales de parálisis general progresiva. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal, Tomo IV, (1919): 336-341.

- 26 Foradì, A. La Psicología en la República Argentina. Bosquejo de su desarrollo. El laboratorio del Instituto de Psicología. Los demás laboratorios. Anales del Instituto de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Tomo I, (1935): 299-411.

27

Borda, J.T. (1919).

Borda, J.T. Sobre un caso de rara malformación cerebral de un idiota. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal, (1930): 387-439.

Rojas, N. El Profesor Jose T. Borda y la psiquiatría de su tiempo. Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Medicina de Buenos Aires, Vol 48, primer semestre, (1970): 289-298.

Guerrino, (1982) “[Borda] classification of mental alienation, that dates from 1922, ...was adopted without vacilation by the majority of the South American countries. Inspired in the teachings of Magnan, Regis and Kraepelin, it constitutes an admirable synthesis...” (82).

28

Among them, Ingenieros, de Veyga, Beltran, Bermann, Rojas, Borda.

See also note 20.

Sancte de Sanctis. Il delirio lucido. Studio psicopatologico e clinico. (In Italian). Revista de Neurologia, Psiquiatria y Medicina Legal. Setp-Oct (1927): 557-567.

29

Ingenieros, J. Nuevos Rumbos de la Antropología Criminal. Archivos de Psiquiatría y Criminología. Ano VI, (1907): 31.

30

Sierra, A. Problemas médicos actuales sobre tratamiento profiláxis and eugenesis mentales. Revista Argentina de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Mental, Año IV, Nol. 19, Enero-Febrero 1930. This article is a shorter version of a report written in 1925 and presented to Dr. Angel Gallardo, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sierra chronicled his trip to Europe. He visited Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland “to study advances in psychiatry and mental hygiene”(1). In his conclusion, he dedicated an extensive section to a request for legislation for the insane. “ In Argentina, legislation for the mentally ill (alienados) does not exist. The need to address this deficiency is each day more urgent” (32). He described successive “failed attempts to pass legislation in 1897, 1894, 1906, 1922 and 1924” (33). His postscript includes a long list of publications on “profilaxis and mental hygiene” not included in his original report (38-39).

Bosch, G. El pavoroso aspecto de la locura en la República Argentina. La Medicina Argentina, X, (1931): 216

Semi-insane: is a term used in the literature to describe the neuroses, those conditions that did not include psychotic states.

31

A literature that is punctuated by many short-lived initiatives, notably by the appearance of associations and journals funded more than once by different people throughout the

century, it is noteworthy that the knowledge network linking the university and the penal system remained stable since inception.

Guerrino (1982) 22.

Foradi (1935); Balán (1991)

32 Speeches in honour of Dr. de Veyga. (1908). La Semana Médica, Diciembre 31, 1908: 1775.

33 The Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal was renamed in 1932 as Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal.

Foradi (1944); Guerrino (1982).

34 According to Hale (1971), it was the unrest and dissatisfaction of young neurologists and psychiatrists with treatment results in American hospitals that “cracked the somatic paradigm” and prepared the ground for *Psychiker* treatment of mental conditions (96).

35 De Veyga, F. Degeneración y degenerados. As cited by Loudet (1971): 130. (Foradi (1935) gives 1938 as the date of publication for this book , 1946 is possibly a second edition).

36 Antonio Guerrino cites a report written in 1879 by Meléndez and Coni, published in the Revista Médico-Quirúrgica. According to Meléndez y Coni, in the Hospicio de las Mercedes in the 1860s, “the patients were crowded, many without a bed except the naked and cold floor, in damp, dark and smelly cells. Attached to the beds, there were chains to calm and hold the furious patients. These chains were used frequently as the only means available to calm the agitation.” as cited by Guerrino, 1982:47.

Berman, G. Organización de la asistencia psiquiátrica e higiene mental en la República Argentina. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año IV, No.24, Nov-Dic (1930): 56-562.

Raitzin, A. La asistencia y colocación familiar de los alienados. La Semana Médica. Noviembre 11, (1926): 1758-1769.

Loudet, (1971) 32-41

37 Guerrino (1982) 38

38 Malamud, M. Los Maestros : Domingo Cabred. Revista de Salud Pública, No.7, (1972): 122-126.

- 39 Huret, J. De Buenos Aires al Gran Chaco. Paris: Eugène Fasquelle Editor. Huret, a French visitor to Argentina, travelled extensively in the provinces. He returned to Paris and published this book in French and Spanish. It is not dated. Cabred's "open-door" asylum was opened in 1901. "In Lugan, an hour from Bs.As., in the middle of a beautiful countryside functions a model establishment, of the kind that exist in Europe, albeit very few of them. The founder, Dr. Cabred, was inspired in the "open-door" system implemented in Scotland, Germany, Russia and the US." (137) This system, Huret added, "is not yet implemented in France where progress or advancements triumph only slowly." (137). Huret described in detail the asylum space distribution, furnishings and the regime of care. In an admiring tone he said, "This establishment has all the most notable European advancements." (137). "A country like Argentina, which only has 30 years of development, has nothing to envy, on the contrary, from the more advanced countries in Europe with respect to public beneficence and social protection." (144).

Loudet (1971). Domingo Cabred founded in 1911 the Argentinean Society of Psychiatry, Neurology and Legal Medicine. (71).

- 40 Balán (1991); Guerrino (1982); Loudet (1971).

- 41 Ameghino, A. El incremento de la locura en la República Argentina después de la guerra. Revista de la Asociación Médica Argentina, XXXVI, (1923): 275.

Ameghino, A. y Gonzalez, M. Locura e Inmigración. Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal, Año XVIII, 1931: 154-164. This article cross-referenced national population statistics with a census of in-patients in mental hospitals, broken down according to country of origin. In 1923, the total number of inpatients in mental hospitals was 10,974 men and women. Of these, 7,310 were new admissions, of which 2,776 were inpatients of Argentinean nationality (38%) and 4,534 (62%) were "Other Nationalities." The total population for Argentina in 1923 was recorded as 9,826,388.

Berman, G. (1930) 556-562.

Núñez, E.B. Inmigración y locura. Algunos datos ara la profilaxis de las enfermedades mentales en la República Argentina. Revista de la Asociación Médica Argentina, LVII, (1943): 55-57

Clementi, H. El miedo a la inmigración. Bs.As.: Editorial Leviatan, 1984: 75

- 42 Ameghino (1923) (1931).

- 43 At the turn of the century, "Outpatients clinics, especially in larger cities, brought together neurologists and psychiatrists." Hale, (1971) 74.

44 Albina, E. Primeras medidas de higiene y profilaxis mental en la Provincia de Buenos Aires. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año, Numero 4, Julio-Agosto 1927. "The outpatient service for mental illness has been introduced by us in this hospital, following the world trend"(529).

AMA. Asociación Médica Argentina. Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Directors of the AMA and the Sociedad de Neurología y Psiquiatría. IV Session. Viernes 19 1927. Orden del Día. The minutes for this meeting recorded Dr. Gorriti's intervention, "Dr. Gorriti requested the creation of an outpatient service." The President, Dr. Ameghino turned down the request and insisted that "more permanent beds for inpatients were necessary."

Guerrino (1982); Loudet (1971).

45 Foradi (1935); Guerino (1982).

46 Rossi, L. Psicología en Argentina. Capítulos olvidados de una historia reciente. Bs.As.: Tekne, 1994.

47 Ameghino, A. Palabras de apertura en el acto de homenaje a la memoria de Kraepelin. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Año 1, No. 5, Sept-Oct (1927):533.

48 Sosa y Sanchez, A. Los sueños y el psicoanálisis. Tesis doctoral. Facultad de Ciencias Médicas, Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1920. See Appendix 3 for a copy of this thesis

49 Berman (1930); Loudet (1971); Guerrino (1982).

50 See the Archivo de Historia de la Medicina Argentina. Tomo I, Vol 1, No. 1, 1971.

Kohn-Loncarica, A. G. Fechas fundamentales en la evolución de los estudios histórico-médicos en la Argentina. Archivos de Historia de la Medicina Argentina, Año 4, Vol 3, No.11, (1974): 3-12.

Anonymous. Cuarenta Años de la Asociación Médica Argentina. Bs.As.:AMA, 1941.

Also see Appendix 4 for a list of associations dedicated to the history of medicine in Argentina. Archivos de Historia de la Medicina Argentina, Año 3, Vol 2, No.78, 1973 and a bibliographic list on the history of medicine in Argentina. Archivo de Historia de la Medicina Argentina. Tomo 1, No.1, 1971.

Kohn-Loncarica, A. G. (1992) 2475-2497.

Albornoz, M, Kreimer, P. and Eduardo Glavich (Editores). Ciencia, Tecnología y Sociedad. Universidad Nacional de Quilmes. Bs.As: UNQ, 1996.

Anonymous. Panorama actual de la historia de la medicina en Bs.As. Archivos de la Historia de la Medicina. Año I, vol 1, no.1, Septiembre-Diciembre (1971): 3-7.

51 Guerino (1982): 81.

52 Guerino (1982) 145.

53 Kohn-Loncarica, A. Personal Communication, September, 1999.

54 Kohn-Loncarica, A. Personal Communication, September, 1999

55 In Argentina, as in Germany, Ordinarius Professor is the highest rank, also referred to as "Titular", while Extraordinarius Professor is the position equivalent to Associate Professor. In Germany, Ellenberger (1970) remarked, "...the young scientists could spend the best years of his life in tedious and wearisome waiting for the longed-for appointment as Extraordinarius, which brought with it some financial security. As for the appointment as Ordinarius, or titular professor, which was the crowning of a successful university career, there were 'many called but few chosen'" (264).

56 Jakob. C. Encuesta sobre el Plan de Estudios de la Escuela de Medicina y la formación del profesorado universitario. Círculo de Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Tomo XVI, (1916): 28-49. This article reviewed a survey distributed in 1915 to Professors of Medicine regarding the reform of the curriculum in the Faculty of Medicine, UBA. All these reform efforts resulted in a well documented University Reform in 1918 where the university was fully secularized and acquired a greater degree of independence from the Executive Office of the President of Argentina. In page 38, item 21, Jakob concluded " Clinical Neurology and Psychiatry should be considered as a chapter of clinical medicine; they are not therefore, properly speaking, true specializations, as many mistakenly propose, its teaching must be integral, but not intensive. Two classes per week."

Loudet, O. Proyecto y ordenanza creando el "Curso de Médicos Psiquiatras". Consejo Directivo de la Facultad de Medicina. Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. Octubre 20, 1942.

See also Guerino (1982) 86; Loudet (1971) 203

57 Speeches honoring Dr. De Veyga (1908).

Jakob, C. Problemas actuales de psiquiatría general y sus relaciones con las ciencias sociales y jurídicas. Círculo de Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Parte I, 1916. Referring to the importance of legal medicine in Argentina, the author noted "the interface between psychiatry, jurisprudence, and the social sciences is multiple and intensive..."(246).

Ingenieros, J. Criminología. Bs.As.:UBA, 1916.

Rojas (1934,1964). See also note 7,18 and 20.

Foradi (1944).

58 Loudet, (1971) 200.

59 Delgado, H. Necesidad de introducir el estudio de la psicología en la instrucción médica. La Semana Médica. Primer Trimestre, (1920):312-315. This is one of several references found that identifies the need for an interdisciplinary course in medical psychology.

Loudet, O. Problemas Universitarios. Revista del Círculo de Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Tomo XIV, Año 1914:49-54 and Tomo XV, Año (1914): 145-158.

Mouchet, J.A. Hacia la Universidad Futura. La Semana Médica . Tomo XIV, Año (1914): 62-67.

Alberti, J. Los Estudios psicológicos en la Escuela de Medicina. Archivos del Laboratorio de Psicología. Facultad de Filosofía, UBA. Bs.As: Imprenta de la Universidad, (1931): 301-314. Alberti was the head of the laboratory in psychology when he wrote this article documenting the need for an interdisciplinary course in medical psychology.

Anonymous. Curarenta Años de la Asociacion Medica Argentina. Bs.As.:AMA, 1941. According to this article, Dr. Loudet, a member of the AMA, "is planning a course in medical psychology." (72)

Silva, R. La perturbacion del instinto de defensa como eje clínico de la paranoia y de la locura maniacodepresiva. Asociación Médica Argentina. Sociedad de Neurología y Psiquiatría. Sesiones Extra-Ordinarias in Rosario y Novena Sesion Ordinaria. Bs.As.:AMA, Diciembre 1931. In his conclusions the author proposed "The study of the instincts can contribute effectively to the knowledge of mental conditions. To promote their study [study of the instincts] a Chair in Medical Psychology should be created in the Faculty of Medicine, as already indicated or requested by the Dr. Mouchet and Alberti and ourselves." (209)

60 Dr. Carlos Featherston. Personal communication. 2000. When Dr. Featherston was a student in the Faculty of Medicine, UBA, and did his specialization in Psychiatry in 1955, a course in Medical Psychology was not offered to graduate students.

61 Loudet, (1971) 203. See Appendix 5 for a copy of this document.

62 An interdisciplinary field was created by Adolf Meyer in 1907 at the Worcester Insane Hospital, "which he developed to establish a training center for psychiatrists" (Hale, 1971:

159.) Psychologists and physicians such as Morton Price, James Jackson Putman, William James and August Hoch took their students “to Worcester for Meyer’s clinical demonstration.”(160). Meyer also later became “the director of the Pathological Institute of New York State Hospitals, “the Nation’s most important teaching and research center in psychiatry” (160). Also see pages 114, 136,157, 446 for other references and linkages that Hale established between the emergence of psychoanalysis and the introduction of Medical Psychology as an interdisciplinary field where young neurologists, psychiatrists and psychology exchanged ideas and experiences

63 Khon Loncarica, A (1992) 2477.

64 Pappini, M.R. The Influence of Evolutionary Biology in the Early Development of Experimental Psychology in Argentina (1891-1930). International Journal of Comparative Psychology, 1988, 2, 131-138

65 Papini (1988) 132.

66 Klappenbach (1988) 132.

67 Piñero (1902) 8-10

Foradi (1935) 305.

See also Danziger, K. The Origins of the Psychological Experiment as a Social Institution. American Psychologist, February, (1985): 133-140. This article describes the Leipzig and the Paris models in psychological experimentation. Pinero was implementing both models. The Leipzig model to measure mental activity in the normal mind and the Paris model to understand the functioning of the pathological mind.

68 Ellenberger (1970): 779, 793.

69 Piñero (1902) 4.

Miceli, C. El método patológico de Ribot. In L.Rossi (Ed.) La psicología en Argentina. Capítulos olvidados de una historia reciente. 23-32. Buenos Aires: Editorial Teckne, 1994: 26.

70 Piñero was a member of the *International Institute of Psychology* founded by Pierre Janet in 1901. He travelled to Paris in 1903 and presented a paper on Experimental Psychology in Argentina. This article was published in French in Argentina in two occasions, one in 1903 as Pinero, H. La Psychologie Expérimentale dans la République Argentine. Communication faite a L’Institut Général Psychologique sur la demande de la Societé de Psychologie de Paris. Instituto de Filosofía. Sección de Psicología. Publicado en la Revista de la Sociedad Médica Argentina. Tomo XI, (19030): 303-325 and in 1916 as part of the Trabajos de Psicología.Normal y Patológica. Laboratorio de Psicología. Facultad de

Filosofía y Letras. UBA. Volume I, 1916 (1905-1910), Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Bs.As. (1916): 264-288.

In Appendix 6, I have selected and transcribed key paragraphs in French of this article. The author explained to a French audience the “state of the art” in experimental psychology in Argentina and the importance of the French influence in Argentina at the turn of the century.

⁷¹ Klappenbach, H.A. y Pavese, P. Una historia de la Psicología en Latin America. Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología, 26, 3, (1994): 445-482

⁷² Foucault, M. The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception [1963], trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Vintage Books, 1973: xvi.

⁷³ Korn, A. Filosofía argentina. Bs.As.: Solar. (1983). This article was first published in Nosotros, xxi, vol 57, (1927): 52-68.

Torchia Estrada, J.C. La Escolastica Colonial en América Latina. Revista de Filosofía Latinoamericana. 9/10, (1979): 171-79.

Adolfo Korn, according to Guerrino was strongly influenced by Kant, Schopenhauer, Bergson and particularly Dilthey (1982):155-156. These influences are also confirmed by Alberto Vilanova, Professor of Psychology, who considered Korn's book Libertad Creadora, published in 1922, “a philosophical work that initiated the Bergsonian and Diltheyan revolution [in Argentina] against the monolithic position among the Argentinean intellectuals.” La psicoterapia en diferentes países. La psicoterapia en Argentina. Evolucion de la Clinica Psicológica hasta 1940. Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica, III, (1994): 82.

In his Critical Essays on Contemporary Philosophy, (no date, as cited by Falcone, 1992) Korn discussed what he considered to be the fundamental preoccupation of the philosophers of the 19th century and the need to develop “an Argentinean position”(49).

Farre, L. Cincuenta años de filosofía en Argentina. Bs.As.:Peuser. (1958).

⁷⁴ Ingenieros (1919) Los estudios psicológicos en la Argentina. Revista de Filosofía, Cultura y Ciencias y Educación, V. 5, (1919) : 301.

Ingenieros, J. Principios de psicología biológica. Madrid : Daniel Jorro, Editor, 1913.

Ingenieros, J. La locura en la Argentina. Bs.As.: Cooperativa Editorial, 1920 : 164-165.

⁷⁵ Raitzin, A. La Locura y los sueños. Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal. AñoVI, (1919) : 273-290.

Foradi (1935); Vezzetti (1982) (1996).

76 Ellenberger, H. (1971) 418-550.

77 Falcone, R. El humanismo anti-positivista de Korn. In L.Rossi (Ed.) La psicología en Argentina. Capítulos olvidados de una historia reciente. Buenos Aires: Editorial Teckne, (1994): 47-52.

Gonzalez, L.F. Informe presentado a la Secretaría de Educación Pública relativo a la enseñanza de la Psicología Experimental en la República Argentina. San José, Costa Rica, 1926. Report reviewed by A. Ameghino, Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal, Año I, No. 1, Enero-Febrero, (1927): 126-127.

78 Boring, E.G. Book Review: E. Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud. Vol1: The Formative Years and the Great Discoveries. Psychological Bulletin. 51, (1954): 436.

79 Ingenieros (1919b) 305.

Piñero (1902).

80 Rossi. L. La psicología en Argentina. Capítulos olvidados de una historia reciente. Buenos Aires: Editorial Teckne, (1994): 17.

81 Speech of Dr. Piñero welcoming back Dr. Jakob to Argentina and to his new academic appointment as professor of Biology at the Faculty of Philosophy. Círculo Médico Argentino y Centro de Estudiantes de Medicina. Año XIII, No. 144, Agosto, (1913): 1144.

82 Rossi (1994).

Klappenbach, H.A. & Pavesi, P. Una historia de la Psicología en Latin America. Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología, 26, 3, (1994): 445-482.

Vezzetti, H. (Ed.). El nacimiento de la psicología en la Argentina: pensamiento psicológico y positivismo, Bs.As.:Puntosur Editores, 1988.

83 Asúa, M. (Ed.) La ciencia en la Argentina. Perspectiva histórica. Bs.As.: Centro Editor de America Latina, 1993. Alberti, Vilanova

Babini, J. La evolución del pensamiento científico. Bs.As.:Ediciones La Fragua, 1954.

Foradi (1935); Vilanova (1994).

84 Course outlines del Dr. Horacio Piñero, Faculty of Philosophy, UBA: Primer Programa de Psicología, 1902; Curso de Psicología, 1910; Curso de Psicología Normal y Patológica, 1914.

- 85 Rossi (1992) 12.
- Foradi (1935) 328-329.
- See Appendix 7 for a copy of the letters written by Felix Krueger.
- 86 Rossi (1992) 12.
- 87 Vezzetti (1988) 26.
- 88 Revista de la Universidad de Bs.As. Sección VI, Tomo II, Bs.As, 1924. This issue reported on a symposium honouring Immanuel Kant. Ricardo Rojas lecture, 5-7; C. Jakob lecture 35-41; C. Alberini 86-98.
- 89 Rossi (1992); Jakob (1916).
- 90 Alberini, C. Problemas de la historia de la ideas filosoficas en la Argentina. Colección Pensamiento Argentino, La Plata, 1966. This article was first published in Berlin, with the German title *Die deutsche Philosophie in Argentinien*, Berlin: Hendriock Pub., 1930, 70 pages. In this article, presented paper at the University of Berlin, Leipzig and Hamburg in Spanish and German, from January to March of 1930, Alberini discussed the European influences in philosophy and literature in the cultural development of Argentina. Alberini was invited to Germany by Dr. Ernst Gemillscheg, director of the Romantic Seminar of the University of Berlin, by Dr. Hans Driesch of the University of Leipzig and the German-Argentinean Cultural Society and by Dr. Ernst Cassirer and Dr. Felix Krüeger form the Philosophy and Romantic Languages Seminar of Hamburg. Dr. Cassier was then Rector of the University of Hamburg and pronounced the opening speech on German Philosph. In Leipzig, Alberini was introduced by Hans Driesch and the university appointed him doctor *honoris causa*.”(42).
- Course outline. C. Alberini. Psicología General y Avanzada. Bs.As: UBA. 1925.
- 91 Rossi (1992).
- 92 Course outlines. E. Mouchet. Psicología I. Bs.As.:UBA. 1928.
- Mouchet, E. Evolución del problema de la afasia y patología general del lenguaje. Revista de Filosofía, UBA.. 1919: 636.
- Foradi, A. Enrique Mouchet. Una vida. Una vocación. Bs.As. Instituto Joaquín Gonzalez. (1941): 14.
- 93 Jesinhaus, C. Memoria sobre el XIV Congreso de Psicología, Tuebingen, 1934. Anales del Instituto de Psicología de la Facultad de Filosofía, UBA, Tomo I, 1935 : 199-241

Chapter 4

4.1 The Emergence and Establishment of Psychoanalysis: The *Psychiker* Paradigm

As discussed in Chapter 3, there was a scientific and academic resistance in Argentina to the adoption of a *Psychiker* explanation of mental illness because the somatic paradigm was deeply rooted in scientific, academic and legal institutions. This resistance delayed the emergence of psychoanalysis as an accepted theory to speak about pathology because it did not permit the growth of the necessary mentors and institutional agents. The conditions for the reception and establishment of a theoretical discourse that argued for the psychogenesis rather than the somatic genesis of mental illness were not present in Argentina. In the pre-Freudian historical period in Argentina, what counted as knowledge was closely linked to somatic explanations and legal considerations of mentally ill patients.

This chapter reviews how, during the first three decades of the 1900s, Freud's ideas were introduced into Argentina by a group of neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists who wrote about and discussed Freud's ideas in the academic and political circles of the time. This initial group, who had not undergone psychoanalytical training, will be referred to as the Groundbreakers. However, in the early 1940s, once psychoanalysis had a critical mass of trained individuals, called the Pioneers,¹ it created its own institutional niche with a strong international umbilical cord and a pronounced disassociation from local scientific and academic institutions. The study of the Pioneers is the focus of the next chapter.

This chapter demonstrates that during the first three decades of the century Freud's theories arrived in Argentina filtered through France (i.e., through a French reading of Freud) and his theories were discussed by a very small number of medical and literary authors. In the

1930s and early 1940s, Argentina's institutions displayed marked sympathy for fascist models, and old-fashioned somatic treatment for mental illness. Additionally, there was an increased isolation from the international scene as Europe and the US became focused on the WWII effort and cut off countries, like Argentina, that did not declare their alliance.

4.2 The Groundbreakers: A French reading of Freud

Psychotherapy using suggestion and hypnosis was practiced in Argentina until the 1930s by a few physicians and by a few others without medical degrees who conducted private and public hypnosis sessions. Juan R. Beltrán, Gregorio Bernann, Jose Ingenieros, Emilio Pizarro Crespo, Aníbal Ponce, Enrique Mouchet, Nerio Rojas and Jorge Thenon were among the neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in psychotherapy and *Psychiker* explanations of neuroses during this period.² None of them received psychoanalytical training and in many cases their interest in psychoanalysis was short-lived and limited in scope. As their lives unfolded they dedicated their intellectual energy to other medical, academic, political and literary activities and to the practice of other kinds of therapies. They all taught at the UBA at one point in their careers. With the exception of Beltrán and Rojas, all those named belonged to the Communist or Socialist political party of the time.

These men were central to the emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina. They heralded, while not wholly approving, the message of *Psychiker* theories, as opposed to somatic explanations, of mental illness amidst a local medical community greatly uninterested in this long-standing controversy about the pathology of the mind. Their theoretical writings attempted to unravel the organicists' explanations of mental illnesses but as agents of transmission they had

a minimal impact because they failed to dislodge the somatic paradigm that was firmly in place in Argentinean hospitals and universities.

For the most part, the groundbreakers acquired their understanding of Freudian theories from French sources, in particular from Janet's characterization of psychoanalysis. The polemical text he presented in 1913 against Freud's psyche and sexual etiology for all neuroses had been translated and published in an Argentinean journal in 1914.³ Thus Janet's arguments were well known by neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists in Argentina. Janet's influence on Argentinean and other Latin American thinkers was later reinforced by his visit to Mexico in 1925 and the subsequent translation of his lectures into Spanish, and by his trip to Argentina in 1932.⁴ This French filter of Freud's thinking seemed to have operated as a dilatory factor and explains why physicians experimenting with psychotherapy in Argentina were still using hypnotism as a psychoanalytical technique as late as 1935, even though Freud had abandoned it completely by 1895.^{5 6} Consequently, Janet's version of Freud's theories shaped the lens used by Argentineans to read Freud.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, on the subject of hysteria, hypnosis and the role of the psychic factors in insanity, the Argentine literature does not include quotes from Freud's theories as primary sources from the original German. The Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in Freud relied heavily on French authors. In 1914, Freud mentioned in his *Contribution to the history of psychoanalytic movement*, that "A physician in Chile (possibly of German nationality) presented at an international conference in Buenos Aires, in 1910, a paper in favour of the notion of infantile sexuality and praised the success of psychoanalytic therapy in the case of obsessive symptoms."⁷ According to Vezzetti, Freud was referring to German Greve, who was not German but Chilean. This first mention of

Freud's theories on infantile sexuality failed to ignite any further interest in Freud's theories in Argentina. Vezzetti also identified a short article translated from English in 1912 in the *Semana Médica* (Medical Week) by W.F. Waugh, a physician from Chicago who applied Freud's theories to a criminal case and draws parallels between Freud and Lombroso's theories.⁸ In 1914, Luis Merzbacher, an Argentinean physician who was Chief of Laboratory of the Instituto Modelo de Clínica Médica (Model Institute of Clinical Medicine) read a short paper (five pages) in German at the Asociación Médica Argentina (Argentine Medical Association). Merzbacher described himself as a "convert", having been an opponent of Freud's theories, the practice of psychoanalysis had convinced him of its usefulness.⁹

The archival research undertaken for this dissertation identified one doctoral thesis written in 1920 that includes in its bibliographic references three works of Freud in their English translation. However, in the text the author never cites them, using only citations of secondary sources in Spanish and French. The author of the thesis is Angel T. Sosa y Sanchez, and he titled his thesis: *Los sueños y el psicoanálisis* (Dreams and psychoanalysis). This piece of work is not listed in any of the existing books or articles on the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina. In his Preface, Sosa y Sanchez stated "I believe this is the first paper written among ourselves about Freud's theory, a circumstance that contributes to [my] stumbling and indecisive treatment [of the subject]."¹⁰ He also indicated that the main purpose of his thesis was to provide to the reader a complete literature review on the subject. Since the thesis is on dreams and psychoanalysis and does not cite the Interpretation of Dreams in Spanish but in English, it is reasonable to conclude that no such version was available to him. In Chapter III, under a sub-title Argentine Bibliography, Sosa y Sanchez affirmed that "in Buenos Aires, I have no knowledge of anyone who has published on psychoanalysis with the exception of Peruvian author Honorio Delgado

who published in the *Revista de Criminología, Psiquiatría y Medicina Legal* [Argentinean] (Journal of Criminology, Psychiatry and Legal Medicine) and Medeiros y Albuquerque, a Brazilian author, in the [Argentinean journal] *Semana Médica* (Medical Week).”¹¹ He went on to say

“Argentine physicians, in their majority, with a few exceptions among psychiatrists and specialists in legal medicine, ignore absolutely the existence of psychoanalysis, and if anyone knows about it he knows it through a French book written by Regis and Hesnard in 1914, that is, fourteen years later than the Viennese neurologist wrote his book titled the *Interpretation of Dreams*.”¹²

Sosa y Sanchez’s comment on the merit of this publication reads as follows:

“The book of Regis and Hesnard is the most complete piece of work that has been written in France on psycho-analysis, however, it is a biased book intended to partially illustrate, and to prove above all, that everything that the psychoanalytic theory had to say had been said before [by French authors]. This means that whoever reads this book acquires an imperfect knowledge of its significance.”¹³

About Delgado’s multiple articles, Sosa y Sanchez said, “he is more an enthusiastic novice than a serene critic and his literary talent [and complex] rhetoric tends to embroil [Freud’s] key ideas.”¹⁴ In his opinion the clearest synthesis was written by Medeiros y Albuquerque.¹⁵ It is reasonable to assume that Sosa y Sanchez and his thesis committee members (Iribarne, Borda and Jones) were not aware of previous scattered references to Freud’s theories by Argentinean and other Spanish speaking authors mentioned above.

4.3 People and their context: A first wave

The biographical notes below bring together a selective description of the lives of key actors of the period, interpreted not as historical “great” autonomous individuals but rather as members of groups who shared a common problematic. These biographical notes attempt to portray the complex context in which the emergence of psychoanalytic discourse in Argentina took place

In 1904, Jose Ingenieros, a physician-psychologist mentioned in Chapter 3 as an important link in the legal medicine network established at the turn of the century, is also included in this section because he was one of the first authors to cite Freud. In 1904, he published, *Los accidentes histéricos y las sugestiones terapéuticas (Hysterical Accidents and Therapeutic suggestions)*¹⁶ in which he referred to the experiences of Charcot and Janet with hysterics and cited Freud and Breuer without much elaboration. Ingenieros’ citations, mostly of French works, referred to suggestion and hypnosis as Charcot and Janet understood them. In 1919, in his fifth edition of *Histeria y Sugestión (Hysteria and Suggestion)*, Ingenieros added two new pages to discuss Freud and argued that psychoanalysis is not different from the “psychological analysis” proposed by Janet.¹⁷

Ingenieros cited Freud several times but argued for Janet’s physiological position against a *Psychiker* and sexual etiology of hysteria. In his conclusion, Ingenieros endorsed Janet’s concept of “functional desegregation” as an essential concept in the understanding of Janet’s explanation of hysteria; he found this explanation “more fertile than Freud’s psycho-analysis.”¹⁸ He also mentioned Bernheim and the School of Nancy, but did not draw a conclusion regarding

the theoretical proximity of Bernheim and Freud elaborated in Chapter 3. The last sentence in this new material refers to Freud and his partisans as non-scientific.

As well, Ingenieros's thinking about dreams was different from Freud's. In 1899, he wrote an article titled *La psicopatología de los sueños (The Psychopathology of Dreams)* in which he cited Maury and Sante de Sanctis (as Freud did in 1900) and described dreams as "automatic activities of brain centres."¹⁹ In an expanded version of this article published in 1920, Ingenieros cited Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, written in 1900, but disagreed with Freud's interpretations.²⁰

In arguing phylogenesis (inheritance), Ingenieros moved from the simple to the complex. Psychic functions relate the phylogenetic to the sociogenetic and from this relationship emerges the ontogenetic (individual disposition) organization. Inheritance manifests itself in tendencies, education is the creation of habits, and personality is the result of the relationship between inheritance and education manifested in behaviour. Freud reasoned these connections differently. For him, the ontogeny (disposition) of the ancestors through the mediation of the desire of the parents, appeared as the phylogeny (predisposition) of the individual.²¹

Ingenieros's ongoing involvement in criminology and his multiple roles as director of the Sala de Observación Policial para Alienados (Police Observation Service for the Alienated) associated with the Chair in Legal Medicine, the creation and administration of the Institute of Criminology, and the position of editor of the *Revista de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Criminología (Journal of Neurology, Psychiatry and Criminology)* diverted his energy away from Janet and Freud. By the early 1920s, his interest in psychotherapy and the "demi-foux" declined and he began to publish articles and books on the Argentinean national identity that focused on sociological and historical explanations of personality. He was, however, the only Argentinean

invited by the French government to attend the centenary celebrations of Charcot's birth in 1925 in Paris.²²

Early in the twentieth century, Ingenieros advocated unsuccessfully for the creation of hospital-based outpatient clinics for the treatment of neurotic and hysteric patients who did not require hospitalization. Ingenieros' suggestions were rejected and this innovation arrived in Argentina twenty years later in 1923.²³ His initiative to incorporate innovative treatments and to train students in new therapeutic approaches during their internships in the psychiatric hospital also failed to take hold.

The 1908 thesis of Juan Antonio Agrelo, a student of Ingenieros, is particularly significant to the present discussion on Groundbreakers because it introduced for the first time the topic of psychotherapy. Titled *Psicoterapia y reeducación psíquica (Psychotherapy and reeducation of the psyche)*, it listed an up-to-date bibliography on the topic of psychotherapy but did not cite Freud's work. This appears to indicate that Agrelo was not aware of Freud's writings or did not consider them important. Among the authors cited by Agrelo are Bernheim, Binet, Braid, Charcot, Crocq, Duprat, Gilles de la Tourette, Grasset, Janet, Le Bon, Levy, Liebault, Pavlov, Pitres, Regnault, Ribot and Sollier. He described at length the concept of suggestion and even mentioned briefly the dispute between the School of Nancy and the School of the Salpêtrière on hypnosis. Agrelo took the position proposed by Wundt: "the best position is a middle ground between the two schools."²⁴ Agrelo concluded that there was no clear understanding of how suggestion operates; he was puzzled by the power of the physician, who is able to "introduce his own ideas into someone else's brain."²⁵ Ultimately, the psychic life of the individual is defined as moral and psychotherapy is the moral re-education of the will of the subject through the substitution or correction of the morbid idea, a position put forward by Janet

in many of his writings. Similarly, a doctoral thesis by Luis. L Bonavia, titled *Psicoterapia* and published in 1913, cited Berheim, Charcot, Janet and Raymond but it makes no reference to Freud.

During World War I, study trips, conferences and visits to European countries were discontinued. After World War I Argentinean psychiatrists, neurologists and psychologists resumed their regular visits to Europe, mainly to Paris, and therefore continued to receive Freud's theories through a French filter. The literary avant-garde of post-war France was interested in dreams, the unconscious and the cultural implications of Freud's theories and their relation to Marxism. However, French medical circles remained uninterested in Freud's ideas.²⁶

Anibal Ponce, a communist intellectual and a disciple of Ingenieros, was a philosopher-psychologist who taught psychology at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Buenos Aires. After a visit to Paris in 1923, he wrote a scathingly sardonic article mocking Freud's theories and describing his own article as "a summary of Freud's buffoonery."²⁷ During his second visit to Paris, Ponce met Mme Sokolnicka, a lay analyst who arrived in Paris in 1921 and who introduced Freud's ideas to French literary circles. Ponce continued his sarcastic style in an article on Mme. Sokolnicka, published in 1929, in which he stated that Freud's theories had received only ridicule in the scientific circles in Paris and "that before 1921 Freud's writings were ignored."²⁸ Ponce was director of the prestigious *Revista de Filosofía (Journal of Philosophy)* in which he reproduced in 1926 the first chapter of *La Psicoanalisi* by Enrico Morselli, published the same year in Turin. Morselli was critical of psychoanalysis and considered it a product of a "Jewish mind."²⁹ In 1935, when Ponce returned from a visit to the Soviet Union, he founded Agrupación de artistas, periodistas y escritores, (Artists, Journalists and Writers Group) an alliance of artists, journalists and writers to fight fascism. The following

year he was fired from his teaching position for political reasons and became an exile in Mexico, where he died in 1938.³⁰

Jorge Thenon summarized the main features of the teaching and practice of psychiatry in Argentina around 1935 as follows:

The young generation does not owe much to the generations of their masters...They were asylum-based practitioners, experts in the diagnostics of the grand psychoses. Therapy was simple and elementary. Innovations like the therapy of von Boagaert or the malariotherapy of Wagner von Jaureg were received with a great deal of suspicion. The theoretical concepts of Bleuler had no immediate acceptance and *the ideas of Freud were frontally rejected* [emphasis added].³¹

In 1920, Thenon's interest in hypnosis and psychosomatic medicine attracted him to Freud's writings. In 1928 he wrote an article on hypnosis and psychoanalysis and he sent a copy of his thesis, *Psicoterapia comparada y psicogénesis (Comparative Psychotherapy and Psychogenesis)*, to Freud in 1930, receiving shortly thereafter a hand-written response. For the first time an Argentinean author's work was read by Freud; a summary of Thenon's article was published in the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*.

In the 1930s an interdisciplinary perspective began to permeate a heterogeneous collections of writings on and about Freud's theories. In 1935, the year Thenon travelled to France on a scholarship, his article on "*La neurosis obsesiva*" ("*Obsessive Neurosis*") was published. It was one of the first publications by an Argentinean author that praised Freud's clinical observations and his understanding of a psychic etiology of neuroses was defended using scientifically constructed arguments. Thenon ended the book, however, by affirming

the straight path for us to follow is to utilize the materialist bases of the method...without supporting in any way the metapsychological speculations of Freud and his disciples.”³³

In this book Thenon demonstrated an expert’s understanding of Freud’s theories, but he returned to somatic explanations by arguing that language is an evolutionary, differentiated form of biological activity and that the central nervous system is the knot between the individual and society. Thenon’s critique of Freud from a Marxist perspective, which became sharper after he returned from France, moved him to abandon psychoanalysis. By the end of his life Thenon had become an outspoken opponent of psychoanalysis and a supporter of Pavlov’s theories of reflexology, more compatible with a somatic paradigm.

An active socialist, a professor of legal medicine at the University of Córdoba, and a volunteer with the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, Gregorio Bremann visited Freud in February 1930. Unfortunately, he did not leave a written record of this encounter.³⁴ Bremann became the editor of *Psicoterapia*, the only Argentinean journal devoted exclusively to psychotherapy. Published from 1936 to 1937, its first issue was in honour of Freud’s 80th birthday. During its short life, this journal published many articles on Freud, his followers and his dissidents. In one editorial Bremann referred to medical psychology as a promising field from which to renew the theories and practices of medicine.³⁵ In addition to articles on Freud, Bremann published works by Jaspers, McDougall and Pavlov. In one article, Paulina H. de Rabinovich, an Argentinean psychiatrist, attempted to integrate Freud’s and Pavlov’s theories by creating a model of the mind that works as the nervous system does, “a material place where we can tie together the identity of the subject defined as a utilitarian totality.”³⁶ When Bremann was fired from his teaching position in 1937 for political reasons, he left Argentina and joined the

Republican forces in Spain as a volunteer. After his return to teaching and the practice of psychotherapy in Argentina in the 1940s, he affirmed that the fundamental task of psychoanalysis was to become an integral part of medicine. By 1949, he had written that the works of Freud were marked by Freud's historical period and defined them as a "classist [bourgeois] theory against progress."³⁷ Bremann's newly acquired vision of Freud's theories distanced his practice and writing from psychoanalysis.

Emilio Pizarro Crespo collaborated closely with Bremann on the journal *Psicoterapia* and in the 1930s wrote several articles attempting to integrate the ideas of Marx and Freud. These articles were well received by artists, writers and journalists but were ignored in medical circles.³⁸ In 1935, Pizarro Crespo visited the Soviet Union and Berlin. In his travel notes he denounced the extreme anti-Semitism raging in Berlin and commented on the anti-Freudian climate developing in the Soviet Union. Two years later he joined, as a volunteer physician, the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. When he returned to Argentina, he abandoned his interest in psychoanalysis and Marxism and became an activist for indigenous rights and, therefore, anti-Spanish. He published books and articles arguing for the creation of an anti-immigration-xenophobic-nationalistic Argentinean culture, called *nationalismo criollo*.³⁹ His proposal, "Argentina for Argentines," showed clear traces of eugenic reasoning in his exultation of land, tradition, and blood. "National resurrection," in his opinion, would be achieved by the rejection of "the international Jewish capitalist plutarchy bourgeoisie" and fighting against the "Soviet nationalist imperialism disguised as internationalism."⁴⁰

Pizarro Crespo's and Thenon's early efforts to integrate the theories of Freud and Marx were taken up again in the Argentina of the late 1950s by two psychoanalysts, Jose Bleger and Marie Langer. The latter, a member of the pioneer group, will be discussed in the next chapter.⁴¹

In the academic institutions, such as the UBA, the introduction of Freud's ideas was tentative. Professor Enrique Mouchet, a psychologist also discussed in Chapter 3 for his mediating role in the psychology program in the UBA, was an active member of the Socialist Party and of the Sociedad de Psicología de Buenos Aires. Beginning in 1922 he included Freud's writings in his psychology course and he advocated the creation of a course in medical psychology in the Faculty of Medicine.⁴² He used French translations of Freud's works in his courses as well as writings on Freud, also in French, by the Swiss Protestant, Pastor Oskar Pfister. Mouchet's critique of Freud was summarized in an article published in 1926, "*La Significación del Psicoanálisis*" ("*The Signification of Psychoanalysis*").⁴³ He tried to make psychoanalysis a chapter of general psychology. He argued that the success of psychoanalysis was due to the spiritualists and theologians who saw it as a theory of salvation and he accused Freud of having gone back to the scholastic thinking of the Middle Ages. In Mouchet's view, Freud represented a risk because he had taken scientific progress away from evolutionist and experimentalist principles.⁴⁴ At the end of the article he recognized the important service paid by psychoanalysis to psychology. In addition to teaching, Mouchet owned a psychiatric clinic where he implemented an eclectic approach to therapeutic treatments.

Mouchet's article "*El lenguaje interior*" ("*Internal Language*"), published in 1923, referred twice, briefly and laterally, to Freud (via a French translation) but does not take into account any of his important contributions on the topic of aphasia.⁴⁵ Freud's monograph on aphasia was then considered by specialists as an excellent summary of current research as well as new knowledge added by him. In reading this article, it is clear that Mouchet's analysis of language differs from Freud's; instead of deciphering and analyse on the basis of his or her language, he attempted to deduce a subject beyond language who is expressed through words.⁴⁶

In 1930, seventeen years after the disappearance of the Sociedad de Psicología de Buenos Aires, Mouchet established it for the second time; the following year, he founded the Institute of Psychology. Juan R. Beltrán succeeded him as director of the Institute.⁴⁷

A prolific writer, Juan R. Beltrán tried to reconcile science, religion and psychoanalysis. He belonged to Catholic-nationalist political circles, sympathisers of the military governments of the 1930s and early 1940s, where Freudian ideas were intensely resisted. He was a professor at the Military College and a personal friend of General Uriburu, the *de facto* president of Argentina after the coup of 1930. In his attempt to make Freud's theories compatible with Catholicism, Beltrán was inspired by Pastor Oskar Pfister, who corresponded with Freud for many years.⁴⁸

In the Faculty of Philosophy, Beltrán was one of the first to teach Freudian ideas in his course in psychology. A physician and an opponent of lay analysis, Beltrán fought to create the practice of a medical psychoanalysis within the universities and hospitals by founding the Sociedad de Medicina Psicosomática y Psicoanálisis (Society for Psychosomatic Medicine and Psychoanalysis). However, it did not prosper. He repeatedly declared "I am a physician before I am a psychoanalyst." For Beltrán, psychoanalytical techniques were helpful: "we can disagree with the doctrine or not, but the method takes us to the unconscious." In his opinion, "medicine must set out conditions under which it is ready to accept psychoanalysis."⁴⁹ An untrained analyst, he was an associate member of the French Psychoanalytical Society and called himself a psychoanalyst. In 1931 he visited Paris to present a paper on the application of Freudian theories to criminology.⁵⁰ He later taught legal medicine and the history of medicine at the Faculty of Medicine at the UBA. He owned and administered a psychiatric clinic and also had a private practice, as well as teaching responsibilities in the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of

Philosophy. As Beltrán's Catholic-nationalist circles rewarded his academic career with promotions during the 1940s, he spoke and published less and less on Freud.

Nerio Rojas, who held the Chair in Legal Medicine, and who was aligned with the secular liberal tradition, owned one of the largest private psychiatric clinics in Buenos Aires. He was not a psychoanalyst but had published a few articles on Freud and was one of the two Groundbreakers to visit Vienna and meet Freud. He visited Freud in February, 1930. The language spoken during his two-hour visit with Freud was not explicitly mentioned by Rojas but it was probably French, since Freud dedicated to Rojas, a copy of *My Life and Psychoanalysis* translated into French by Marie Bonaparte.

On Rojas' return, he published an article describing his visit to Freud in the daily newspaper *La Nación* on 17 March 1930.⁵¹ In his article, after remarking on the slow development of psychoanalysis in Argentina in comparison with other countries, Rojas informs the reader that "I am not an orthodox [Freudian], I am not even totally convinced by psychoanalysis." He classified Freud's doctrine "between scientific and pornographic" and reported that his first question to Freud during their meeting referred to the importance, in Rojas's opinion, of the "nervous constitution" and its implications for the explanation of neuroses. Freud responded that "The abnormal constitutions you study are a result not the origin." When Rojas asked Freud about the applications of psychoanalysis to legal medicine, in particular to the psychology of delinquents and their possible treatment, Rojas reported that Freud answered his question as follows:

I have not studied this question. In Vienna and, in particular, Alexander in Berlin, is working on these matters. I do not work on new applications, those are derivations of

my doctrine that others must pursue. I am old now, I leave room for the young; they carry on, I don't dictate, I am not a school principal. Psychoanalysis is not a dogma and it is in constant evolution. A scientific method is not a philosophical system, a structure of the spirit, a harmonious system to seduce. My theories do not impede to my followers the freedom to continue. My doctrine emerged from observation, it is a source, a fertile direction, that will continue to give... I sometimes think that it does not belong to me...⁵²

An examination of the lives and works of the Groundbreakers above attests to the protracted effect of Janet's teachings on Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists. This effect is explained by several factors. Janet's article against Freud was translated into Spanish in 1914, just before World War I which interrupted the transfer of knowledge and study tours in Europe. At the end of the war, Argentines resumed their visits to Paris, but this time to join the literary circles where the cultural aspects of Freud's writings were discussed. The Argentinean visitors continued to listen to Janet at the Collège de France, where he lectured mostly to foreigners and specialists. After the death of Charcot, Janet was marginalized by Charcot's former disciples (Raymond, Babinski and Desjardin), who removed him from his teaching responsibilities at the Salpêtrière. Without this clinical base, Janet's writings took a cultural and religious turn. His publications in Spanish also multiplied in the 1920s and 1930s, following his visits to Mexico and Argentina.⁵³

The efforts made by Argentines to integrate the ideas of Freud and Marx were, in large measure, dependent on the French-Soviet connection and its critique of psychoanalysis. In this sense, it could be argued that the Groundbreakers put Freud's theories through a double filter,

that of the French-Marxists interpreters. This critique resulted in a sea change against Freud's theories during the second half of the 1930s; the Argentinean Marxist-Socialist neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists who had supported Freud's theories turned against him, and in some cases, Thenon for example, became rabid enemies of psychoanalysis.⁵⁴

Political dissent proved to be a dangerous activity for five of the seven authors profiled above. Ingenieros, Ponce, Bermann, Thenon and Pizarro Crespo were exiled and/or dismissed from teaching and/or hospital positions. Ponce exiled himself in Mexico and Ingenieros in Paris. Bermann was fired from his teaching position and left Argentina to join the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, as did Pizarro Crespo. Thenon was fired for political reasons from his hospital position.

The Spanish Civil War had a centrifugal as well as a centripetal effect at the end of the 1930s. It pulled Argentineans into the conflict as volunteers, as in the case of Bremann and Pizarro Crespo, but it also had the opposite effect in expelling Angel Garma, Spain's first trained analyst, to Argentina via Paris (see next chapter: The Pioneers). Pizarro Crespo also credited the Spanish Civil War with his abandonment of his interest in Marxism and psychoanalysis and his search for a nationalist *Argentina profunda* divorced from foreign knowledge.⁵⁵

The "multi-tasking" style of the professional life of Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists is as evident among the Groundbreakers as it was among the scientists and academics profiled in Chapter 3. In many cases, they had dual academic appointments (Faculty of Medicine and Faculty of Philosophy), as was the case of Ingenieros and Beltrán. Ponce, Ingenieros, Pizarro Crespo, Thenon and Rojas combined their academic abilities with political and literary activities. Business claimed the energies of Rojas, Mouchet

and Beltrán, who owned private psychiatric clinics on the outskirts of Buenos Aires and who had private consulting rooms downtown for wealthy patients.

The only two documented direct contacts with Freud were made during the 1930s by Bremann and Rojas.⁵⁶ Since both of them were professors of legal medicine, Freud must have received the correct impression that the criminal mind was the central psychiatric and neurological preoccupation in Argentina. Nonetheless, the complementarity of legal medicine and psychoanalysis remained tenuous in Argentina and in spite of the considerable human talent and resources that were invested in legal medicine over many decades, no distinct Argentinean School of psychoanalytical criminology emerged.

It is argued that two of the most important innovations that transformed the mental health systems in Europe and North America were the creation of interdisciplinary courses in medical psychology at the faculties of medicine and the introduction of outpatient clinics in large psychiatric and general hospitals.⁵⁷ Although several Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists (Ingenieros, Bremann, Thenon, Mouchet) advocated long and hard for these innovations--in the case of Ingenieros since the turn of the twentieth century--the institutions (i.e., the universities and hospitals) proved to be rigid and unyielding to innovative theories and practices in the area of mental health and illness. As a consequence, the field of neuropsychiatry and psychology lost ground and remained somewhat frozen in time.

The authors described as Groundbreakers were mostly critical of Freud's theories. Of the seven profiled, two did not accept Freud's theories from the start (Ponce and Rojas), two turned against Freud as the Marxist-Socialist critique of Freud spread in France and in the Soviet Union during Stalin's rule (Pizarro Crespo and Thenon) and three abandoned their interest in Freud's theories (Ingenieros, Beltrán and Bremann). The Groundbreakers were the first authors to

introduce Freud's ideas in the scientific and cultural circles of the time. However ambiguously, they questioned the role of hereditary factors in mental illness and moved away from the somatocentrism of the time to explore the concept of predisposition (phylogenesis/generational experiences/desire of the parents/superego) as dispositions of the subject (ontogenesis, ego and libido). The ground was turned and ready for seeding.

To conclude, psychoanalytic ideas tentatively emerged in Argentina thorough a French cultural filter in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Their arrival stirred up different interpretations of psychoanalysis in medical, psychiatric and psychological circles. During the 1920s the number of publications citing Freud increased in all disciplines and the translation of Freud's complete works to date published in Spain in 1923, although much criticized for its inaccuracies, made his ideas available to the Spanish-speaking world.⁵⁸ During the 1930s, psychoanalysis was transformed into an auxiliary technique of psychiatry but after gaining some ground it was abandoned as preferred psychotherapeutic method. Criticized by many and used by few, it never gained discursive continuity with established psychiatric theories. The existing somatic discursive framework created reception mechanisms of great resistance to *Psycher* explanations of the mind at the scientific and institutional levels, and the existing paradigm did not shift in the first three decades of the twentieth century. In their training, psychiatrists remained 'profane', in the Freudian sense of the word, i.e., they had not experienced transference and they believed that to analyze is to know some 'thing.' Psychiatrists distanced themselves from Freud; they were attracted by Pavlov's theory of conditional reflexes, more compatible with the premises of the somatic conceptual paradigm, and to the findings of neurobiology, thereby avoiding all speculations of metaphysics in the metapsychological writings of Freud.

Endnotes for Chapter 4

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- ¹ *Pioneers* is the term used in the literature to refer to the founders of the Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina (APA). This term is contested by authors such as Vezzetti and Klappenbach, among others, who argued that Freud's theories were pioneered by many authors since the turn of the twentieth century. See endnote 2 for full references.
- ² The designation of this group of men as "Groundbreakers" is somewhat problematic; to a certain degree it is a forced designation because it assigns significance to the "Groundbreakers" as a "group" in greater measure than demonstrated by the evidence. Although some of these men knew each other or, in some cases, had a teacher-discipline relationship, they never shared a group identity. This term is used to emphasize their determination to challenge the *Somatiker* discourse in the disciplines of the mind and their use of psychotherapy as a method of cure in the first three decades of the twentieth century. (The comments of the external examiner, Dr. Toby Gelfand and members of the committee on this point are gratefully acknowledged).
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- ³ Janet, P. El psico-análisis. Archivos de Ciencia de la Educación, La Plata, Tomo I, 1914: 175-183.
- ⁴ See in Appendix 7 a photograph of Pierre Janet in Argentina.

See also Chapter 3, endnote 23.

- 5 Balán (1991) 54.
- 6 Ellenberger, H.F. The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry. London: Basic Books, 1970. By 1892, Freud began to use free association. "In the story of Elisabeth von R., he described the new method 'free association', which had been suggested to him by the patient herself" (487).
- 7 Greve, G. (1910). Sobre psicología y psicoterapia de ciertos estados angustiosos. Santiago de Chile. Reproduced in Revista de Psicoanálisis, Bs.As.: APA. Tomo III, (1945) :203-213.

Vezzetti (1989) 13. As cited by Vezzetti, Freud, S. Contribución a la historia del movimiento psicoanalítico (1914), en Obras completas, Bs.As.: Amorrortu, Tomo XIV, 1976:29.
- 8 Vezzetti (1989) 17.
- 9 Merzbacher, L. El psicoanálisis, su importancia para el diagnóstico y el tratamiento de las psiconeurosis. Revista de la Asociación Médica Argentina, Tomo XXII, (1914): 399-406.
- 10 Sosa y Sanchez, A. Los sueños y el psicoanálisis. Tesis No. 3782. Comisión Dr. J. Iribarne, J.T. Borda, A. Jones. Facultad de Medicina, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1920: 34 pages. See Appendix 3 for a copy of this thesis.
- 11 Ibid (1920) 7.
- 12 Ibid (1920) 7.
- 13 Ibid (1920) 7-8.
- 14 Ibid (1920) 8.
- 15 Ibid (1920) 8.
- 16 Ingenieros, J. Los accidentes histéricos. Y las sugestiones terapéuticas. Bs.As.: Librería de J. Mendez, re-edited in 1906 as Histeria y sugestión. Estudios de psicología clínica. The 5th edition was published in 1919 and included a reference to Freud.
- 17 Ingenieros (1919) 43. See also Chapter 3, endnote 21 and 22.
- 18 Ibid (1919) 43.

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- ¹⁹ Ingenieros, J. La psicopatología de los sueños, en La psicopatología en el arte. Bs.As.: Losada (1920, 1961): 48.
- ²⁰ Ibid (1920) 50.
- ²¹ Ingenieros, J. Principios de psicología. Bs.As.: Ed. L.J. Rosso, 1919.
- Two of Freud's introductory lectures (1916-1917[1915-17]) discussed extensively these concepts. Lecture 3, The Archaic Features and Infantilism of Dreams and Lecture 23, The Paths to the Formation of Symptoms. See Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis (1916-1917[1915-17]), Volume I, The Pelican Freud Library, Translated by James Strachey, London: Penguin Books, 1963.
- ²² Foradi, A. La Psicología en la República Argentina. Bosquejo de su desarrollo. El laboratorio del Instituto de Psicología. Los demás laboratorios. Anales del Instituto de Psicología de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Tomo I, (1935): 329.
- Ellenberger (1970) 101.
- ²³ Balán (1991) 53.
- See also Chapter 3, endnote 43 and 44.
- ²⁴ Agrelo, Juan Antonio. Psicoterapia y reeducación psíquica. Tesis doctoral No.235. Facultad de Medicina. Universidad de Buenos Aires. 1908, as cited by Balan (1991) and Vezzetti (1996).
- ²⁵ Ibid (1908) 10.
- See Appendix 9 for a copy of Luis L. Bonavia's doctoral thesis.
- ²⁶ Ponce, A. La divertida estética de Freud. Revista de Filosofía, IX, vol. 17, (1923): 89-93.
- Madame Sokolnicka y el psicoanálisis. El Hogar, 10 de mayo, (1929):110-118.
- Roudinesco, E. La bataille de cent ans. Histoire de la psychanalyse en France. I, Paris: Seuil, 1986.
- ²⁷ Ponce (1923) 93.
- ²⁸ Ponce (1929) 113.
- ²⁹ Morselli, E. La Psicoanalisi, Turin: Ratelli Bocca, 1929, as cited by Vezetti (1996): 167.

- 30 Balán (1991) 56.
- 31 Thenon, J. Psicología Dialéctica. Bs.As.: Platina, (1963) : 11-12.
- 33 Thenon, J. La Neurosis Obsesiva. Bs.As: El Ateneo, (1935):39.
- 34 Balán (1991) 58-59.
- 35 Bermann, G. Nota del Editor. Psicoterapia, I, Córdoba, No.1, (1936): 18.
- 36 Rabinovich, P.H. El psicoanálisis y los reflejos condicionados. Psicoterapia, I, Córdoba, No.3, (1936): 72.
- 37 Balán (1991) 60.
- Vezzetti (1996) 145.
- 38 Vezzetti (1996) 150.
- 39 *Nationalismo criollo*: This phrase refers to a nationalism that is truly autochthonous, truly Argentinean. It implies the mixture of Spanish and indigenous blood/culture. Everything “criollo” is “truly Argentinean.” Pizarro, P.E. Afirmación gaucha. Bs.As.: La Facultad, 1943:9.
- 40 Pizarro, P.E. Afirmación gaucha. Bs.As.: La Facultad, 1943, 32.
- 41 Jose Bleger, a physician psychoanalyst, introduced, according to Balán (1991) “a modern and dynamic version of psychology in the [University of Rosario, Santa Fe]” in 1956 (146). This version of psychology was demanded by the students and brought in psychoanalysis into the universities for the first time. Bleger taught courses on “clinical psychology and personality”(146). See also Jose Bleger, Psicoanálisis y dialéctica materialista. Bs.As.: Paidós, 1958 and Hugo Vezzetti, Psicoanálisis y cultura comunista: la querella de Jose Bleger, La ciudad futura, 27, Bs.As., Febrero-Marzo de 1991.
- 42 Mouchet, E. Psicología y Medicina. De la necesidad de introducir la enseñanza de la psicología en el plan de estudios de la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas de Buenos Aires., Anales del Instituto de Psicología, Facultad de Filosofía, Sociedad de Psicología de Buenos Aires, 1930. See also Chapter 3, endnote 8.
- 43 Mouchet, E. Significación del psicoanálisis. Humanidades, XII, (1926): 405-411.
- 44 Mouchet (1926): 408-409.
- 45 Mouchet, E. El lenguaje interior, Bs.As.: E. Biblioteca de Humanidades, 1923.

46 Ibid (1923) 8.

See also, Mouchet, E. La cuestión de las afasias. Trabajos de Psicología Normal y Patológica, Vol II, 1911-1915. (1916): 3. This paper was first presented in 1909 at the IV Congress of Neurology and Psychiatry in Rio de Janeiro.

47 Foradi, A. Enrique Mouchet. Una vida. Una vocación. Bs.As. Instituto Joaquín Gonzalez, 1941.

48 Beltrán, J.R. La psico-análisis. Revista del Círculo Médico Argentino, II, (1928): 1955-1956.

Balán (1991) 62-63.

Vezzetti (1996) 29-30.

49 Beltrán, J.R. La psico-análisis y el médico practico. Psicoterapia, I, Cordoba, No.3, (1936): 76-77.

50 Balán (1991).

Vezzetti (1996).

51 Rojas, N. La Nación. Segunda edición. 17 de marzo de 1930. This newspaper article was reproduced in Nerio Rojas, El diablo y la locura y otros ensayos. Bs.As.: El Ateneo, (1951): 95-102.

52 See Appendix 10 for a copy of N. Rojas' article.

53 Ellenberger (1970). I found two different spellings of Babinki (Ellenberger) and Babinky (in the Argentinean literature).

54 Thenon, J. Thenon visto por Thenon. , Acta Psiquiatrica y Psicología de América Latina, XV, No.4, diciembre, (1969): 381-385.

55 *Argentina profunda*: This is a phrase used by Pizarro Crespo to indicate the Argentina "criolla". See endnote 39.

56 Balán (1991) 122.

See also the Diary of Sigmund Freud. 1929-1939. A record of the final decade. Translated, Annotated, with an Introduction by Michael Molnar. Oxford: Maxwell Mac

Millan International, 1992. In page 57, "3 Feb, 1930. Prof. Rojas' visit. B.As" and in page 60, " 26 Feb, 1930. Breman, Cordoba, Argentina"

57 See Chapter 3, endnotes 8, 30 and 44.

58 Ballesteros, L. Obras completas de Sigmund Freud, Madrid: Ed. Tor, 1923.

Obras Completas de Freud. Bs.As.: Amorrortu Ed., 1979.

Chapter 5

5.1 The Pioneers: A reading of Freud through multiple linguistic and cultural traditions.

A close examination of the texts written by the Groudbreakers and analyzed in Chapter 4 suggested that the Groudbreakers just turned the soil, then abandoned the field. It was up to the founders of the APA, the “Pioneers”, to plant and harvest Freud’s theories in Argentina for many years to come. Consistent with the arguments presented in this dissertation, Chapter 5 demonstrates that the emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina is the result of a struggle at a given historical moment of contradictory discourses in play - new ones infiltrating dominant ones, others gaining ascendance. It is in this sense a struggle for power in the discursive, institutional and political context of the time. It was up to the founders of the APA who read Freud’s ideas through multiple linguistic and cultural traditions to gain dominance in the second half of the twentieth century.

This chapter also demonstrates that the ascendance of the psychoanalytical discourse and the slow decline of the *Somatiker* paradigm was energized by the Pioneers creating a parallel institutional field that provided a space for: i) radical innovation in the treatment of mental illness, ii) anti-fascist political thinking, iii) the construction of a fluid connection with the rest of the world. As the web of relations with outside institutions, such as hospitals and universities, began to tighten at the end of the 1950s, the Argentinean Psychoanalytical Association began to fracture. The first rumbling of this fractious period (1950s) marks the end of the period under study.

5.2. The Pioneers and their context: A second wave

The arrival in 1938 of a Spanish psychoanalyst, Dr. Angel Garma, trained in Berlin, and the return of an Argentinean analyst, Dr. Celes Cárcamo, trained in Paris, marked the beginning of professional psychoanalysis. In fact, some authors have argued that psychoanalysis in Argentina starts with these two Pioneers.¹

At the time of Garma's and Cárcamo's arrival in Buenos Aires in 1938 and 1939 respectively, a group of physicians who had studied Freud but received no training were already practicing what Freud had referred to as 'proto psychoanalysis.' Readings of Jung and Freud attracted Arnaldo Rascovsky, a paediatrician at the Hospital de Niños (Children's Hospital), to psychoanalysis in 1936. Shortly afterwards he started to gather a number of friends and relatives every Sunday afternoon to read and discuss a newly translated book by Herman Nunberg, *General Theory of Neurosis*.² This study group was made up of Enrique Pichon Rivière, Theodoro Schlossberg, Jorge Weil, Simon Wescenblat and two women, Matilde Rascovsky and Arminda Aberastury. This group remained at the margins of public institutions, even though its objectives were professional, because of the inflexible nature of the hospitals and universities. When the Sunday study group connected with the trained, newly arrived psychoanalysts, the possibility of a professional association became a reality. Shortly after their initial contact, members of the group became Garma's and Cárcamo's first candidates for psychoanalytical training.

In 1940, a first informal [failed] attempt to found a psychoanalytical association took place during a meeting attended by Angel Garma, Celes Cárcamo, Arnaldo Rascovsky, Enrique Pichon Rivière, Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy, Gregorio Bremann, Jorge

Thenon and Bela Szekely. It is important to note that all in attendance were physicians, with the exception of Szekely, a psychologist, who had arrived in Buenos Aires in 1938 from Hungary. About their institutional positions, Balan remarked "All the others were psychiatrists or [general]clinicians, all of them with many years of experience but still far away from any position of power in universities or hospitals."³ In this first meeting, the women and the non-medical members of Rascovsky's Sunday study group were excluded. It brought about the awareness of irreconcilable differences among the attendees and an association was not born.⁴

Garma and Cárcamo, who had trained as analysts in Europe, together with their trainees, Rascovsky, Pichon Rivière and Ferrari Hardoy, considered that psychoanalysis could be practiced only by those who had undergone psychoanalysis, and therefore had experienced tranference, whether physicians or not. The other group, made up of Bremann and Thenon (discussed above under Groundbreakers), who were psychiatrists but had not been trained, rejected both principles and did not want to accept the prerequisite of training psychoanalysis or the admission of non-medical candidates.⁵

A new meeting that excluded Bremann and Thenon succeeded in creating common ground and the APA was founded in 1942, with the inclusion of women and lay candidates as full members. It was the first organization in Argentina to introduce standardised training and the practice of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic technique and as a method of research. Training psychoanalysts from the APA trained several generations of psychoanalysts and they were the evaluators and publishers of articles and books on the subject.⁶

In his article commemorating the APA's 50th year, Goldstein ⁷ listed the following names as signatories of the founding act of the APA: Garma, a Spanish psychoanalyst trained in Berlin; Cárcamo, an Argentinean psychoanalyst trained in Paris and Marie Langer, a Viennese trained psychoanalyst, who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1942 and had joined the Sunday study group. The three remaining signatories were Argentinean physicians in psychoanalytical training with Garma and Cárcamo. Rascovsky was a paediatrician; Pichon Rivière a psychiatrist and Ferrari Hardoy, an otolaryngologist. Garma was elected the APA's first president. Cárcamo was the oldest (40 years of age) and Langer was the youngest (32 years of age) and the only woman.

Debates regarding the origins of psychoanalysis in Argentina do not limit themselves to the arrival of Freud's ideas but extend to the foundation of the APA. Rascovsky was critical of the assertion that Langer founded the APA. He contended that Langer arrived in Buenos Aires in 1942 when everything was already organized. Although the founding document was signed in December 1942, and Langer was one of the signatories, the APA had been functioning as an informal organization since 1940. Garma, Cárcamo, Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière were the founders in the sense that they initiated the process and were responsible for the international connections established with the IPA through Ernest Jones, to whom they addressed a letter in 1941 requesting the affiliation of the APA to the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA). In an even stricter sense, the instigators and daily managers of this organization were Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière. ⁸

The influence of European WWII refugee psychoanalysts on the emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina was not substantial, with the exception of Garma and

Langer, who arrived in 1938 and 1942 respectively. Szeleky was a lay analyst who wrote books and articles popularizing Freud's ideas among the general public. He did not play a critical role in the foundation of the APA and practiced other therapies besides psychoanalysis.⁹ Heinrich Racker, a physician and philosopher trained in Vienna, who later in the decade became a prolific author and highly regarded analyst, was not a psychoanalyst at the time of his arrival in Argentina, in 1939.¹⁰

When the APA started to function in January 1943, after the arrival of Jones' response in December 1942, the informal Sunday study group was expanded to include Marie Langer. Aslan, in his oral testimony, remarked that the original group of the APA was like a family for its members who had no other family, either because of their new immigrant status (e.g., Langer) or because of their marginalization within their original group.¹¹ The first cohort of female candidates included Simone Garma, Matilde Wescenblat de Rascovsky and Arminda Aberastury, all wives of the founders; none of them had qualified in medicine. The last two mentioned specialized in children's analysis. Aberastury became, in the late 1940s, the principal promoter of Kleinian analysis in Argentina.¹²

In 1943, the first issue of the *Revista de Psicoanálisis (Journal of Psychoanalysis)* was distributed free of charge and the Instituto de Psicoanálisis (*Institute of Psychoanalysis*) organized to carry out the training of "didactic analysts" (training analysts).¹³ Arnaldo Rascovsky, Enrique Pichon Rivière and Arminda Aberastury started their analysis with Garma in 1939, the same year that Luisa Gambier de Alvarez de Toledo, Luis Rascovsky, Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy and Alberto Tallaferro started with Cárcamo.¹⁴

When Angel Garma arrived in Buenos Aires in 1938, he was 34 years old. After finishing his medical degree in Spain as a student of Gregorio Marañón, he travelled to Berlin in 1927 for postgraduate training in psychiatry. A year into his studies, he applied to the Psychoanalytic Institute under the supervision of Theodor Reik, a lay analyst trained in Vienna. In 1931 he presented and defended his final paper and was admitted to the German Association of Psychoanalysis, then returned to Spain in 1931. As Spain's first fully trained analyst, he found strong opposition to psychoanalysis among his medical colleagues. His plans for the foundation of a psychoanalytic institute were frustrated by the continuous opposition of the established psychiatric community and the increasingly difficult political situation in Spain. A Republican sympathizer, he decided to remain in France, where he was on holidays when the Spanish Civil War was declared in 1936.¹⁵

In Paris, Garma joined the activities of the Psychoanalytical Institute, where he found several German and Austrian expatriates, as well as an Argentinean, Celes Cárcamo who was completing his training. The political situation in France was deteriorating and, in Garma's opinion, France was ambivalent with respect to the Spanish conflict and tentative in its response to German militarization. Two years later, with WW II approaching and Spain still at war, Garma decided to emigrate to Argentina, where he had lived as a child, where his father had died, and two half-sisters still lived.

Garma quickly joined the *porteño* intellectual circles and began to produce and publish in the prestigious *Journal of Neurology, Psychiatry and Legal Medicine*, the continuation of the journal founded by Ingenieros in 1902 as *Archivos de Neurología, Psiquiatría y Criminología*. While Garma felt at home in the city and enjoyed its

“infinite appetite for cultural and scientific creation”¹⁶, he recognized “xenophobic sentiments among government officials, in particular directed to the international left.”¹⁷ He shared the dream of an Argentinean association and training institute with two of his loyal disciples, Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière. Celes Cárcamo joined them when he returned from Paris in 1939.

Celes Cárcamo and Garma were the only two fully trained analysts in Argentina in 1939; Beltrán and Pizarro Crespo had only the status of “adherent members” of the French Association and had not undergone psychoanalysis.¹⁸ Cárcamo was born in 1903, a member of an established Argentinean Basque Catholic family that had eight continuous generations of physicians or professionals in the field of medicine on his father’s side. His mother, also of Basque ancestry, inherited large *estancias* (ranches) in the Province of Buenos Aires. Cárcamo had grown up among *gauchos* and valued the traditions of the local *criollos*.¹⁹

Cárcamo’s interest in innovative psychotherapy took him to Europe in 1936 to study psychoanalysis. Before settling at Saint-Anne Hospital in Paris, he visited Hamburg and Vienna, where he met Anna Freud at the Psychoanalytical Institute. The anti-Freudian climate continued among French psychiatrists, so Cárcamo applied for admission to the Psychoanalytical Institute in Paris. He was supervised by Paul Schiff, a Viennese citizen of Jewish ancestry who later joined the French Resistance. One of Cárcamo’s first patients was an old friend and colleague, Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy, also a founder of the APA.²⁰

Guillermo Ferrari Hardoy, an otolaryngologist working in the Hospital de Niños (Children’s Hospital), had teamed up with Rascovsky and one of his hospital colleagues,

Teodoro Schossberg, to study the phonological aspects of sexual problems in children. He was also a member of the Sunday study group which met regularly at Rascovsky's home. Rascovsky, Schossberg and Ferrari Hardoy began to operate as an informal psychoanalytic team at the hospital. Their hospital supervisor, Aquiles Gareiso, did not share their psychoanalytical perspective but did not interfere with their research projects.²¹

In the 1930s, Enrique Pichon Rivière, a psychiatrist, wrote articles on psychoanalysis in a literary magazine. Among his friends, Pichon Rivière counted poets, painters, musicians and members of the surrealist movement in Buenos Aires.²² He was active in a local committee supporting Spanish Republicans. In the late 1930s and 1940s, Gonzalo Bosch, although not a Freudian, allowed Pichon Rivière, also a member of the Sunday study group, to experiment with psychoanalytical treatment in the Hospicio de las Mercedes. In 1944, Bosch supported Pichon Rivière in the creation of a psychoanalytical section of the Society of Neurology and Psychiatry. This initial entry of psychoanalysis into the institutions did not prosper and in 1949 Pichon Rivière was discharged from his position at the Hospicio.²³

Arnaldo Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière shared their interest in psychoanalysis and their internationalist, secular and anti-fascist political perspective amidst a society greatly divided by the European conflicts. The nationalist fascism of the 1930s profoundly divided Argentinean society and the same tensions that brought about the Spanish Civil War and WWII were lived in Argentina with daily intensity. During their formative years Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière experienced an Argentina that was right wing, xenophobic and ultra-Catholic and that discriminated against first-generation immigrants such as

themselves by treating them as foreigners. Rascovsky's and Pichon Rivière's professional friendship was built around their mutual interest in psychoanalysis but also around their secular and anti-fascist solidarity, although Rascovsky was Jewish and Pichon Rivière a non-practicing Catholic.²⁴

At Aquiles Gareiso's medical service at the Children's Hospital, Rascovsky, a paediatrician, was specializing in endocrinology and in particular in the sexual perturbations associated with infantile obesity. His private practice, which was growing steadily, was mostly attended by members of the Jewish community. Gareiso did not join him in his new interest but neither did he discourage him from focusing his interests on psychoanalytical answers to psychosomatic problems in children. In the hospital Rascovsky initiated a research project with the volunteer assistance of the Sunday study group.²⁵

Marie Langer, a refugee from Vienna, spent four years in Montevideo, Uruguay, before arriving in Buenos Aires in 1942. She was analyzed by Richard Sterba at the Institute of Vienna, where she completed her studies. After joining the APA, she became the training analyst of Heinrich Racker, who studied medicine and philosophy in Vienna and immigrated to Buenos Aires as a refugee in 1939. She was also the training analyst of the Argentinean Leon Grinberg, who later became one of her collaborators.²⁶

Through her connection with Republican groups in Spain, where Langer and her husband had been medical volunteers, she became involved with the Committee of Solidarity for the Spanish Republic in Montevideo and was asked to deliver a lecture on psychoanalysis and Marxism. When she arrived in Buenos Aires she met Bela Szekely, a Hungarian psychologist, but preferring to associate herself with people who were, like

her, trained physician-psychoanalysts, she contacted Garma. He recommended that she reread Freud, revalidate her medical degree and request a letter of confirmation of her trained status from Richard Sterba at the Viennese Psychoanalytical Society. Langer decided not to revalidate her medical degree at the UBA, a decision that had important consequences in the mid-1950s when new regulations for medical professions were introduced. Although the youngest of the Pioneers, Langer was regarded with great respect; when Garma decided to undergo his second analysis he chose her. In the early 1950s Langer chose Cárcamo for her second analyst.²⁷

In her 1982 autobiography Langer frames her memoirs within her long-lasting dual loyalties: psychoanalysis and Marxism. Many of her personal reflections on the history of psychoanalysis are presented in the context of the political tensions generated by these two theories at the level of praxis. She described herself as a mental health worker who grew up in a wealthy, atheist, Jewish bourgeois family in pre-Nazi Vienna. She attended a Christian school in early childhood and completed high school in a pro-feminist and pro-Marxist private school.²⁸ In spite of her wealth, she always considered herself an outsider as a Jew and a woman, more so in Vienna than in Argentina.²⁹ After leaving Spain, Langer and her husband returned to Vienna only to flee shortly thereafter, by ship to Uruguay.³⁰

The six pioneer signatories of the founding act of the APA were a group diverse in their national origins as well as in their educational training programs. The multicultural nature of the group is representative of the numerous migratory streams that made up the Argentinean population in the twentieth century, i.e., Spanish (Garma, Hardoy and Cárcamo), French (Pichon Rivière), Austrian (Langer) and Russian

(Rascovsky). Three of the six were fully trained psychoanalysts (Garma, Cárcamo and Langer). Although all of them were physicians, only three were psychiatrists (Garma, Pichon Rivière, Cárcamo); Langer was a general practitioner, Rascovsky a paediatrician and Hardoy an otolaryngologist. They all shared a common understanding of Freud whom they had read in German (Garma, Langer), in Spanish (Rascovsky, Pichon Rivière, Hardoy) and French (Cárcamo). In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Pioneers, led by Garma, considered the Berlin Psychoanalytical Association and its training Institute a model to be emulated. Excellence in the didactic training process of medical and lay candidates was the objective of the APA from the start. The pioneers' multicultural and multilingual filter of Freud's theories lent a particular international flavour to the enterprise of psychoanalysis in Argentina.

5.3 The Argentinean Schools of Psychoanalysis

The term "school" is used here to designate the professional activities and scientific production of Argentinean psychoanalysts in the first half of the twentieth century. Although many individuals contributed, this section will focus primarily on the writings of the first and second generations of trained analysts practising in the 1940s and the early years of the 1950s. Articles and books written by the pioneers on psychoanalysis which appeared in professional journals, minutes of professional meetings and conference proceedings have been analysed to understand the idiosyncratic development of psychoanalysis in Argentina. Deepening the understanding of the psychosomatic illnesses and the establishment of professional links with Melanie Klein and her followers at the British Psychoanalytical Association are the two main themes found in the

professional activities and scientific production of the 1940s and early 1950s.

5.3.i The Psychosomatic School: A bridge to the field of medicine

It was up to the founders of the APA who read Freud through multiple linguistic and cultural traditions to animate the first Argentinean psychoanalytic school. During the mid-1940s, the Pioneer members of the APA and their followers claimed the domain of psychosomatic medicine as their own. At the psychiatric hospitals, the *Somatiker* paradigm still firmly established, no one spoke of psychosomatic medicine or medical psychology but in the Chair of Clinical Medicine at the UBA and the general hospitals the adoption of new endocrinological knowledge imbricated the mind and body in a new relationship. In this new emerging discourse in clinical medicine the “soma” was much more than just the nervous system, as it had been for the neurologists and psychiatrists of the past. For the non-psychoanalytically trained physicians, the “new” body was a vast endocrinological universe by which to make sense of numerous psychic events. For the psychoanalytically trained physicians, it presented the opportunity to create a discursive continuity with medicine, hence remaining within the domain of medicine without renouncing the psychic causation of organic illnesses.

The specialization of psychosomatic medicine, with its newly acquired endocrinological knowledge, provided fertile ground from which psychoanalysis could grow and emerge as a “legitimate” discourse. Discussing the importance of endocrinological knowledge in Argentinean psychoanalysis, Balán commented, “It was among physicians interested in endocrinology, in particular studying the phenomena of virilization of girls and feminization of boys as well as obesity in both sexes that

psychoanalytical theory was enthusiastically received.”³¹ Three of these physicians were members of the Sunday group: Schlossberg, Weil and Rascovsky, a gynaecologist, a general clinician and a paediatrician respectively and all Argentinean born.³² These practitioners, none of them psychiatrists, formed an interdisciplinary group who often discussed the inability of clinical medicine and psychiatry to explain psychological factors in physical illnesses. They decided to combine their knowledge of endocrinology with Freud’s theories and to create a small niche for psychosomatic medicine within their hospital work.³³

In fact, Rascovsky’s interest in endocrinology pre-dated his interest in and knowledge of Freud. The Argentinean Society of Endocrinology developed rapidly in the 1930s and had provided him, one of its founders, while still young and relatively unknown, with the opportunity to present research papers in a field that was becoming increasingly important in the medical circles of the time.³⁴

Rascovsky’s advancement in the hospital hierarchy was not rapid, but was unopposed by his immediate supervisor, Gareiso, and the hospital director, Enrique Arana.³⁵ This position afforded him the opportunity to experiment with psychoanalysis and incorporate into his research projects several members of the Sunday Study group. In various capacities, Simon Wescenblat, Matilde Rascovsky, Arminda Aberastury and Federico Aberastury, among others, participated as volunteers in the Children’s Hospital under the supervision of Rascovsky and Ferrari Hardoy. Rascovsky was the first of many psychoanalysts to publish in the area of psychosomatic medicine.³⁶

An important achievement of the team working on the interface of medicine and psychoanalysis was the Panamerican Congress of Endocrinology in Montevideo,

Uruguay, in 1941. Eleven team members, led by Rascovsky, presented papers.

Psychosomatic specializations included endocrinology, psychiatry, paediatrics, gynaecology, phonology, psychoanalysis, orthodontics and psychopedagogy. Many of these papers were published by the *Archivos Argentinos de Pediatría* (*Argentinean Archives of Paediatrics*) in 1941 and 1942.³⁷

In 1948, *Patología psicosomática* (*Psychosomatic Pathology*), a book of more than 750 pages compiled and prologued by Rascovsky, was published by the APA. All six Pioneers, including Ferrari Hardoy who had emigrated to the US in 1945, published one or more articles in this volume. The psychosomatic conditions addressed were colitis, peptic ulcers, coryza, organic cardiopathy, migraine, adult epilepsy, childhood epilepsy, sterility, vomiting during pregnancy, menstruation, problematic pregnancies, psychological problems in breast feeding, thyroid function and adiposogenital syndrome.³⁸

In his prologue, Rascovsky defined psychosomatic medicine and argued for the importance of an “integrative medicine where psychogenetic factors are part of the etiological interpretation of organic illnesses.”³⁹ He appealed to the principle of totality in the interpretation of organic development, according to which an organism is more than the sum of its parts. Citing Fenichel’s *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis*,⁴⁰ Rascovsky defined an organic neurotic symptom as not necessarily being a hysteric conversion: “not all symptoms are translations of specific fantasies into a body language.”⁴¹ Instinctive unconscious attitudes, in his opinion, can influence organic functions in a physiological manner even when the changes do not have a definite

psychic meaning. Rascovsky then went on to cite Franz Alexander's classification of psychosomatic conditions.⁴² To end his prologue, he commented on the

...lack of collaboration between psychoanalysts and somaticists; whereas the latter are not trained to comprehend the psychic aspects of the patient, the former do not have sufficient and accurate interpretation of the organic aspects...all medicine should be psychosomatic.⁴³

Franz Alexander is the author most cited by Argentinean psychoanalysts publishing in the area of psychosomatic medicine. The first volume published by the Biblioteca de Psicoanálisis de la APA (Library of Psychoanalysis of the APA) in 1943 was Alexander's *Psychogenetic Factors in Bronchial Asthma*, translated into Spanish by Rascovsky.⁴⁴ Other foreign authors cited in Spanish translations are Binswagner (*Función vital e historia vital interna*), Zilboorg (*Historia de la psicología médica*), Adler (*El sentido de vida*), Sterba (*Sexualidad infantil*), Menninger (*Factores emocionales en las ginecopatías orgánicas*), and Wolf (*Endocrinología. Relaciones de la endocrinología con la psiquiatría*). In comparison with other authors, Freud's works are cited very few times in articles and books on psychosomatic medicine.⁴⁵

Rascovsky and Enrique Pichon Rivière, who managed the APA on a daily basis, divided their area of influence according to their medical specializations. In the Hospicio de las Mercedes, Pichon Rivière had created the first outpatient service for children with psychiatric problems; the team in charge worked from a psychoanalytical perspective. Similarly, Rascovsky in the Children's Hospital had formed a psychoanalytical team in the children's neuropsychiatric service. The institutional places to which Rascovsky and

Pichon Rivière could bring their newly discovered understanding and enthusiasm for Freud's theories's were the same low-ranking administrative positions they occupied as paediatrician and psychiatrist in the outpatient hospital services of their respective hospitals. Their innovations were short lived and both left their positions, Pichon Rivière in 1949 and Rascovsky in 1945. Rascovsky's involvement with the APA and its activities gradually increased when he became a training analyst and organizer of local and international conferences. His hospital involvement was replaced by his increasingly busy private practice.⁴⁶

When Pichon Rivière's program with psychotic adolescents at the Hospicio de las Mercedes was closed he moved it to the Instituto privado de asistencia, enseñanza e investigación (Private institute for clinical assistance, teaching and research). Here he specialized in the treatment of psychotic children and adolescents and was referred to as the "Little Menninger." At the time, Melanie Klein's disciples had begun to analyze psychotic patients and several of their publications were translated and her theories applied; for example, those of Herbert Rosenfeld, Hanna Segal and Wilfred Bion. Segal visited Buenos Aires and gave lectures and seminars at the Clinic and at the APA. Emilio Rodrigué, an Argentinean trained in London by the Kleinian group, returned to Argentina and joined the Pichon Rivière clinic in 1952.⁴⁷

Interested in psychosis since he was a student of medicine, Pichon Rivière taught and wrote on psychoanalytical psychiatry.⁴⁸ He taught his students using H. Nunberg's book in its French version, *Principes de psychanalyse. Les application aux neuroses*, published in 1932, and the Spanish translation of the English version of O. Fenichel's book *Concerning the Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique*, published in 1941.⁴⁹ He later

incorporated the works of Klein, Alexander, Menninger and Frieda Fromm Reichman. He argued with the theory of W. Griesinger, professor of the University of Berlin (1845), that there was a “basic depression;” the trajectory being different depending on the patient’s history but there is one “unique psychosis” in all patients. Citing Freud, Griesinger and Abraham, he concluded that there was a “latent central psychotic nucleus present in all individuals.”⁵⁰

Towards the mid-forties a psychosomatic preoccupation appeared in Pichon Rivière’s writings in the study of epilepsy, migraines and peptic ulcers. He moved on later in the decade to develop his most original contribution in the area of psychoanalytical social psychology. To articulate the inside world of the patient to the outside world, he expanded the notion of object relation to the concept of *vínculo* (*bond*). He defined it as a complex structure that includes the subject, the object and their mutual interrelation with the processes of communication and learning that this interrelation implies. “The internal world is defined as a system in which relations and objects interact in mutual feed-back.”⁵¹ Incorporating notions of communication theory, he replaced the Freudian concept of instinct by the “bond structure.” This bond structure is essentially social; therefore, he affirmed, in the strictest sense, that the bond structure created by the first experiences of the infant are a concern of social psychology.

The interplay of need-satisfaction is a contradiction inherent in the subject and operates as an internal cause of his/her development as a founding dialectic subjectivity, that is, the personal and group networks from which the subject emerges and constitutes himself/herself.⁵²

The main point of his repertoire was the concept of bond. For Pichon Rivière, the constitution of the internal world led him to a theoretical elaboration concerning the organization of the internal world and to the presentation of an intersubjective perspective. He published, in two volumes, *Del psicoanálisis a la psicología social* (*From Psychoanalysis to Social Psychology*) and in the prologue defined himself as a psychiatrist, a psychoanalyst who thinks and acts according to his scheme: *ECRO* (*esquema conceptual-referencial-operativo*/conceptual-referential-operative scheme) based on social psychology, “a discipline seeking to create an *interciencia* (interdiscipline) where all the sciences of man converged.”⁵³

After a few years in Argentina, Angel Garma also appeared to shift from his previous area of study (repression of the Id in schizophrenia and the interpretation of dreams) to topics related to the psychogenesis of colitis and duodenal ulcers. His graduating paper, presented to the Berlin Psychoanalytical Association in 1931, addressed Freud’s understanding of psychosis. He disputed Freud’s observation that the neurotic individual represses the Id to satisfy reality while the psychotic individual represses reality to satisfy the Id. As a psychiatrist working with psychotic patients, Garma had observed the reverse: the psychotic patient suffers terribly the pressure of the Id. Working with schizophrenic patients, he could see that “they had to repress intensely the Id to submit to reality, that is to submit to the Superego.”⁵⁴ Fenichel supervised his work and although Fenichel did not agree with his thesis, Garma commented that he gave him his full support. At the time, Garma’s idea was understood as “a rebellion”⁵⁵ against Freud’s theory, but Garma was convinced that “the psychotic patient represses more not less than the neurotic as psychoanalytical theories said.”⁵⁶

In 1931, Garma became a member of the German Psychoanalytical Association in Berlin with the presentation of his paper “Realidad y el Ego en esquizofrenia” (Reality and the Ego in Schizophrenia). Later, in Spain, he published *Como estudiar psicoanálisis* (*How to Study Psychoanalysis*) and *Transferencia en psicoanálisis* (*Transference in Psychoanalysis*). He revalidated his medical degree in the Universidad de Buenos Aires with a thesis on *Psicoanálisis de los sueños* (*Psychoanalysis of Dreams*), which was published as a book.⁵⁷ During the late 1930s and early 1940s in Argentina, Garma’s scientific production continued to concentrate on specific psychoanalytical concepts and he published a volume on *Sadismo y masoquismo en la conducta humana* (*Sadism and Masochism in Human Behaviour*) as his first contribution to the Biblioteca Psicoanalítica (Psychoanalytical Library series) of the APA. By 1946, his written work shifted to psychosomatic topics, (e.g., *Observaciones psicoanalíticas de pacientes cólicos*. *Psychoanalytical Observations of Colic Patients*) and at the IPA congress in Zurich in 1949, he presented *Génesis de la úlcera péptica* (*Genesis of the Peptic Ulcer*).⁵⁸

In 1950, Garma presented for the first time his paper on “Aspectos de la imago materna en pacientes con úlceras duodenales” (“Aspects of the Maternal Imago in Duodenal Ulcer Patients”) to members of the APA. In 1952, he visited London for a month and met several times with Melanie Klein and Paula Heimann to discuss clinical and theoretical issues. During his stay he read his paper “La imago materna como alimento perjudicial en los ulcerosos duodenales” (“The maternal imago as damaging nourishment in patients with duodenal ulcers”) to members of the British Psychoanalytical Society. His paper was published by the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* and by the *Revue française de psychanalyse*. He also visited Paris and

Rome and here presented the same paper. In Spain, he was invited to speak to medical students at the Chair in Clinical Medicine, led by his former mentor Gregorio Marañón. Here, Garma chose to speak on the psychoanalysis of dreams and to present a paper on psychosomatic considerations of the gastroduodenal ulcer.⁵⁹

Garma dedicated considerable energy to institution-building. During the first few years he was central to setting up the APA, the journal and the training institute, as well as performing the tasks of a full-time training analyst for local and Latin American candidates. After his trip to Europe in 1952, he started organizing the first congress of the Latin American Associations of Psychoanalysis which belonged to the International Psychoanalytical Association. The first congress took place in 1956.⁶⁰

In his intellectual endeavours Cárcamo sought to apply Freud's theories to the analysis of cultural issues. He was accepted as a member of the French Psychoanalytical Association in Paris in 1938 with his paper "La serpiente emplumada. Psicoanálisis de la religión y el sacrificio humano en la cultura Maya-Azteca" ("The Feathered Serpent. Psychoanalysis of the Maya-Aztec Religion and of Human Sacrifice"), also published in the first issue of the *Journal of Psychoanalysis* in 1943. This article demonstrates Cárcamo's early interest in making Freud's ideas relevant to the analysis of autochthonous realities. In 1943, he published *La imagen del mundo en la América aborígen* (*The Image of the World in Aboriginal America*) and his focus on indigenous religion resurfaced in 1951 when he visited Brazil and Paris and presented the paper "Psicoanálisis y la proto-religiones en las Américas" ("Psychoanalysis and the Proto-Religions in the Americas"). Cárcamo also experienced a shift of interest towards psychosomatic medicine, although an examination of his record of publications shows he

produced only three articles in the 1940s: “Ansiedad y cardiopatía orgánica” (“Anxiety and Organic Cardiopathy”); “Contribucion psicoanalitica al estudio de migrañas” (“Psychoanalytical Contributions to the Understanding of Migranes”); and, jointly with Marie Langer, “Psicoanálisis de la esterilidad femenina” (“Psychoanalysis of Feminine Sterility”).⁶¹

Before returning in the 1960s and 1970s to her interest in the compatibility of psychoanalysis and Marxism in theory and praxis, Marie Langer published several articles on women and psychoanalysis. She graduated as a training analyst with the paper “Historia de la mujer homosexual” (“History of the Homosexual Woman”). Her shift to psychosomatic medicine, also apparent in the mid-1940s, maintained a focus on women. She reported that her focus on psychosomatic medicine started when Rascovsky referred a female patient to her who was sterile. Nine months later the patient was pregnant.⁶² Later in the decade of the 1940s, Langer adopted the position of Melanie Klein in her study of women: “I started to work on the psychology of women ...[because] it gives women a biological and psychological place of their own.”⁶³ Langer said that “Psychosomatic research is a characteristic of the APA since its foundation, the Kleinians became interested in this area later.”⁶⁴ In 1946, at the First Inter-American Congress of Medicine in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Langer read two papers, both on psychosomatic topics: “Aspectos Psicoanalíticos de algunos trastornos del embarazo” (“Psychoanalytical Aspects of Some Disorders During Pregnancy”) and “Esterilidad psicogena” (“Psychogenic Female Sterility”). In addition to these two articles, published in 1948 as part of *Patología psicosomática*, two new articles were also included in this volume: “Problemas psicológicos de la lactancia” (“Psychological Problems in Breast

Feeding”) and “Algunas aportaciones a la psicología de la menstruación” (“Contributions to the Psychology of Menstruation”). Her works on female psychosomatic medicine were published in 1951 in a book titled *Maternidad y sexo. Estudio psicoanalítico y psicossomático* (*Maternity and Sex. Psychoanalytic and Psychosomatic Study*).⁶⁵

5.3.ii The English Filter and the Beginning of the Kleinian Influence

The second most important theoretical thrust developing in the late 1940s was the reception and enthusiastic adoption of Melanie Klein’s theories. Although the ground for the creation of this filter was prepared in the mid-1940s, the Kleinian school in Argentina emerged only in the late 1940s. During the 1950s, the APA became almost exclusively Kleinian and as such was in close contact with Kleinians in London, England. Klein, a German child psychoanalyst who had moved to London, introduced new concepts about the early forms of the Ego and the Oedipus complex, the prevalence of the mechanisms of projection and introjection in early childhood.⁶⁶ In 1944, Arminda Aberastury (Pichon Rivière’s wife) initiated correspondence with Klein and by 1948 she had translated, with the assistance of Langer and Matilde Wescenblat de Rascovsky, many of the important publications of the Kleinian school. Aberastury and Wescenblat became leaders in the application of Kleinian psychoanalysis with infants and children. Direct contact with Klein by many of the Pioneers and other members of the APA (Garma, Pichon Rivière, Aberastury and Rodrigué, who studied in London and returned to Buenos Aires), plus the dissemination of Klein’s texts in Spanish and the prolonged stays of Hanna Segal in Buenos Aires, contributed favorably to the reception and adoption of Kleinian theories in this period.⁶⁷

The adoption of the Kleinian theories brought into the association rigorous new practices distancing the analysts from their candidates and patients since all contact was discouraged except during the four weekly psychoanalytical sessions. These decisions brought to an end joint participation of analysts and candidates in seminars and study groups, and a more hierarchical organization ensued. The issue of the neutrality of the analysts became of central importance for training analysts and analysts-in-training.⁶⁸

Unlike the Groundbreakers who read Freud in French, the pioneers and their followers in the 1930s read Freud in Spanish and German. In the 1940s, readings of Freud's writings at the APA switched to English. This choice brought about important transformations to psychoanalysis in years to come. Argentinean psychoanalysts took their training in Spanish but they read Freud's theories in English. Even Garma, Langer and Racker, who read German fluently, switched to English translations following the suggestion of Ernest Jones in his letter of 1942:

The knowledge of German, still desirable, was in the past indispensable for the purpose of international links related to our work, but it [German] is yielding the first place to English and it is hopeful that the increasing political collaboration among the Spanish and English speaking countries will be accompanied by a corresponding close scientific collaboration.⁶⁹

The English filter present in the reception of Freud and Klein's theories distanced Argentinean psychoanalysts in the 1940s and 1950s from the original works of Freud. These shifts towards psychosomatic medicine and Kleinian theories strongly influenced clinical practice and the selection and training of candidates who read Freud's theories

from the perspective of psychosomatic medicine and a Kleinian understanding of transference.⁷⁰

Among the Argentinean intellectual groups interested in Freud's theories, the most important injection of new psychoanalytical knowledge in the 1940s was considered to be the *Revista de Psicoanálisis (Journal of Psychoanalysis)*. Many students and professionals read the journal before they were drawn into the association. The first issue of the journal, in 1943, included Franz Alexander's "Psychological Aspects of Medicine", indicating the inclination towards psychosomatic medicine already present at the time of its creation. The general quality of the articles selected for translation and the breadth of topics gained the journal an increasingly wide audience in Argentina and in the rest of Latin America. It offered a systematic reading of Freud's teachings and authoritative comments on his works and the works of his followers. The journal also regularly published articles by Argentinean, as well as Spanish and Latin American, psychoanalysts. It has appeared uninterrupted as a quarterly since 1943.⁷¹

By following Klein's theories, Argentinean psychoanalysts distanced themselves from American colleagues who were following Anna Freud's theories. However, this should not be overstated since the *Journal of Psychoanalysis* narrowed this distance by regularly publishing articles by American psychoanalysts and in this manner kept the association well connected with the developments of Freudian theories and, in particular, with psychosomatic developments in the wider Anglo-Saxon world. In 1946, the APA received the first visitor from the American Psychoanalytical Association, Gregory Zilboorg, who gave five lectures on psychosomatic medicine. Stewart Wolf, an American clinician, was also invited by the APA to lecture on the influence of emotional factors on

changes in the gastrointestinal and nasal mucosae. In 1950 Paul Hoch, of the New York Psychoanalytical Association, presented a paper on the organization of psychoanalytical institutes in the US.⁷²

5.4 The Institutional Field of the Early Freudian period: Psychoanalysis and the APA

The study of the Pioneers and their school of psychoanalysis is not complete without an understanding of the institutional setting created to house and generate the considerable intellectual and emotional energy poured into the APA and the Psychoanalytical Institute by its founders. The APA, as a partially autonomous field of forces constructed its “own laws and forms of symbolic and cultural capital.”⁷³ However, the microcosm of the APA world, although partially autonomous, was immersed in a larger “field of power,”⁷⁴ which was the source of hierarchical power relations structuring all professional and educational institutions at the time in Argentina.

As described in the literature, the institutional context of the APA appears to have been highly complex and in constant transformation from the moment of inception to the present. This section will focus on the 1940s and the early 1950s. In these years the Pioneers and first generation of Argentinean trained psychoanalysts founded and developed the organization of the APA, created and administered the Institute of Psychoanalysis, issued the quarterly *Journal of Psychoanalysis* and published books as part of the official series of the Biblioteca de Psicoanálisis (Library of Psychoanalysis).⁷⁵

During the initial period, given the non-institutional and partially non-medical composition of the APA, psychoanalysis suffered from low prestige and a marginal position among psychiatrists, neurologists and psychologists. The gap between psychiatry

and psychoanalysis became progressively wider in the early 1940s, to the point that practically all official communication was interrupted for over two decades.⁷⁶

Psychoanalysts were outside the institutional circles and those psychiatrists who ran university programs and psychiatric hospitals remained outside psychoanalytical activities, continuing to dominate public hospitals and private clinics for the care of psychiatric patients.

Neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists who participated in politics and who were also interested in psychoanalysis, (e.g., such as Thenon, Bermann and Pizarro Crespo), as well as those who had at times indicated a passing interest in psychoanalysis and occupied important positions in universities and hospitals, (e.g., such as Beltrán, Rojas, Bosch and Mouchet), did not participate in the formal emergence of professional psychoanalysis in the early 1940s in Argentina. Thenon, Bermann and Beltrán were harsh critics of the founding members of the APA and exercised considerable pressure from their university and hospital positions to discredit the APA, which continued to admit lay analysts and remained faithful to the regulatory power of the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA).

The isolation of the APA and its members progressed steadily throughout the decade of the 1940s. There were several facts converging in the progressive isolationist space of the APA and its members. Recurrent conflicts with medical associations, hospital administrations and university chairs added to the political pressures and to State intervention in the area of public health, science and education. A process of internal exile was also reinforced by the requirements of the IPA that demanded complete adherence to the rules elaborated by this international organization. Psychoanalysts met

among themselves but did not participate in hospital or university life. Some of the activities offered in these institutional spaces were made part of the APA, such as courses, seminars and workshops, as well as supervision of clinical cases. These activities ran parallel to social activities and the presentation of research papers.⁷⁷

In 1946, the first graduate program for psychiatry was approved by the university under the direction of Gonzalo Bosch, Chair of Clinical Psychiatry. Although a course in medical psychology was planned as part of the program, no APA member was invited to compete for the new positions and Freud's theories were not taught. Commenting on the course outlines of this program, Balán noted, "in the content of the course the predominance of French psychiatric schemes from the beginning of the century still continued; in them there was no room for psychoanalysis."⁷⁸

A concerted effort was made during the 1950s to stimulate relations with the medical community in the area of psychosomatic medicine. Within the Argentinean Medical Association (AMA), the Society of Medical Psychology, Psychoanalysis and Psychosomatic Medicine was founded and Pichon Rivière was elected president. Until then psychoanalysis had been a neglected chapter of the Society of Neurology and Psychiatry, also a member of the AMA. In Paris, at the World Congress of Psychiatry in 1951, Eduardo Krapf, an APA member, presented the paper "Psicogénesis de las condiciones psicosomáticas" ("Psychogenesis of Somatic Conditions").⁷⁹ Rascovsky visited Ecuador, Colombia and Mexico and lectured on the interpretation of psychosomatic mechanisms. In 1951, the APA was accepted into the World Mental Health Organization.⁸⁰ To the founders of the APA, this international endorsement was as, or more, effective than the accreditation that was denied them by the Argentinean

medical associations. International recognition of the APA had come in 1949, when the first international congress after the war took place in Zurich. Five of the six founders attended it (Ferrari Hardoy had by then emigrated to the US).⁸¹

In the 1940s the APA, as an intellectual enterprise created by the Pioneers, continued to have a “family” flavour and was an extension of the Sunday study group, where friends and relatives, both men and women, with an interest in psychoanalysis were encouraged to undertake psychoanalysis and become practitioners. Many of these members were socially marginal or from minority groups in Argentinean society. Several were first-generation Argentineans, women without medical training or of Jewish ancestry. Among the six signatories of the founding document, two were recent immigrants (Garma and Langer), two were second-generation immigrants and born in the provinces (Rascovsky and Pichon Rivière) and two belonged to the traditional landed aristocracy of Spanish Catholic descent (Cárcamo and Ferrari Hardoy). The two intellectual leaders, Garma and Cárcamo, although both of Spanish origin, adhered to different traditions: Garma was a republican and anti-clerical; Cárcamo was a monarchist and Catholic. They represented two sides of the same cultural tradition. The association operated under the tight leadership of its founders, who for many years were the only titular members who taught in the training institute. Very few candidates were accepted each year--no more than eight until 1950 and between 10 and 15 by the 1960s.⁸²

During the first few years, the APA’s admission procedures were informal and the candidates had a fair amount of control over the process. After the Psychoanalytical Institute was created in 1945, the model for training and admission of candidates, although still admitted women and lay candidates, became more and more rigorous: two

or three years of four or five sessions of personal analysis per week with a training analyst from whom approval was required before the student was accepted as a candidate-in-training. A series of formal interviews with several titular members, psychological testing, presentation of papers and careful examination of the candidate's history followed before the candidate was allowed to start a set program, approximately four years long, of seminars and practice under supervision at the Institute. The training was long, rigorous and very costly, demanding a great deal of time and therefore limiting the candidates' possibility of gainful employment. The seminars, for which the candidate had to prepare written papers, were attended while the candidate was undertaking two years of psychiatric practice at hospitals or clinics. Before presenting the last research paper to become an adherent member, the candidate had to practice psychoanalysis, under supervision, with two patients.⁸³

The standards for psychoanalytical training were considerably higher than the standards of the graduate program in psychiatry at the University of Buenos Aires. Although the diploma granted by the APA lacked official recognition and did not open any institutional doors except at the APA and IPA, psychoanalysts were considered by the mid-1950s to be the intellectual elite of mental health practitioners because of their training standards. To compensate for its institutional "irrelevance" at the local level, the APA training institute became well known in the rest of Latin America, receiving candidates from Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Peru and other countries. Its international profile also began to rise after the war, when the APA's affiliation with the IPA was confirmed in 1949.⁸⁴

The small and tightly woven relationships among training analysts, candidates, friends, wives and relatives, along with the isolationist culture created by the tense relations with the medical establishment and the potentially interventionist government, resulted in an atmosphere that, at the end of the 1940s, had become intensely inward looking and where the boundaries between private lives and professional lives were thin and far too permeable. While the APA was small, the struggle to survive and develop was focused on winning over the outside world, which remained resistant to psychoanalytical knowledge. As the association was recognized and gained respect locally and internationally in the late 1950s and in the 1960s, the tension and struggle inside the APA increased. In the mid-1950s, internal institutional strife was consuming so much energy that Garma proposed that a symposium be dedicated to debating relations among analysts.⁸⁵

The internal and external pressures to medicalize psychoanalysis gained territory in 1952 when the APA changed its rules and created two categories of candidates, the medical and the non-medical; the latter were required to practice, once graduated, under the supervision of a medical psychoanalyst. These new rules did not close entrance to non-medical candidates. In 1954, a ministerial decree was passed regulating the practice of psychotherapists and psychoanalysts. The text of the resolution is illustrative; it indirectly indicted psychoanalysts for immorality for inducing their patients “to vital decisions that run against accepted morality or the written law, such as adultery, concubinage, divorce, homosexuality and diverse perversions.”⁸⁶ This government resolution relegated lay analysts and therapists to an auxiliary role, specializing in re-adaptation, re-education and test administration. The psychoanalysts’ diploma remained

unaccredited in the eyes of the State. From 1954 on, the APA conferred the honorific diploma of psychoanalyst only to physicians. The field of the APA as a social arena within which struggles took place over “specific resources or stakes and access to them”⁸⁷ was transformed and internally re-defined in terms of new power relations.

The new rules had an impact mostly on women and on a few titular members. Marie Langer and Heinrich Racker, who were trained as physicians in Europe but never revalidated their medical degrees in Argentina, decided to seat an exam with the Faculty of Medicine to become assistant psychiatrists, a minor degree that allowed them to practice under the supervision of medical psychoanalysts.⁸⁸

The APA, in spite of the tensions and divisions within its membership over the direction the profession should take, became the centre of psychoanalytical training for mental health professionals from all over Latin America, especially Brazil, Uruguay and Mexico.⁸⁹ After the First Inter-American Congress of Psychoanalysis in Buenos Aires in 1956, there was in Latin American “a psychoanalytic explosion.”⁹⁰

By the end of the 1950s in Argentina, literature, humour, cinema, journalism, the plastic arts and the confrontation of ideas among intellectuals had adopted the language of psychoanalysis. Psychoanalytic ideas had become cultural ideals and a central part of the filter of the country’s culture at large. According to Goldstein, a psychoanalyst who wrote an article to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the APA in 1992, from the early 1960s onwards, “universities, medical and psychological associations, academies, artistic institutions, associated disciplines, journalism and the cultural politics at large of the Nation received the influence of psychoanalytical ideas.”⁹¹

Endnotes to Chapter 5

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- ¹ Goldstein, N. et al (Eds.) Reflexiones sobre las vicisitudes de las ideas psicoanalíticas en América Latina. Revista de psicoanálisis. XX??, 1992, :903-918.
- Vienna... Buenos Aires. La Nación. 29 de Noviembre de 1992.
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- Cesio, F.R. Historia del movimiento psicoanalítico Latinoamericano. Revista de Psicoanálisis. XXXVIII, 38, 4, (1981): 695-713.
- García Badaracco, J. Reflexiones sobre el movimiento psicoanalítico. Discurso presidencial. Revista de Psicoanálisis. XXXVIII, No.3, (1981): 489-511.
- See Appendix 11 for Pioneers' photographs
- ² Nunberg, H. Teoría general de las neurosis. Barcelona: Pubul, 1937.
- ³ Balán (1991) 36-37.
- ⁴ Ibid (1991) 37.
- ⁵ Ibid (1991) 37-38.
- ⁶ Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina 1942-1992. Bs.As.: APA. First edition, (1994): 29.
- ⁷ Goldstein, N. Vienna... Buenos Aires. La Nación. 29 de Noviembre de 1992
- ⁸ Mom, J. Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores (II) Arnaldo Rascovsky. Revista de Psiconálisis. 41, 2/3, 6. (1983b):201-226.

This letter is reproduced in Revista de Psicoanálisis. (1943). See Appendix 11 for a copy of this letter. This letter of Earnest Jones is historically very important because it documents the English 'virage' (as the French called it) that was blamed two decades later for the misreading of Freud original German writings. The principal accuser of Earnest Jones' was the French psychoanalyst and philosopher Jacques Lacan, who called, in the 1960s, for the 'return to Freud', meaning that the only texts one should read for an accurate understanding of Freud's ideas were his original texts written in German. Many feminists agreed with Jacques Lacan; and the 're-reading' of Freud provoked important shifts in the understanding of Freud's theories among French and British feminists writers, such as Juliette Mitchell, Hélène Cexious, Catherine Clement, Luce Irigaray, to name a few.

9 Balán (1991) 99.

10 Heinrich Racker was born in Poland in 1910 but lived in Vienna from the age of four. A talented musician, he studied music and philosophy in Vienna and had begun his psychoanalytical training as a lay analyst when he had to flee in 1938. In 1939, Racker arrived in Buenos Aires where he finished his training with Marie Langer and later became one of the most fertile and original writers of his generation. *La neurosis de contratransference* (*The Neurosis of Countertransference*), his best known article which was translated to several languages, was presented to the members of the APA in 1948. Independently, in 1949, Paula Heimann presented to the XV International Congress in Zurich, her seminal paper "*On countertrasference*" which was published in the International Journal of Psycho-Analysis in 1950. These two articles are credited with a new conception of the dialectic relationship between transference and countertransference, and they point to the importance of countertranferece reactions in opening up new paths of exploration in psychoanalytical treatment. In 1960, Racker wrote *Estudios sobre técnica psicoanalítica* (*Studies on psychoanalytical technique*), published in 1969, (Bs.As.:Paidós) in which he elaborated further on the concept of countertransference. After his death, the APA named its research institute Centro Racker.

11 Carlos Mario Aslan. Personal communication. 10th. of May, 1999.

12 Ibid (1998).

13 APA (1994).

14 Balán (1991) 98.

15 Mom, J. Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores (I) Angel Garma. Revista de Psiconálisis. 40, 5/6, (1983a): 899-914.

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- 16 Ibid (1983).
- 17 Ibid (1983).
- 18 Balán (1991) 95.
- 19 Mom, J. Los Pioneros. Entrevista a los fundadores (III) Celes E. Cárcamo. Revista de Psiconalisis, 4, 6, (1983c): 987-1000.
- 20 Ibid (1983).
- 21 Balán (1991) 116-118.
- 22 Bleger, J. Enrique Pichon-Rivière. Su aporte a la psiquiatría y al psicoanálisis. Acta Psiquiatrica y Psicología de América Latina, XIII, No.4, diciembre, (1967): 346-350.
- 23 Balán (1991) 67.
- 24 Aslan (1998).
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Langer, M. Memoria, Historia y Dialogo Psicoanalítico. México: Folios Ediciones S.A., 1981.
- 27 Ibid (1981). See also Mom, J. Revista de Psicoanálisis. Los pioneros. Entrevistas a los fundadores. (1983a) and (1983c).
- 28 Langer (1981) 19-21.
- 29 Ibid (1981) 8-10.
- 30 Ibid (1981) 44; 57-58; 68-69.
- 31 Balán (1991) 117, 123.
- 32 Mom (1982b). See also Balán (1981) 79-80; 117.
- 33 Ibid (1982b).
- 34 Ibid (1982b). See also. Rascovsky, A. Esquema autobiográfico. Revista de Psicoanálisis, XXXI, 1/2, (1974): 284-296.

By bringing Freud's theories to endocrinology, first- and second-generation psychoanalysts advanced the study of psychosomatic medicine, and reasoned the

influence of the psyche on the soma, rather than the influence of the soma on the psyche. This was not the only alliance that endocrinological knowledge would forge in the 1930s. Its combination with eugenics and the derivation of typological systems of classification gave rise in Argentina to the marriage of science, the army and the church. The appearance of a journal called *Anales de biotipología, eugenesia y medicina social* (*Annals of Biotypology, Eugenics and Social Medicine, 1933-41*) is emblematic of this alliance. This richly illustrated journal includes numerous photographs of scientific meetings and national and panamerican conferences endorsed by the military government of the time and church representatives

- 35 Ibid (1982b). See also Aslan (1998).
- 36 Bibliografía de autores Argentinos Archivos de la Sociedad de Endocrinología Argentina. (1958): 176.
- 37 Asociación Psicoanalítica Argentina 1942-1982. Bs.As.: APA, (1982): 26.
- 38 Rascovsky, A. (Ed.) Patología Psicosomática. Bs.As.: APA y El Ateneo, 1948.
- 39 Rascovsky (1948): 9.
- 40 Fenichel, O. The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis, New York: Norton, (1945): 236.
- 41 Rascovsky (1948) 10.
- 42 Rascovsky (1948) 11. Rascovsky cited Franz Alexander. Fundamental Concepts of Psychosomatic Research: Psychogenesis, Converison, Specificity. Psychosomatic Medicine. v. 5, No. 3, (1943): 205.
- 43 Rascovsky (1948) 15-16.
- 44 Revista de Psicoanálisis. Biblioteca de Psicoanalisis. Bs.As.: APA, Julio, 1943, Ano.1, No. 1.
- 45 Ibid (1943). See also Rascovsky (1948).
- 46 Aslan (1998). See also Balan (1991): 83; 90; 104-112; 116.
- 47 Blejer (1967). See also, Zito Lema, V. Conversaciones con Pichon Riviére, Bs.As: Timerman Editores, 1976; Obituarios. Enrique Pichon Riviére. Revista de Psicoanálisis. XXXIV, No.3, Julio-Setpt, (1977):455-462; Salomon Resnik. Homenaje a Enrique Pichon Riviére. Revista de Psicoanálisis. LV, No.2, Abril-Junio, (1988) :287-295 and Balán (1991) 88; 113.

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- 48 Pichon Rivière, E. Contribución a la teoría psicoanalítica de la esquizofrenia. Revista de Psicoanálisis. IV, No.1, 1946.
- 49 Fenichel, O. Concerning the Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique, New York: The Psychoanalytical quarterly Inc., 1941.
- 50 Pichon Rivière, E. Los dinanismos de la epilepsia, Revista de Psicoanálisis, I, No3, (1943-1944): 150-151. See also from the same author, Conceptos basicos en medicina psicosomática, La Prensa Médica Argentina, XXXV, 1, 1948.
- 51 Pichon Rivière, E. Del psicoanálisis a la psicología social. Bs.As.: Galerna, I, (1971): 23.
- 52 Ibid (1971) 35.
- 53 Ibid (1971) 3.
- 54 Mom (1982a).
- 55 Ibid (1982a).
- 56 Ibid (1982a).
- 57 APA 1942-1982 (1982).
- 58 Ibid (1982).
- 59 Ibid (1982).
- 60 Ibid (1982). See also Balán (1991) 119.
- 61 Mum (1982c).
- APA 1942-1982. (1982).
- 62 Langer (1982) 91. This is an intriguing statement, it implies that the Klein group in the UK was not reading the same American authors that the Argentinean were reading and citing in their psychosomatic research and publications.
- 63 Langer (1982) 81.
- 64 Langer (1982) 91.
- 65 APA 1942-1982. (1982).
- 66 See Grosskurth (1986), Part Six, Chapter 2, in particular 386-391.

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- 67 Aslan (1998).
Featherston (1998).
- 68 Langer (1982) 174.
- 69 See endnote 8.
- 70 Phyllis Grosskurth in her book Melanie Klein. Her World and her Work, help us to understand this difference. "Unlike Anna Freud, Klein assumed that transference reactions occur from the very beginning of an analysis, and that it is important to interpret them immediately because the analyst is still an unknown quantity, i.e, a phantasy object." In orthodox analysis, Grosskurth added, "an interpretation of transference material occurs only in the later stages, after systematic attempts have allowed the deepest levels to emerge..." Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, (1986): 337. Anna Freud pointed to another important difference of Klein's concept of transference, "... the almost exclusive emphasis given by Mrs. Klein to all transference material, compared with material, which emerges in dreams, in verbal associations, in memories and in screen-memories." (336, as cited by Grosskurth, 1986)
- 71 Goldstein (1992).
- 72 APA 1942-1982. (1982).
- 73 Bourdieu, P. The Field of Cultural Production, or: the economic world reversed, Poetics, 12, (1983): 312.
- 74 Jenkins, R. Pierre Bourdieu. London: Routledge, 1992.
- 75 APA 1942-1982. (1982).
- 76 Aslan (1998).
Featherston (1998)
- 77 Aslan (1998).
Featherston (1998).
- 78 Balán (1991) 113.
- 79 APA. 1942-1982. (1982).
- 80 Ibid (1982).

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- 81 Mom (1982b).
- 82 APA. 1942-1982. (1982).
- APA. 1942-1992. (1994).
- 83 Aslan, C. M. La Experiencia Argentina. Revista de Psicoanálisis. XXXVII, No. 1, (1980): 147-158.
- 84 Mom (1982a).
- 85 Aslan (1998).
- 86 Balán (1991) 134.
- 87 Jenkins (1992) 84.
- 88 Langer (1982) 85.
- 89 Ibid (1982) 89.
- APA. 1942-1982. (1982).
- 90 Zalbidea, M.A., La influencia Española en la Psicología de los países Latinoamericanos: Angel Garma y el psicoanálisis en Argentina. Revista de Historia de la Psicología, 12, (1991): 182.
- 91 Goldstein (1992).

Chapter 6

6.1 A Comparison with the US: From Discursive Synchrony to the Formation of Asynchronous Discourses

Psychoanalysis became an established way of treating psychoneuroses in both the US and Argentina during the twentieth century. However, the reception of psychoanalytical theories and practices in these two countries was very different because the existing paradigms making the emergence and establishment of Freud's theories possible were dissimilar. Several themes show the divergence in the process of reception and explain the asynchronous development of psychoanalytical discourse in the respective countries. Dissimilarities in the pre-Freudian order include, but are not limited to, the type and profile of scientific debates that took place at the turn of the century, the institutional positions of the agents of transmission and the availability of and accessibility to Freud's original and translated works.

6.2 Pre-Freudian Period Comparison

In both Argentina and the US, the pre-Freudian period was characterized by Hale as a "Full-blown degeneracy theory [that] entered America from Europe, chiefly in the 1880's with the second generation of somatic neurologists [and] proliferated in the 1890's."¹ Heredity became a major explanation in disciplines of neurology and psychiatry and was considered "almost identical with the theory of degeneration."² Theories about heredity depended directly on a somatic view of cause; the major theorists cited by the Americans and the Argentineans were Benedict Augustin Morel and Valentin Magnan in France; Cesare Lombroso in Italy; R. von

Krafft-Ebing and Mortiz Bendikt in Austria; and Henry Maudsley and Thomas Clouston in England.³

As was the case in Argentina, new immigrants to the US were one of the targets of these theories; they were identified as having a “high incidence of ‘mental defect’ and neurasthenia and to be unusually liable to dementia praecox.”⁴ In the US, “as heredity became more important, it also became more and more widely and loosely defined, and from the 1890s on came under increasing attack.”⁵ It may not be a coincidence that at the same time the eugenic programs were enthusiastically advocated between 1905 and 1917.⁶ In the US, young neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists refused to accept the stigma that the insane and the criminal shared the same psychological qualities. In addition, hospitals in the US were, for the first time in history, competently collecting and analyzing statistics on morbidity and the suspicions of young neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists were confirmed at the turn of the century: patients were not getting better; treatment did not work. This young generation argued that some of the diseases that degeneracy was supposed to cause became, by circular logic, diagnostic of the state that caused them.⁷ William A. White and Smith Ely Jelliffe argued that heredity theories prejudiced therapeutic efforts and outcomes.⁸ By 1907, S. Weir Mitchell and James Jackson Putman, both members of the American Neurological Association, rejected these theories as pessimistic and “prejudicial to treatment.”⁹ “William James denounced Lombroso and Franz Boas attacked Lombroso’s statistical methods.”¹⁰ In 1917, reflecting the advances in statistics and genetics, the most devastating attack on theories of heredity was launched by the psychiatrist Abraham Myerson.¹¹ “Other critics stressed the importance of environment, arguing that it was not racial stock but the shock of immigration itself, the alienation and isolation...that caused insanity among the foreign born.”¹²

In the US more than in Argentina, the rejection of the heredity and degeneracy theories at the turn of the twentieth century resulted in a systematic search by young neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists for cultural, social and psychological causes of those traits once thought to be inherited. As described in Chapter 3, before World War I in Argentina there were few voices articulating ‘devastating attacks on theories of heredity’. As late as 1946, de Veyga, a prominent psychiatrist and Chair of Legal Medicine, published a book on insanity called *Degeneración y Degenerados (Degeneracy and Degenerates)* and in the late 1920s, Ameghino, among others, wrote “on the mental defects of new immigrants.”¹³ By contrast, in the US the hegemony of somatic theories began to crack and soon after the visit of Freud to Clark University in 1909, psychoanalysis gained a small but steady institutional niche in the universities and hospitals.¹⁴ In the US, the dissatisfaction experienced by young neurologists and psychiatrists with the somatic paradigm at the turn of the century is an important condition making the emergence of psychoanalysis possible and it marked a transitional discourse between the pre-Freudian and early Freudian period in the US. In Argentina this debate is not articulated with the same clarity or fervor. It remained wrapped in the language of legal medicine and the restrained concept of heredity proposed by Janet.¹⁵

6.3 Early Freudian Period Comparison

The emergence of the psychoanalytical discourse in Argentina and the US took place at different times of the twentieth century. The comparison time frames are different by about 30 years. The first theme discussed below, named Paris versus Nancy, emphasizes the importance of personal contacts in the migration of ideas. The second theme traces the importance of foreign [i.e., other than Spanish] languages proficiency and the availability of original sources that operated as

cultural filters and agents of discourse formation. The third theme analyzes the contrast between institutional contexts created by the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse in Argentina and the US. The last two themes describe conditions that enabled or worked as censors to the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse.

6.3.i. Paris versus Nancy

The theorists who provided the best arguments to counter the prevalent somatic paradigm on the causes of insanity were in Paris. At the end of the nineteenth century, both American and Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists visited Paris regularly and cited French authors in the area of psychopathology, in particular Charcot and Janet.¹⁶ Until then, it could be argued that parallel times had created synchronous realities in Argentina and the US as far as the disciplines of the mind were concerned. But early in the twentieth century Americans extended their visits to include Nancy and Vienna while Argentineans did not.¹⁷ From then on, an asynchronous reality evolved between the two countries, partly based on the quiescent dominance of the somatic/hereditary/degenerative discourses on insanity among Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists. This state of affairs was markedly exacerbated by the 'mono-culture' of Parisian authors preferred by Argentinean scientists of the mind in the pre-Freudian period.

As the new century dawned US scientists pursued the School of Nancy more vigorously, making repeated training visits there, while Argentineans continued to receive training in Paris. By 1903, Freud's teachings had become recognized as separated and distinct from those of Charcot and Janet.¹⁸ At the time, Freud's work was closer to Bernheim's (Nancy) understanding of hysteria and hypnosis than to Janet's; Janet continued to teach in Paris at the Collège de

France and opposed Freud's new interpretations of unconsciousness and its dynamic processes.¹⁹ At the beginning of 1896, Freud sketched his new classification of neuroses and emphasized his divergence from Janet. He called his own method psychoanalysis.

Until World War I the US neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists followed Freud's theoretical developments more closely than Argentineans did. Visits by the Americans to Nancy and Vienna, as well as the ability to speak and read German of some of the key agents of transmission (e.g., Putman, Meyer and Brill), facilitated this theoretical proximity. The Argentineans, with their long traditions of Parisian education, continued to centre their study visits in Paris, missing the newer developments in Freud's theories and understanding Freud's ideas as an unimportant variation of Janet's theories.

6.3.ii Availability and Accessibility of Freud's Original and Translated Works

The availability and accessibility of Freud's original work is one of the factors that acts both as cause and effect in the reception of psychoanalysis in the US and Argentina. The power of transatlantic visits should also not be underestimated. According to Hale,

The status of psychoanalysis changed radically between the spring of 1908 and the spring of 1911...when a few men already passionately committed to psychoanalysis came to America.²⁰

He recognizes two key transatlantic contributors: Abraham Arden Brill from Zurich and Ernest Jones from England, and emphasises the importance of Freud's visit to Clark University. American neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists were also fully aware of Janet's theories since most of his work had been translated and he had been invited several times to the US. As

early as 1904 he lectured on psychopathology at the International Congress in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1906 Janet was the guest of Harvard University, where “he gave a series of fifteen lectures on hysteria.”²¹ However, after World War I, “The spirit of the times had changed. Of all of Janet’s works, [his 1919 *Les Medications psychologiques*] was the last to be translated into English.”²² However, his work continued to be translated into Spanish during the 1920s and 1930s.

Spanish translations of Janet’s works reached Argentineans sooner than the translations of Freud’s publications before World War I and were available for a longer period of time than in the US. In 1925, Janet “was delegated by the French government as an exchange professor to Mexico” where he gave fifteen lectures in French at the University of Mexico City, two in Puebla and one in Guadalajara.²³ These conferences were translated and disseminated in Argentina, as were the series of lectures he gave in Buenos Aires in 1932 and the twenty lectures he gave in Rio de Janeiro in 1933.²⁴ There is no evidence that Freud’s conferences at Clark University were translated into Spanish or disseminated in Argentina.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, only one short article (Merzbacher’s) in the Argentine literature on hysteria, hypnosis and the role of the psychic factors in insanity includes citations from Freud’s theories in German. The Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in Freud relied heavily on French secondary sources; what French authors quoted from or wrote about Freud was generally uncritically accepted. A Spanish translation of Freud’s completed work to date appeared in 1923 in Madrid with a prologue by Ortega y Gasset, a philosopher not a physician. Before then the quotes from Freud were scattered and do not reveal an awareness of his distinct innovative contribution beyond Janet’s and Bernheim’s theories. As mentioned in Chapter 3 and 4, the

debate between Janet and Berheim is underrepresented in the Argentinean literature and when specifically discussed, as in the case of Ingenieros, Janet is favoured.²⁵

In spite of its strong clinical tradition applied to psychopathology, France, cognate with Argentina, was slow in accepting psychotherapies and especially psychoanalysis. Roudinesco²⁶, a historian writing on the history of psychoanalysis in France, studied the reasons for the late entry of psychoanalysis in France and concluded that the alternative explanations of psychopathology proposed by Janet operated as a barrier to the penetration of Freud's ideas on neuroses. This argument also explains, in part, the discursive resistance to the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in Argentina, where the theories of Janet were well established among a small group of neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists.

Other similarities with France are also relevant. French psychiatry, like Argentinean psychiatry, depended to a great degree on a centralized system of prestige rooted in the public universities and hospitals, where the treatment of psychosis was a priority among neurologists and psychiatrists. In addition, the psychotherapeutic movement did not welcome Freud's theories. Roudinesco documented that among psychotherapists Freud "was fiercely attacked at a meeting of the Societe de Psychotherapie (Psychotherapy Society) on June 16, 1914, at a time of growing anti-German feeling in France."²⁶

Psychoanalysis became fashionable in the surrealist's literary and cultural circles of Paris in the post-war years, and this development added to its low prestige as a science among psychiatrists who were looking to increase their prestige among physicians.²⁷ In Argentina, the issue of prestige likewise kept psychiatrists outside psychoanalysis because it was also the domain of non-medical practitioners and became fashionable in cultural circles. Only in the US

was psychoanalysis fully incorporated into medicine, specifically into neurology and psychiatry.²⁸

6.3.iii Institutional Field

In the US, neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists in important university and hospital administration positions managed to incorporate psychoanalysis into their practices in a relatively short time. In contrast, Argentinean psychoanalysts developed as the Europeans did: segregated from official medicine. Psychoanalytical practice in Argentina grew outside hospitals and universities, creating a parallel institution field. Psychoanalysts were outside institutional circles and those psychiatrists who taught university students and practiced in psychiatric hospitals remained outside psychoanalytical activities, continuing to dominate public hospitals and private clinics for the care of psychiatric patients. In spite of its isolation, the acceptance and social prestige of psychoanalysis rose gradually and steadily. By the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s psychoanalysis gained for the first time a firm hold on the medical and psychiatric university curricula.²⁹

This initial non-institutional development in Argentina requires an analysis of the conditions that made it impossible for psychoanalysis to grow inside established institutions, such as hospitals and universities, and to prosper as an outside institution strongly linked to international--mostly Anglo-Saxon--scientific culture during World War II and the post-war period. These conditions point to a conceptual paradigm in institutions such as hospital and universities that, until the end of the 1930s, was in tune with somatic explanations of insanity received from France, Italy and Germany. Psychoanalytic discourse kindled a different type of epistemological and discursive reception in those individuals who were dissatisfied by the

dominant somatic paradigm of the aetiology and cure of insanity and were looking to do more for their patients. But psychoanalysis' position as an outsider to the dominant paradigm at the time of its emergence in Argentina at the end of the 1930s is also related to a new discursive formation resulting from the interlocking of psychoanalytic discourse and anti-fascist sentiment in Argentina. This new discursive formation united a group of anti-fascist intellectuals, artists and scientists. From this subversive position Argentinean intellectuals and scientists fought both the institutional resistance to psychoanalytic discourse and pro-fascist military governments in the 1930s and 1940s. Adding greater demarcation to their preferences--scientific as well as political--the group referred to in the literature as "Pioneers" introduced Freud's ideas through the Anglo-Saxon filter rather than the German or French filter. To be interested in Freud at the end of the 1930s and during the 1940s was to be anti-fascist, anti-government, anti-military and pro-Anglo-Saxon; in short, anti-establishment. The only place to grow was outside established institutions.

With respect to the implantation of psychoanalysis, the divergent patterns of institution building in the US and in Argentina are also strongly associated with the accepted prevalence of lay analysts in Argentinean psychoanalysis and the early regulation and restrictions on lay analysis imposed on the training and practice of psychoanalysis in the US. Debate was particularly fierce in the US regarding the increased popularity of the analysis of children, primarily at the hands of non-medical, female analysts. This brought loud protests by paediatricians. In 1926, Freud published a passionate defence of lay analysts, primarily intended to address decisions undertaken by the American Psychoanalytical Association regarding lay analysts. In Argentina, in contrast, lay analysts survived as full members of the profession until 1954.³⁰

The positions within institutions of the agents of transmission in the US and Argentina were very different. The circle of scientists who animated the reception process in the US was small, but its members were well placed in the medical and educational institutions and networks of the time and soon reached positions of prestige and power. From there they could promote the delivery of new treatment modalities offered in public institutions.³¹

The agents of transmission occupied radically different positions in Argentina. They ranked low in the hospital hierarchy and, in the case of the “Pioneers”, they had no positions at all in the universities. Therefore, their institutional roles and participation was minimal. In the case of the Groundbreakers, their ambivalence towards Freud’s theories rendered them ineffective as agents of transmission. In the case of Beltrán and Bremann, their association with the university was through the Chair in Legal Medicine. Ponce taught philosophy and Mouchet an eclectic course in psychology. Their hospital activity was limited and, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, without exception the Groundbreakers abandoned psychoanalytical theories; many of them became detractors of Freud.

From the beginning, Freud’s writings were received enthusiastically in America by a small number of prestigious neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists. Well before the organization of local psychoanalytical societies, individual physicians, who themselves often spoke and read German as a result of post-graduate training in Berlin or Vienna, were picking up Freud’s works and trying to apply them.³² Around Boston, for example, Freud was first read around 1894--a year before the publication of *Studies of Hysteria*. Harvard psychologist William James went on to kindle interest among a small number of physicians who formed a study group that met in the home of Morton Prince, a professor of neurology at Tufts University. James Jackson Putman, a professor of neurology at Harvard, also joined the group and he contributed a

paper to the first issue of the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (1906) on his experiences with what he called “psychoanalysis” at the Massachusetts General Hospital.³³ As mentioned in Chapter 5, a similar study group was formed later in the century (1937) in Buenos Aires by Rascovsky. He was not a university professor and his position in the Hospital de Niños was subordinate, as was Pichon Riviére’s position in the Hospicio de las Mercedes. Neither Garma, Cárcamo nor Langer occupied institutional positions of any kind.

A few years after Freud’s visit to the US, asylum psychiatry became heavily implicated in the birth of psychoanalysis in the US.³⁴ This was not the case in Argentina; in fact, there is evidence to the contrary. Argentinean psychiatry remained relatively untouched by Freud’s theories, with the result that psychiatry and psychoanalysis did not move closer together. During the period under study psychoanalysis played a relatively minor role in psychiatric hospitals. The training of students at the undergraduate and graduate level was entirely in the hands of non-Freudian neurologists and psychiatrists and therefore psychoanalysis was not able to make deep inroads into institutional psychiatric treatment of psychoneuroses or psychosis. In the case of psychology, Freud was taught among many other authors and the university curriculum in the program of psychology did not include psychoanalytical clinical training until the 1960s. In Argentina, as in Europe, the chairs in clinical psychiatry aligned themselves against psychoanalysis. It is argued that the relative failure of psychoanalysis in Europe was due to the reluctance of psychiatrists to divert from the psychotic mind to the neuroses.³⁵ In Argentina, it was psychiatry’s reluctance to divert from the criminal mind to the neuroses that kept psychoanalysis outside the universities and major hospitals.

In the US, the psychiatrists and psychoanalysts moved closer together in organizational terms.³⁶ From 1924 on, the American Psychiatric Association and the American Psychoanalytic

Association held their meetings at the same time in the same city. In 1933, the American Psychiatric Association started a special section on psychoanalysis for interested members. As Franz Alexander of the Chicago Institute declared in a 1939 letter to Ernest Jones, “[Psychoanalysis] is rapidly becoming part of general medical practice and training.”³⁷ By the end of the 1930s, psychoanalysis was central to basic training in psychiatry at the undergraduate and graduate level in the US.³⁸ In Argentina, the two associations moved further and further apart throughout the 1940s.

Prospects for promotion within or across institutions offered a larger canvas for vertical and/or horizontal mobility to US administrators and academics. In Argentina, in contrast, as noted in Chapter 3, academics waited years before they were promoted to full professorships. Very few universities and research institutes offered employment opportunities to the increasing number of graduates seeking to pursue academic careers. Reading the biographical information in the literature on the history of psychoanalysis in the US, it is evident that the situation for US academics and administrators was vastly different. Talented academics moved up within, or across, institutions often and with apparent ease. Academic positions and opportunities in research centres multiplied as the century moved on, while in Argentina they froze in the 1920s, just when the sons (very few daughters, alas!) of one of the largest waves of immigrants ever to come to Argentina were completing their university studies. “During the decade of the 1920s more physicians graduated from the Faculty of Medicine than the sum of lawyers, engineers, architects and accountants put together.”³⁹ However, possibilities for academic advancement and research remained relatively few.

6.3.iv Psychotherapy and Medical Psychology as an Interdisciplinary Field

Psychoanalytical theories in the US gained continuity with the emerging discourse in psychotherapy early in the twentieth century. Hale affirms that psychotherapists were both medically and non-medically trained and neurologists and psychiatrists were losing ground to non-medical psychotherapists. When the first translations into English of Freud's theory of psychoanalysis appeared at the end of the nineteenth century, dissatisfied young neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists who were looking to cure their patients using psychotherapy recognized Freud's theories as revolutionary. This allowed for a conceptual interlocking between the notion of cure on one hand, and the dynamic unconscious on the other.

This early continuity with an existing discourse on psychotherapy, over which neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists of the time were seeking to gain greater dominance, was clearly not present in Argentina. The introduction of psychotherapeutic techniques was mostly in the hands of lay individuals, and psychiatrists, with a few exceptions, remained suspicious and skeptical of their success. The psychotherapeutic movement was not significant, and neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists were not seeking to actively gain dominance over the non-medical psychotherapies. Argentinean scientists of the mind, at the turn of the century, were not preoccupied primarily by the notion of cure but by the understanding of the criminal mind and its somatic causes. They were engaged in discourse wars connected with secular/scholastic and experimental/spiritual dichotomies. The psychotherapeutic movement was small and occupied a marginal position as a discursive debate in relation to the debates about the moral responsibility of the insane that greatly preoccupied Ingenieros and his colleagues, the only authors to cite Charcot and Janet. According to Balán "only in 1936, for the first time, psychotherapy gained a central place [at the meetings of the Sociedad Argentina de Psiquiatría y

Neurología].”⁴⁰ This same year, the first journal of psychotherapy appeared in the province of Cordoba, directed by Bermann, who published it for only two consecutive years.

In the US, as a direct consequence of the rapidly developing medical psychotherapeutic movement, universities created an interdisciplinary field of study in medical psychology programs. The implantation of psychoanalysis was accelerated because physicians already accepted medical psychology as a legitimate field of study and practice and psychoanalysis was welcomed first as a new form of therapy.⁴¹ In addition, faculties of medicine in the US were less preoccupied with the old philosophical debate between “materialists” and “humanists” that were central to this field in Argentina.

It is easy to document in Argentinean primary and secondary sources the failure to institute medical psychology as an interdisciplinary field in the universities. Repeated references are found, from the turn of the century on, describing informal as well as formal requests to university authorities to institute a course in medical psychology. It finally became part of the specialization in psychiatry introduced in 1942 in the Faculty of Medicine, but the course in medical psychology was not offered regularly.⁴² There was, however, an awareness of this backwardness when, in 1928, Bernardo Houssay, Argentinean Nobel Prize Laureate in physiology, remarked, “It is a curious deficiency in almost all Argentinean medical schools,...there is no study or courses teaching normal psychology and psychotherapeutic methods, in spite of the fact that [medical psychology] is professionally important, notwithstanding its scientific imperfections.”⁴³

6.3.v Political Context

As discussed in Chapter 4, the transmission of Freud's theories to Argentina was interrupted, and in most cases abandoned, when the continuity between psychoanalysis and Marxist discourses exploded and fractured in Europe in the 1930s. In Argentina, the opposition to psychoanalysis from the left followed the local Communist Party line, a line that responded to the Soviet Union under Stalin and increasingly spoke of the evil of psychoanalysis as a bourgeois ideology.⁴⁴ In addition to the critique levelled by left-leaning physicians and psychologists against psychoanalysis in the 1930s, a number of literary critics attacked Freud's theories. For example, in 1938 Elias Castelnuovo, in his book *Psicoanálisis sexual y social: Un estudio de la nueva teoría política y económica de desorientación* (*Sexual and Social Psychoanalysis: The Study of a New Theory of Political and Economic Disorientation*) makes a scathing critique of psychoanalysis and derides its explanations of fascist authoritarian regimes.⁴⁵

The first authors to enunciate Freud's theories in Argentina were politically affiliated to the left, with strong political loyalties outside their institutional frame, while in the US the authors who introduced Freud to hospitals and universities were top administrators and full professors with strong loyalties to their institutional settings. In the US, psychoanalysis' first agents of transmission were tied to movements protesting against "civilized" morality; they considered themselves witnesses to an age of "transition and turmoil" but they were led and united by the "optimism of evolution as the progress of science."⁴⁶ None of the historians writing on the history of psychoanalysis in the US linked the concerns of the neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in Freud to political parties or to conflicts taking place in Europe, until the arrival of refugees from Nazi Germany during the 1930s. Even then, Russell Jacoby argues that the immigrant psychoanalysts kept their political views private.⁴⁷

In Argentina, the situation of scientists and academics interested in Freud was very different. They did not rule the institutions as top administrators or teach students as full professors as their US counterparts did. In fact, the opposite was the case: they were expelled or discharged from their hospitals and university positions (Thenon, Ponce, Bermann and Pichon-Riviere), and in many cases they became voluntary exiles in Europe or neighbouring countries (Bermann, Ingenieros and Pizarro Crespo).

In the 1930s, fascism drove many psychiatrists who were Jewish from Central Europe to the United States. The number of refugee analysts from Europe was not large. Of the 250 psychiatrists who came, not more than 50 were analysts. Yet many were very well known: Franz Alexander, Sandor Rado and Otto Fenichel from Berlin; and Herman Nunberg, Felix Deutsch, Paul Federn, Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, Paul Schilder, Else Pappenheim, Rudolph Loewenstein, Rene Spitz and Robert Waelder from Vienna. The emigré analysts made a major impact on American psychiatry and psychoanalysis.⁴⁸ Their impact in Argentina was also important but not major. Langer, who arrived in Argentina in 1942, was the only refugee fully trained in psychoanalysis. Racker, who arrived shortly thereafter, completed his psychoanalytical training with Langer in Argentina. However, the contribution of Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists of Jewish ancestry to the emergence of psychoanalysis was vital to its establishment.

Endnotes for Chapter 6

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- ¹ Hale, N.G. Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States. 1876-1917. New York: Oxford University Press, (1971): 76

See Appendix 13 for a brief literature review of key authors writing on the history of psychoanalysis in the US.
 - ² Ibid, 76.
 - ³ Ibid, 76. See also Chapter 3.
 - ⁴ For more on the topic of immigration and insanity in the US, see Hale, page 80; in Argentina, see Chapter 3.
 - ⁵ Hale (1971) 76.
 - ⁶ Ibid, 80.
 - ⁷ Ibid, 78-79.
 - ⁸ Ibid, 80.
 - ⁹ Ibid, 82.
 - ¹⁰ Ibid 82.
 - ¹¹ Abraham Myerson, Psychiatric Family Studies, American Journal of Insanity, 73, 1917, as cited by Hale (1971): 82.
 - ¹² Ibid, 83.
 - ¹³ See Chapter 3.
 - ¹⁴ Hale (1971) 73, 96.
 - ¹⁵ Ibid, 144-45.
 - ¹⁶ See Chapter 3 for Argentina. For the US, see Hale (1971), also John Burnham, Psychoanalysis and American Medicine: 1894-1918. Psychological Issues, Vol V, No.4, Monograph 20, New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1967; Gail Hornstein, The Return of the Repressed. Psychology's Problematic Relations with Psychoanalysis, 1909-1960. American Psychological Association, 57, 2, 254-263.

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- 17 “Freud and innumerable Americans, Morton Prince among them, studied hypnotic therapeutics at Nancy” (Hale, 125). Also, according to Hale (1971) Stanley Hall (102) and Putman (132) visited Nancy.
- 18 Hale (1971) 125-126.
- 19 Ibid, 7; 143; 277; 294-295.
- 20 Ibid, 177-179.
- 21 Ellenberger, H. The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry. New York: Basic Books, (1970): 344
- 22 Ibid, 345.
- 23 Ibid, 345.
- 24 Ibid, 346.
- 25 Chapter 3.
- 26 Roudinesco, E. La Bataille de Cent Ans: Histoire de la Psychanalyse en France, II, Paris: Seuil, (1986): 19-50.
- Although the literature on the history of psychoanalysis in France is extensive and would enrich this discussion, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, an understanding of the resistance to Freud's ideas in France partially helps to explain the slowness of ascendancy of psychoanalytical discourse in the first half of the twentieth century in Argentina, where a French filter in the discipline of the minds was in full operation.
- 27 Ibid, 19-50.
- 28 Burnham (1967).
- 29 Balan, J. Cuentame tu vida. Una biografía colectiva del psicoanálisis argentino. Bs.As.: Planeta, 1991.
- Carlos Aslan, Personal Communication, 10th of May, 1999.
- 30 APA 1942-1992.
- Carlos Aslan. Personal Communication. 10th. of May, 1999.
- 31 Burnham (1967); Hale (1971).

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- 32 Burnham (1967); Hale (1971).
- 33 Hale (1971) 162.
- 34 Burnham (1967); Hale (1971); Shorter (1997).
- 35 Shorter, E. A History of Psychiatry. From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac, New York : John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1997, 155.
- 36 “From 1924, the American Psychiatric Association and the American Psychoanalytic Association would hold their meetings at the same time, in the same city.” Shorter, (1997): 165.
- 37 Shorter (1997) .Published in the American Psychoanalytic Association Bulletin, (1940): 33-34, as cited by Shorter, 165.
- 38 Ibid, 165.
- 39 Balán (1991) 32.
- 40 Balán (1991) 51.
- 41 Hale (1971) 116.
- 42 See Chapter 3.
- 43 Bernardo Houssay, La formacion del espiritu medico. Guia intelectual del Estudiante de Medicina, (1928): 74, as cited by Juan Ramon Beltrán, Un programa de psicologia medica. Revista de la Asociacion Medica Argentina. Tomo LV, No.453 al 476, Enero a Diciembre, (1941): 556-558.
- 44 Chapter 4, section 4.2 The Groundbreakers: a French reading of Freud.
- 45 Cucurullo, A, Faimber, H. and Wender, L. La psychanalyse en Argentine. In Roland Jaccard (Ed.) Histoire de la Psychoanalyse. Vol. II. Paris: Hachette, 1982, 399.
- 46 Hale (1971) 22.
- 47 Jacoby, R. The Repression of Psychoanalysis. Otto Fenichel and the Political Freudians. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- 48 Shorter (1997) 166-167.

SUMMARY

The preceding analysis of the struggles of the ascendancy of and resistance to Freud's theories in Argentina demonstrates that without an historical analysis of the pre-Freudian discourses in the disciplines of the mind (neurology, psychiatry and psychology), it is not possible to understand the conditions of possibility for the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse.

Central to the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina is an understanding of what 'counted' as knowledge, along with changes in that knowledge. The historian's task is to find the twists, turns and shifts occurring in the dialectics of 'fitting and non-fitting'—in the present case, between the old [*Somatiker*] and the new [*Psychiker*]*—and to reconstitute the pattern of the horizon of what counted as knowledge at a given time.*

In the explanation of dilatory conditions of possibility for the emergence of psychoanalytical discourse, this dissertation allocated singular significance to the enduring presence of the *Somatiker* paradigm that characterized the pre-Freudian period. In Argentina, this previous discursive framework in the disciplines of the mind created considerable resistance to the arriving *Psychiker* paradigm proposed by Freud's explanations of the mind-body relationship. The emergence of psychoanalysis in Argentina is, therefore, the result of a struggle, at a given historical moment, between contradictory discourses—new ones infiltrating dominant ones, others gaining ascendancy. It is in this sense a struggle for power in the discursive, institutional and political context of the time.

As a result, psychoanalytical discourse emerged, changed, shifted and mutated in relation to, but also divorced from, national institutions such as hospitals and universities. The pre-existing discursive framework did not offer a common field, therefore, psychoanalysts ultimately created a parallel institutional niche, the lifeblood of which was the International Psychoanalytical Association.

The study of mental disease, as it developed under the *Somatiker* paradigm, was of the order of observation and classification rather than cure. It created the asylum as a space where, in the words of Foucault, “the moral milieu was imposed from outside, in such a way that madness was controlled not cured.”¹ In Argentina, as in Europe, scientific knowledge was often called into the asylum as an arbiter, to divide what was crime from what was madness, but, according to Foucault, “above all as a guardian to protect others from the danger that exuded through the wall of confinement.”²

Early in the nineteenth century, Argentina had left behind the cruel “era of confinement;” that is, the period when the insane, the criminal and the poor were all inhumanely treated and isolated from society in one common space. By the 1860s, Argentina began to build a network of asylums where the insane and the criminal were separated, but were still isolated. The innovation of outpatient services was not introduced until the 1920s; after this, new forms of treatment slowly began to appear. By the 1930s, the asylums had turned into psychiatric hospitals and were connected to society.

Argentina at the turn of the twentieth century was, therefore, a society preoccupied with the understanding of the criminal mind and criminal responsibility or lack thereof; how best to separate and lock out the insane; and how to improve the

‘quality’ of arriving immigrants and thereby preserve the ‘strength’ and ‘purity’ of the ‘Latin race’, which was not indigenous but European.

Collaborative practices among the institutions that embodied these preoccupations—namely, the asylums, universities, health departments, immigration department, penal system, Church and army—created important conditions of possibility for the discourse of legal medicine to flourish. A way of observing, describing and speaking and teaching about patients began to circulate at an institutional level as discourse; that is, as what counted as knowledge. The discourse created by collaborative practices—in particular, between the university and the penal system—expanded further in the twentieth century.

The established paradigm in the disciplines of the mind promoted institutional networking among the Chair of Clinical Psychiatry, the field of legal medicine and the asylums. Its endurance also had the effect of preventing any disruption of continuity by eluding any change of the guard and by maintaining the same cast of actors. It was also a way of coping with the very few academic opportunities available and hindering the advancement of an increasing number of university-educated competitors.

The *Somatiker* paradigm also served to delineate the distinction between the criminal and the insane and to build the nation’s institutions of confinement, both for asylum and for correction. At a time of massive immigration, it promoted the creation of distinctions between insane immigrants and sane Argentineans, and all the issues of mental hygiene that these distinctions implied. For example, primary sources such as the speeches and correspondence of Francisco De Veyga illustrate abundantly how the

existing discourse in the disciplines of the mind served to unite the penal system with the university, the university with the army, and the army with the Church.

Somatiker explanations of insanity remained the pre-eminent scientific paradigm well into the twentieth century. Charcot's and Janet's *Psychiker* explanations began to circulate early in the century, but the shifts, transformations and substitutions in the *Somatiker* discourse that they provoked with the introduction of their theories were filtered out and did not diminish interest in the discourse on anatomopathology, heredity and degeneracy. Their theories merely created new developments in the study of the criminal mind. The mind-body theory, which was governing the *Somatiker* discourse, had not been disturbed; that is, the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry remained fundamentally somatic. The institutional and technical sites from which neurologists and psychiatrists taught their students and perceived, spoke about, observed, treated and described their patients remained undisturbed.

In the discipline of psychology at the turn of the twentieth century, biological psychology gained scientific status within the Faculty of Philosophy and was taught by the same professor, of German origin, until 1946. Also, early that century an eclectic model of experimentation in psychology was implemented in newly opened laboratories modeled after both the Leipzig and Paris schools of psychological experimentation. This initiative was, short-lived, however, and the experimental laboratories became virtually extinct in the 1920s.³

In addition to questioning the mind-body relationship proposed by the *Somatiker* paradigm, as Charcot and Janet had done before him, one of the most innovative aspects of psychoanalysis was that it listened to what the patient had to say. While the somatic

approach silenced the insane, psychoanalysis invited the insane to speak. Freud put language in the place of observation. In psychoanalysis language is not observed, it is listened to, a radical innovation much resisted at the time.^{4 5}

As a consequence, in the *Psychiker* paradigm in general and in Freud's evolving theories in particular, the doctor-patient relationship was transformed. Incorporating psychoanalysis into the hospitals and the university would have meant transforming the existing doctor-patient relationship and all the institutional arrangements supporting it. This did not happen in Argentina during the period under study but it did happen in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century. The same could be said of the changes required to incorporate interdisciplinary teaching and practice into the universities and hospitals. Existing institutional arrangements would have to have been transformed to create common ground on which neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists could discuss new theories and practices, both at the university and as practicing students in hospitals, and to engage in clinical work using interdisciplinary approaches to mental illnesses.

As a firmly established pre-Freudian order that was pervasive and slow to innovate, the somatic paradigm, it is argued, delayed the entrance of Freud's theories and other *Psychiker* explanations of mental pathology. Neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in Freud's work did not reach positions of authority within the institutional settings of universities and hospitals and they were, therefore, unable to shape their respective disciplines during this period.

At the turn of the century, Argentinean neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in challenging the *Somatiker* paradigm were reading the same

authors and attending the same conferences on psychopathology that, for example, their American colleagues did. However, psychoanalysis took four decades to formally appear in Argentina (1942), while in the US, the first formal association was created in 1911. Argentina and the US moved from having synchronous discourses in the disciplines of the mind at the turn of the twentieth century to an asynchronous process in the reception of psychoanalytical theories that filtered Freud's theories through different discursive frameworks, institutional fields and political struggles.

In the US, the *Somatiker* paradigm cracked early. Psychoanalysis was medicalized soon after its arrival and it made deep inroads in the disciplines of the mind—in particular, in the training of new generations of psychiatrists. By contrast, in Argentina the *Somatiker* paradigm became entrenched on the educational and mental-health institutions nation wide until the 1940s.

Freud's writings came to Argentina via France. A French cultural filter had been applied before their arrival in Argentina, where further filtration occurred. This double filtering of theories and practices is an important difference between the conditions of possibility for psychoanalytical knowledge in Argentina and the arrival and reception of Freud's thinking in the US, where Freud's ideas migrated without double filtering or transforming steps.

In Argentina, Freud's evolving theories took a long time to achieve independence from the thinking of Charcot, Janet and Bernheim. Freud distanced his emerging understanding of hysterical symptoms from both the School of Paris and the School of Nancy. Freud's attempt to resolve the Salpêtrière–Nancy controversy helped him to refine his understanding of hysterical symptoms by identifying and developing the

concept of resistance and by paying attention to the role of memory and its dynamic relation to the symptoms in the psychic apparatus. The nuances of this conceptual debate are present to a certain extent in the Argentinean literature written at the turn of the century. The Argentinean authors, however, underestimated the importance of the differences between Freud and Bernheim on issues of suggestion, between Freud and Charcot on issues of heredity and between Freud and Janet on issues of heredity and therapeutics.

The continuous Argentinean ‘mono-culture’ of French authors in the reading of Freud introduced a further transforming step after World War I, when the neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists interested in psychotherapy filtered Freud’s ideas through the interpretations of French Marxist thinkers. Attempts to harmonize Freud’s theories with Marxist theories became an important theoretical preoccupation of many of the Groundbreakers in the 1920s and 1930s.

It was not until the new endocrinological theories were disseminated through the Chair in Clinical Medicine—which, in contrast to the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry, was influenced by American authors rather than European ones—that the conditions of possibility for a psychosomatic psychoanalysis appeared. This was then seized upon by the members of the newly organized APA. As the Pioneers distanced their activities and their networking more and more from the neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists of the time, closer ties were built at the discursive level with psychosomatic medicine, constituting a valuable bridge to the medical discourse of the Chair of Clinical Medicine and the Endocrinological Society.

This '*virage*' of psychoanalysis to English sources was greatly reinforced by the letter of Ernest Jones in 1942 and, in the late 1940s, by the introduction of a Kleinian filter in the training of analysts as well as at the level of the APA's institutional arrangements. In the 1950s, after the period covered by this dissertation, as the Kleinian filter gained dominance interest in psychosomatic medicine declined and the APA embarked on a renewed effort to build bridges with the disciplines of the mind and their institutions.

Endnotes for Summary

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- 1 Foucault, M. Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. New York; Vintage Book, 1973, 205.
- 2 Ibid, (1970) 244.
- 3 In his article The Origins of the Psychological Experiment as a Social Institution, Kurt Danziger describes the Leipzig and Paris models of psychological experimentation: “the two models were typically employed to investigate different aspects of psychological functioning: the Leipzig model to study aspects of normal cognition and the Paris model to study abnormal functioning.” American Psychologist (1985): 136.
- 4 Foucault’s references to Freud are few but, in Madness and Civilization, he described his importance as follows: “...all 19th century psychiatry really converges on Freud, the first man to accept in all its seriousness the reality of the physician–patient couple, the first to follow its consequences with absolute rigour. Freud demystified all the other asylum structures; he abolished silence and observation, he eliminated its spectacle, he silenced the instances of condemnation.” (277).
- Lacan, Jacques. The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book I and II. Jacques-Alain Miller (ed.) New York: Norton. In Book I, Lacan affirmed, “Without doubt, speech is mediation, mediation between subject and other, and it implicates the coming into being of the other in this very mediation. An essential element of the coming into being of the other is the capacity of speech to unite us to him.” (48). In Book II, Lacan accounts for Freud’s originality by saying ‘...he stumbles on, the dream... Hence the complete revolution in his thinking, and the move to the *Traumdeutung*. It is said that he abandons a physiologising perspective for a psychologising perspective. That’s not the point. He discovers the operation of the symbol as such, the manifestation of the symbol in the dialectical state, in the semantic state, in its displacements, puns, plays on words, jokes working all on their own in the dream machine. . And he has to take a line on this discovery, accept it or ignore it. ...” (76).

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Appendix 1

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Appendix 1

Oral Testimonies

As background preparation for this research, we accessed oral testimonies of four (male) Argentinean psychoanalysts recorded in 1998 on the topic of psychoanalysis in Argentina. Although all four were trained after the period under study, their comments provide an insight on the development of psychoanalysis in Argentina in the near past and a flavor of the training provided by the APA in the early 1950's. All four interviewees are physicians and practising psychoanalysts but only two are psychiatrists and two have pursued interdisciplinary research interests.

Aslan, C.M. (Speaker) (1998) a prolific author and former president of the APA, is a founding member of the Department of History at the APA. His testimony has a biographical flavour. He grew up within the family circle of Dr. Arnaldo Rascovsky, one of the pioneers of psychoanalysis in Argentina and founder of the APA. From the early 40s, he remembers in detail the “Sunday meetings” of the study group (he was 10 years old) and describes in his testimony many anecdotes of the pioneers’ days, as well as the APA insiders’ perspective on the conflicts and tensions that took place in the 1970s. Dr. Aslan’s extensive knowledge of the literature on the history of psychoanalysis in Argentina guided us in our archival search.

Echegoyen, R.H. (Speaker) (1999) was the first Latin American president of the International Psychoanalytical Association (1994). In his testimony, he recounts his psychiatric training and his decision to become a psychoanalyst when this specialization was not popular and was seen by graduates as a “strange and non lucrative profession.” He remarks that only those with a great vocation chose psychoanalysis at the time. (He graduated in 1947 and started

his analysis shortly after with Heinrich Racker from the APA). In his conversation, Echegoyen describes his family as a place where cultural, political and ethical values were very important. His father was of Spanish (Basque) origin, his mother of Italian origin.

A Kleinian analyst all his life, he became interested in the Asociacion Argentina de Epistemologia del Psicoanalisis, AAEP, (Argentine Association of Psychoanalytic Epistemology.) He regularly attended AAEP seminars led by Gregorio Klimonsky, an Argentinean mathematician turned epistemologist, with whom he developed a long and enduring friendship. Echegoyen considers this interdisciplinary experience transformative: he studied logic and the scientific method, in particular Popper's and Nagel's, hypothetical deductive method. Slowly he became aware that he had always approached psychoanalytic sessions as an epistemologist and he published on this topic on several occasions. His book *The Foundations of Psychoanalytic Technique* was translated into several languages. Echegoyen left with other members the APA in 1978 to found the Asociacion Psicoanalitica de Buenos Aires (APdeBA).

Issaharof, E. (Speaker) (1998) is a psychoanalyst who first training was as a musician and who was a professional violinist for many years before taking his medical degree. Part of his psychoanalytical career he dedicated to advising Dr. Alfonsin, president of Argentina from 1983 to 1989, for whom he wrote many public speeches. Issaharof also worked with several important heads of large corporations conducting organizational retreats during the seventies. A member of the IPA Epistemological Committee, he also participates actively in a newly formed organization called the Argentinean Society of Psychoanalysis (Sociedad Psicoanalitica Argentina) and is a member of this Society's Interdisciplinary Committee. He is interested in the theoretical linkages between Freud's unconscious and current theories in neuroscience and cognitivism. Like Echegoyen, Issaharof participated in Gregorio Klimonsky's seminars.

Featherston, C. (Speaker). (1998) communicates vividly his personal experience as a student of medicine at the University of Buenos Aires in the early 1950s, and his many observations regarding internships in psychiatric hospitals. His subsequent training in psychoanalysis at APA opened a new way of understanding pathology.

Featherston emphasized in his interview the destructive role that extreme political positions within the APA had played during the 1970s. He also remarked on the fluid and frequent exchange of expertise that has existed since its foundation between the APA and the British Psychoanalytic Society in London, UK. The relationship between these two organizations began in 1942 when Ernest Jones exchanged correspondence with two pioneers of psychoanalysis in Argentina, Dr. Angel Garma and Dr. Celes Carcamo. In 1946, this relationship intensified in an exchange of correspondence between two women psychoanalysts (Arminda Aberastury and Melaine Klein) about the psychoanalytic treatment of children.

Appendix 2

Appendix 2

Neurologists, Psychiatrists and Psychologists

Biographical Notes

It is important to recognize that the professional designations of neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists were not as clear cut at the turn of the nineteenth century as they are today and that Argentinean scientists adopted one or another throughout their academic careers. The profiles chosen are those of alienists, neurologists, psychiatrists and psychologists who are identified in the literature as important contributors to the field as researchers, university professors and/or administrators of psychiatric hospitals in Argentina from 1850 to 1930.

Arturo Ameghino (1880-1946) was born in the Province of Buenos Aires. His neuropsychiatric studies started during 1911-14, when he registered as a student in the courses of Dejerine, Dupre and Grasset in the Faculty of Medicine in the Paris. He continued his studies in the laboratory of Professor Vialleton at the Faculty of Medicine in Montpellier, where Pinel had taught many years before. When Ameghino returned to Buenos Aires he was appointed chief of clinical neurology at the Faculty of Medicine of the University Buenos Aires (1915-16). One year later he was appointed chief of the experimental psychology laboratory, which was attached to the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry. During this period, he also worked as an intern at the Hospicio de las Mercedes. Ameghino succeeded Borda as professor of clinical psychiatry in 1931, having been head of the experimental psychology section of the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry since 1917. A number of Ameghino's publications were sociological, demographic or prophylactic in nature. He also defined in one of his publications six basic groups of mentally

ill patients. In all six categories, the root of the morbid processes is the anatomopathology of the patient's brain.

At specialized congresses that took place in 1921, 1922 and 1925, Ameghino presented papers on issues related to experimental psychology and forensic psychiatry. In 1927, he founded, for the second time, the Argentinean *Journal of Neurology, Psychiatry and Legal Medicine* and he was a founding member of the Society of Legal Medicine and Toxicology in Buenos Aires (1927) and of the Argentina Society of Neurology and Psychiatry (1923).

Arturo Ameghino is identified in the literature as a leading representative of the mental hygiene movement revived just before and after World War I with the arrival of thousands of immigrants. He became preoccupied with "high numbers of insane immigrants that get through the system due to insufficient medical inspections". Ameghino read French and Italian and was known for his sophisticated, colourful writings.

Born in Corrientes, where Cabred was also born, **Jose Tiburcio Borda** (1869-1936) succeeded Cabred as professor of clinical psychiatry in 1918. Like his teacher, Cabred, Borda became a member of the Academy of Medicine. His thesis, written in 1894, dealt with the prognosis of mental alienation. Throughout his life Borda preferred laboratory work to any other work in the field of psychiatry. He had a sustained interest in anatomopathology and is described as a "passionate organicist". In his laboratory he worked with Christofredo Jakob studying the anatomopathology of the nervous system in all forms of mental illness. One of his most important publications, *Trecientas autopsias cerebrales de parálisis general progresiva* (*Three hundred cerebral autopsies of general progressive paralysis*), was presented at the Second Medical Congress in Latin America in 1926. Based on the work of Magnan, Regis and

Kraepelin, Borda created his own classification of mental alienation, which was later adopted by many Latin American countries.

Gonzalo Bosch (1885-1967), grandson of Ventura Bosch, became interested in clinical psychiatry early in his medical career and was Ordinarius professor of clinical psychiatry from 1943 to 1952. He was appointed director of the Hospicio de las Mercedes and of the Colonia de Alienados, by then renamed *Domingo Cabred*. In 1929, Bosch founded the Liga Argentina de Higiene Mental, which organized programs of prevention of mental illness and outpatient clinics at medical facilities. In 1932, he founded the School for Mental Hygiene Workers. In his writings Bosch addressed issues of mental pathology, the importance of biology, hereditary, and most often, what was then referred to as “the psychopathic constitution” of the patient. Since its foundation in 1933, he was the chair of the Social Medicine Section of the *Anales de Biotipologia, Eugenesis y Medicina Social* (*Annals of Biotypology, Eugenics and Social Medicine*).

The Chair in Clinical Psychiatry remained unoccupied for almost two years after Bosch's departure. Before the military coup in September 1955, Rocha briefly occupied it. After the change of government and until 1963 Bonheur, a psychiatrist born in Paris but raised in Buenos Aires, held the post. Bonheur brought this position closer to the Instituto de Criminología de la Dirección de Institutos Penales de la provincia de Buenos Aires (Institute of Criminology, Directorate of Penal Institutes of the Province of Buenos Aires).

Ventura Bosch (1814-1871) was one of the few progressive physicians who remained in Buenos Aires during the general Rosas's government; many others went into exile in neighbouring Uruguay or Chile. After 1852, many institutions were rebuilt, new ones were

founded and the academic, artistic and intellectual life of the city of Buenos Aires experienced a period of renaissance.

Bosch could be considered the first Argentinean alienist; he founded the first two psychiatric hospitals and actively introduced the teachings of Pinel in institutional settings for the insane. Shortly after returning from a trip to Paris, among other European capitals, in 1853, he founded the Hospital Nacional de Alienadas (National Hospital for Insane Women) with beds for sixty patients who previously resided in the Hospital General Mujeres (General Hospital for Women). The new building conformed with the model introduced by Pinel; it had three large courtyards, one named for Pinel, another for Esquirol, and the third for Obligado, the name of the Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires. A philanthropic commission presided over by Bosch, which included members of the Sociedad de Beneficencia (a charity formed by wealthy members of the local society), administered the institution.

Ten years later, in 1863, Bosch led an initiative to move 116 mental patients from the Hospital General de Hombres (General Hospital for Men) to the new psychiatric Hospicio de las Mercedes. Bosch founded and actively promoted the formation of charity organizations to support the mental hygiene movement. He also had political ambitions and became provincial senator for the Province of Buenos Aires. From this position he was able to introduce several legislative projects to improve and protect the mentally ill and secure public funding for new institutions.

Domingo Cabred (1859-1929), born in the Province of Corrientes, graduated in medicine with a thesis on “reflexive insanity”. Like his mentor, Lucio Melendez, Cabred was an alienist in a psychiatric hospital and professor at the Faculty of Medicine. For a number of years, starting in 1887, he taught mental pathology before being appointed Ordinarius professor of

clinical psychiatry in 1893. In 1896 Cabred traveled to France and Germany. When he returned he founded the Institute of Clinical Psychiatry and transformed the Hospicio de las Mercedes into a teaching hospital modeled after the French style in which clinical work, anatomopathology, biological chemistry and psychopathology converged.

Cabred expanded the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry with the creation of medical services and a laboratory of anatomopathology at the Hospicio de las Mercedes where the correlation between the symptom and the cerebral lesion was studied in order to establish the nature of mental illness. Cabred offered the directorship of the laboratory to Chritofredo Jakob, a German neurobiologist; Jakob immigrated to Argentina to direct and organize the laboratory. Cabred had met Jakob in 1896 during one of his visits to Germany. To persuade the authorities to hire Jakob, Cabred offered to donate his salary for the creation of the position offered to Jakob.

Cabred occupied the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry until 1918, one of the longest professorships in clinical psychiatry. The literature records that Cabred's studied in Paris with Magnan, Charcot and Ball. A commentator remarked that "although Cabred classes were always on Tuesdays like Charcot's, his classes had the scientific rigor of a German master with the facility of expression and quickness of thought of a Latin orator".

The sociomedical reality of Argentina at the time called upon Cabred's organizational talents in areas other than psychiatry. He was central to the creation of the Liga Argentina contra el alcoholismo (Argentinean League Against Alcoholism) in 1903 and the Cancer Institute, as well as the implementation of important campaigns against tuberculosis and leprosy. In 1911, he founded the Society of Psychiatry, Neurology and Legal Medicine and its corresponding journal.

At the turn of the century Cabred founded the first school for male psychiatric nurses at the Hospicio de las Mercedes. After his death, the school declined until Gonzalo Bosch

revitalized it in 1936, but it ceased to exist in 1942, according to Guerino “for no apparent reason.” In the Hospital Nacional de Alienadas, under the tutelage of the Sociedad de Beneficencia, a general school of nursing operated for twenty years; here the female nurses received a general technical certification.

Jose Ingenieros (1877-1925) was a physician-psychologist as well as a philosopher with broad interests in the natural sciences. He was the founder of the Buenos Aires Society of Psychology and was deeply influenced by Darwin’s theory of evolution and by Spencer’s idea of evolutionary progress. Ingenieros, a prolific author, was written about in many articles and books by his contemporaries and successors. He frequently visited the universities of Paris, Lausanne and Heidelberg and he was specially invited by the Government of France to attend the one-hundredth celebration of the birth of Charcot in 1925.

In France Ingenieros met Ribot and Le Dantec and in Rome, Ferri and Morselli. In the eyes of local historians, he occupies a prominent place in the history of psychiatry and psychology in Argentina. The son of an Italian socialist poet who had to emigrate to Argentina for political reasons, Ingenieros himself became a volunteer exile in 1907 when he left for France after President, Roque Saenz Pena denied him the Chair in Legal Medicine in the Faculty of Medicine. In 1914 he again went to Chile after resigning his academic position in the Faculty of Philosophy.

In his writings Ingenieros acknowledged the great men who influenced and inspired him: Darwin, Spencer and Le Dantec in biology; Lombroso, Ferri, Charcot, Maudsley and Morselli in psychiatry and criminology; Ribot, Sergi, Mantegazza, Paulhna and Nordau in psychology.

Ingenieros’s life work is multifaceted. His published writings addressed issues in psychiatry, criminology, history, philosophy and sociology and gained him both followers and

critics. Although his work addressed multiple areas of interest, his expertise was in the field of criminology. Ingenieros's biological psychology, opposed to vitalist or rationalist interpretations, attempted to complement the physical and anthropological considerations of Lombroso with a sociological perspective of insanity and criminality. Aware of the severe criticism leveled at Lombroso's theories in Rome in 1885 and in Paris in 1889, and the new developments in penal law in Italy, Ingenieros elaborated on the psychological rather than the physical aspects of the criminal personality.

Ingenieros often cited Charcot's and Janet's works. As well, he cited Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900, barely months after its publication, although his citation seems to be more formal than substantial and Vezetti speculates that he possibly read a review of the book that appeared in French and Italian. Later publications seem to reveal a limited grasp of Freud's work and of the theoretical differences already evident between Freud and Janet with respect to hysteria and hypnotism.

Ingenieros, like de Veyga, taught in two faculties: a course in neuropathology in the Faculty of Medicine and a course in experimental psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy. De Veyga appointed him as chief of the new clinic at the police observation service. Ingenieros was one of the founders of the Institute of Criminology associated to the National Department of Corrections and the Institute adopted his classification of delinquents in 1900. He took the role of editor of the journal *La Semana Medica* and became director of the *Archivos de Psiquiatria y Criminologia* that he had founded in 1902. In all, the journal *La Semana Medica* appeared 12 times and, in 1914, ceased publication. These archives published not only articles by Argentinean psychiatrists but also by many Latin American and some European authors. In a

historical and sociological vein, Ingenieros wrote his last book on *Insanity in Argentina*; it is considered one of the first histories of Argentinean psychiatry.

Christofredo Jakob (1866-1956) is considered the creator of academic studies of the nervous systems in Argentina. Until his arrival in Argentina in 1897 there were no fully equipped laboratories dedicated to the study of the pathology of the nervous system. Trained in Germany, he arrived in Argentina with the latest knowledge of anatomopathology as practiced in the leading laboratories in Germany, and presumably well versed in the works of Meynert in Vienna. Jakob's activities took place in two laboratories, the one mentioned above, created by Cabred as part of the Chair in Clinical Psychiatry in the Hospicio de la Mercedes, and later in the laboratory in the *Hospital de Alienadas*. Jakob left the former laboratory after months of personal conflict and went back to Germany in 1903. Little is known about these personality clashes but he came back to Argentina after a short period of time at the invitation of Dr. Esteves, Director of the Hospital of Alienadas.

Prior to Jakob's arrival in 1897, Argentinean scientists were already studying anatomopathology and many of them joined Jakob to further their knowledge as documented in their publications on medullar nervous centers, cerebral tumors, medullar localization's and histopathology of the ovaries. Jakob published many articles from 1900 onward. His interests were varied but he focused his research on embryology, normal micro and macro anatomy, pathology of the nervous system and comparative anatomy. This last interest generated books and articles and a vast collection of specimens, which he turned into the world-class Neurobiological Museum at the University of La Plata.

Several authors, including six of his disciples, have written about Jakob's life. He lived for almost 90 years; in his old age he read Goethe and listened to Mozart and Beethoven. He is

portrayed as a physician, biologist and philosopher, a great connoisseur of music and an expert in mineralogy and poetry. In 1944 he was given the Argentinean Eduardo L. Holmberg Prize for his work on the human brain. He is described as a “historian and geographer of the human brain.”

Alejandro Korn (1860-1936), referred to as a physician-philosopher, was the son of a German physician who immigrated to Argentina around the middle of the nineteenth century. Influenced by Kant, Dilthey and Schopenhauer, Korn was particularly interested in the complexities of free will and the relationship between economic freedom and ethical freedom. He attempted to create “an Argentinean position” in philosophy separate and distinct from the French and German idealism.

An alienist and administrator of a psychiatric hospital in the Province of Buenos Aires, Korn also pursued an academic career. His graduating thesis (1883) was titled *Locura y Crimen* (*Insanity and Crime*) and was inspired by two and half years as an intern at the largest jail in Buenos Aires. In his writing he discussed issues of free will and the moral responsibility for crimes committed by individuals with “physiological imperfections.”

After Korn’s graduation he taught a course in the history of philosophy at the University of La Plata; he also taught anatomy, ethics and metaphysics. Although Korn started his career as a positivist, he joined other Argentinean thinkers who, at the turn of the century, began to move away from the extreme scientific ideals of Argentinean positivism to the new idealism of Bergson, Schopenhauer and the neo-Kantians.

Psychiatry formally entered the University of Buenos Aires in 1884 when the Academy of Medicine created a new Chair in Mental Pathology, later renamed Clinical Psychiatry. **Lucio Melendez** (1844-1901), born in the Province of La Rioja, won the academic competition for the

first professorship of clinical psychiatry. He was also appointed director of the Hospicio de las Mercedes, where he continued to introduce many of the innovative practices proposed by Pinel and his disciple Esquirol.

Melendez's first article was on insanity and cerebral anaemia; it was published in 1876. In this article, he cited the French author August Voisin, also a follower of Pinel, and endorsed Voisin's somatic approach to the explanation of insanity. Although Melendez conferred great importance on Morel's doctrine of hereditary degeneracy, proposed in 1857, he concluded that the scientific understanding of heredity in insanity was in its infancy. Among the publications by Melendez listed in Loudet's book is *Locura Histerica (Hysterical Insanity)*, published in 1882, the same year that Charcot announced his new discovery to the French Academy of Medicine. Melendez's article is possibly the first article published by an Argentinean author on the topic of hysterical insanity. He indicates his adherence to the organicist explanations of hysteria and the importance of inheritance in mental pathology. This article appeared at the time when gradual elaboration of the notion of dynamic psychiatry was developing in France. According to Ellenberger (1970, 312), in the period between 1880 and 1900 French physiologists began to use the word "dynamic" to express the notion of functional as opposed to organic pathology. There is no evidence in Melendez's article that he was aware of this development.

Horacio Pinero (1869-1919), one of the founders of the Buenos Aires Society of Psychology, set up an experimental psychology laboratory in 1898 at the University of Buenos Aires, with equipment acquired in Germany and France. He published his own and his students' research findings every year until 1914.

Jose Maria Ramos Mejia (1842-1914) considered himself a positivist, a disciple of Taine, Tarde and Gustave Le Bon and, in the area of psychiatry, of Charcot, Magnan and Regis

and the German anatomopathologist Meynert. Born in the city of Buenos Aires, Ramos Mejia graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in 1879 having completed a thesis on the clinical understanding of cerebral traumatism. His publications on clinical history appeared in his fictional treatment of the psychobiographies of celebrated men. In 1878, he wrote *Neurosis de Hombres Celebres in la Historia Argentina* (*The Neuroses of Celebrated Men in the History of Argentina*) and in 1883 *Locura en la Historia* (*Madness in History*). This last book was criticized by Paul Groussac, who wrote the prologue in the Spanish version, for its adherence to the doctrine of degeneration in biology and mental pathology.

A physician initially interested in bacteriology, **Francisco de Veyga** (1866-1948) traveled to Paris to study in the laboratories of Vaillard, Roux and Pasteur. However, while in Paris, “he started to attend Charcot’s classes in the Salpêtrière, Broudel’s at the old Morgue in the l’Isle de la Cite, behind Notre Dame, and those of Magnan in Sainte Anne.” De Veyga was also greatly influenced by the Italian Cesare Lombroso, considered to be one of the pioneers of modern criminology. De Veyga became one of the most proficient experts in legal medicine and the biological and social causes of criminality in Argentina.

In 1899 de Veyga was appointed Ordinarius professor of legal medicine at the University of Buenos Aires. His expertise in legal medicine was put to use in the army, where he reached the rank of general, and in the police force where he created a medical service (1899) for his students to observe the mental conditions of criminals. De Veyga forged a long- standing association between the Faculty of Medicine and the Public Service of Autopsies, also run by the police, by creating a medical service in this facility for his students to practice in.

All de Veyga’s scientific production was permeated by the doctrine of heredity and degeneracy in insanity and criminality. As late as 1940, in his book *Degeneracion y*

Degenerados (Degeneracy and Degenerates), he states that the relation between the degenerative states in insanity and its relation with vice and delinquency is “an axiomatic fact in medicine beyond discussion.” His writings show clear eugenic preoccupation when he seeks to protect “the race, its strength, health and virtue from the aberrations and dissolute tendencies of the degenerates.”

Appendix 3

Appendix 4

History of Medicine in Argentina Research Institutes and Academic Societies

ENTIDADES HISTORICO-MEDICAS DEL PAIS

1. Ateneo de Historia de la Medicina de Buenos Aires (fundado en 1936).
Sede: Cátedra de Historia de la Medicina. Facultad de Medicina de Buenos Aires, Paraguay 2155, piso 15, Capital.
Presidente: Prof. Dr. Argentino J. Landaburu.
2. Comisión de Historia de la Medicina de la Academia Nacional de Medicina y Secretariado Permanente de Congresos Nacionales de Historia de la Medicina Argentina (fundados respectivamente en 1936 y 1968).
Sede: Academia Nacional de Medicina. Cnel. Díaz y Las Heras, Capital.
Secretario Permanente: Prof. Dr. Osvaldo Laudet.
3. Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Medicina, sección de la A.M.A. (fundada en 1936).
Sede: Asociación Médica Argentina. Santa Fe 1171, Capital.
Presidente: Prof. Dr. Jorge Franchella.
4. Sociedad de Historia de la Medicina de La Plata (fundada en 1940).
Se encuentra de hecho disuelta.
5. Sociedad Rosarina de Historia de la Medicina (fundada en 1945).
Sede: Mendoza 1283. Rosario, provincia de Santa Fe.
Presidente: Prof. Dr. Juan Andrés Codazzi Aguirre.
6. Sociedad Argentina de Antropología e Historia Médicas (fundada en 1970).
Sede: Santa Fe 1145, Capital (Sociedad Científica Argentina).
Presidente: Dr. José A. Paunessa.
7. Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Farmacia (fundada en 1970).
Sede: Facultad de Farmacia y Bioquímica, Orientación, Historia y Deontología, piso 5º, aula Irizar, Junín 956, Capital.
Presidente: Prof. Dr. Francisco Cignali.
8. Secretariado Permanente de Jornadas Iberoamericanas de Historia de la Medicina, la Farmacia y la Odontología (fundado en 1971).
Sede: las del Ateneo de Historia de la Medicina de Buenos Aires y la Sociedad Argentina de Historia de la Farmacia.
Secretarios Permanentes: Dres. M. M. de González Lanuza, A. J. Landaburu, J. Lardies González, A. Kohn Loncarica y R. López.
9. Ateneo de Historia de la Medicina de Córdoba (fundado en 1972).
Sede: Estafeta Postal 32, Ciudad Universitaria, Córdoba.
Presidente: Prof. Dr. Enrique P. Aznárez.
10. Capítulo Argentino de la Societe Internationale d'Histoire de la Médecine (fundado en 1972).
Sede: Cátedra de Historia de la Medicina. Facultad de Medicina de Buenos Aires. Paraguay 2155, piso 15.
Delegado: Dr. Antonio A. Guerrino.

Appendix 5

University of Buenos Aires Senate Resolution
Faculty of Medicine, First graduate program in Psychiatry

1942

PROYECTO Y ORDENANZA CREANDO EL
"CURSO DE MÉDICOS PSIQUIATRAS"

Art. 1º — Créase en el "Instituto de Clínica Psiquiátrica" de la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas un ciclo de estudios superiores para la preparación de "Médicos Psiquiatras".

Art. 2º — Para inscribirse en los cursos de esta naturaleza se requiere ser médico, con diploma o revalidado en el país.

Art. 3º — La inscripción anual se hará hasta completar un máximo de treinta médicos. En caso que los candidatos a la inscripción sobrepasen dicho número, serán elegidos por una comisión constituida por los profesores titulares de Clínica Psiquiátrica, Clínica Neurológica y Neurocirugía. El curso podrá funcionar cuando hubiese cinco inscriptos.

Art. 4º — Los alumnos inscriptos abonarán los siguientes derechos arancelarios: a) matrícula, \$ 70 moneda nacional; b) derechos de enseñanza: 6 cuotas iguales de \$ 50 moneda nacional.

El derecho de matrícula se abonará en la misma fecha fijada para los estudiantes universitarios por el artículo 8º y los derechos de enseñanza en las fechas estable-

¹ Sancionado por el Consejo Directivo en la sesión del 20-10-42.

cidas por el artículo 13 de la Ordenanza de Aranceles y en las mismas condiciones de pago. Los derechos fijados precedentemente están destinados a costear esta enseñanza y la Universidad los liquidará a la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas.

Art. 5º — El curso de médicos psiquiatras estará dirigido por el director del "Instituto de Clínica Psiquiátrica", profesor titular de la materia en la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas, el que será responsable ante las autoridades de la facultad de la coordinación de sus actividades docentes y técnicas.

Art. 6º — La enseñanza para obtener el título de "Médico Psiquiatra" se desarrollará en dos años y comprenderá las siguientes materias:

Primer año:

Psicología Médica: 1 año.

Semiología Psiquiátrica: 1 año (Trab. prácticos: 1 año)

Anatomía Patológica: 1 año (Trab. prácticos: 1 año)

Neurología: 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año)

Clínica Psiquiátrica (primer curso): 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año).

Segundo año:

Neuropsiquiatría infantil: 1 año (Trab. prácticos: 1 año)

Clínica Psiquiátrica (segundo curso): 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año)

Psiquiatría forense: 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año)

Neurocirugía: 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año)

Tratamiento y asistencia de psicópatas: 1 año (Trabajos prácticos: 1 año).

Art. 7º — La enseñanza de las materias a que se refiere el artículo anterior será confiada a los profesores titulares de Clínica Psiquiátrica, Clínica Neurológica y Neurocirugía en sus respectivas asignaturas y a los profesores extraordinarios, adjuntos y docentes libres, autorizados en "venia docendi" o médicos de reconocida competencia, todos los cuales serán designados por el Consejo Directivo, a propuesta de la Comisión de Enseñanza, asesorada por el director del "Instituto de Clínica Psiquiátrica. Los profesores no titulares durarán

un año en sus funciones, pudiendo su nombramiento ser renovado.

- Art. 8º — Los profesores encargados del curso a que se refiere esta Ordenanza serán remunerados con el 90 por ciento de la inscripción, prorrateado entre ellos según el número de clases que hubieren dictado. Previamente se deducirá la cantidad necesaria para sostener los trabajos prácticos de cada materia, a juicio del director del instituto.
- Art. 9º — Los cursos que dicten los profesores extraordinarios adjuntos y docentes libres y "venia docendi" tendrán igual valor que los cursos libres parciales, siempre que comprendan como mínimo doce conferencias.
- Art. 10º — Los inscriptos deberán concurrir a las clínicas, laboratorios y anfiteatros de acuerdo con los horarios fijados por los encargados de impartir la enseñanza, siendo obligatoria la asistencia al 80 por ciento de las clases para poder figurar en las listas de las pruebas finales.
- Art. 11º — Los eliminados de acuerdo con el artículo anterior no tendrán derecho a la devolución de los aranceles abonados.
- Art. 12º — Terminados los cursos con la aprobación completa de los trabajos prácticos, los alumnos presentarán una monografía sobre un tema de la especialidad, que deberá ser previamente aprobada por el tribunal examinador, antes de la prueba final.
- Art. 13º — La prueba final consistirá en un examen de Clínica Psiquiátrica previo sorteo del caso con una hora de anticipación. El tribunal examinador estará constituido por los profesores titulares de Clínica Psiquiátrica y Clínica Neurológica y los profesores extraordinarios y adjuntos que hubiesen dictado los cursos correspondientes.
- Art. 14º — Los egresados del presente curso que hubiesen cumplido con todos los requisitos establecidos en esta Ordenanza podrán solicitar de la Facultad un diploma que los acredite con el título de "Médico Psiquiatra".

El diploma llevará las firmas del rector y secretario de la Universidad y del decano y secretario de la Facultad de Ciencias Médicas. Este diploma estará sujeto al previo pago de los aranceles reglamentarios.

Art. 15º — La Universidad de Buenos Aires gestionará de los poderes públicos de la Nación el reconocimiento oficial de los títulos que expida, como asimismo la reglamentación pertinente para que los egresados de dicho curso sean designados en los cargos técnicos de los establecimientos psiquiátricos del país.

Appendix 6

Appendix 6

Horacio Piñero in Paris

I have selected and transcribed below key paragraphs in French of this article. The author explained to a French audience the “state of the art” in experimental psychology in Argentina and the importance of the French influence in Argentina at the turn of the century.

“Dans la science, Messieurs, nous suivons de très près exemples de cette France scientifique qu’on appelle le *cerveau du monde* (italics in the original). Nous sommes vraiment Français intellectuellement, nous vivons auscultant votre progrès, écoutent vos leçons dans toutes les manifestations de l’*intelligence* (italics in the original), et j’affirme que nous vous sommes plus obligés qu’à toutes les autres nations réunis du monde, et la raison en est toute simple: au commencement de notre adolescence, ce sont des français qui dirigèrent nos pas et qui instruisèrent les générations qui gouvernent aujourd’hui le pays et élèvent notre jeunesse dans les écoles et les universités.” (276).

M. Amédée Jacques, le philosophe érudit, l’ami de Jules Simon, était avec M.M. Alfred Cosson et Adolphe Larroque, directeur de l’enseignement secondaire [in Argentine]. M. Amédée Jacques, fixa, de 1860 à 1868, le plan de l’enseignement secondaire dans les collèges nationaux, qui correspondent à vos Lycées.”(277)

“*Nous vous connaissons donc bien, Messieurs; l’esprit d’un peuple, comme celui de l’individu, modèle ses formes dans ses premières années et prend définitivement son allure dans l’adolescence, et c’est justement à cette époque de notre évolution que ces vieux et chers maîtres ont laissé des traces indélébiles, et une empreinte, si je puis le dire, vraiment française sur notre esprit [italics in the original].*”(278)

“Ce n’est pas tout: nous faisons les études secondaires avec des ouvrages français: nous sommes obligés d’étudier le français au Collège National, dans les écoles normales, dans les facultés à l’Université. Nos médecins (nous sommes 1000 seulement à Bs.As.), nos ingénieurs, nos avocats, nos docteurs à lettres, *tous*, connaissent et traduisent régulièrement votre langue; donc, je peux le dire, nous sommes vos élèves, *nous avons le même esprit.*” [italics in the original](277)

“Chez nous l’enseignement et les études supérieures des universités sont divisées en quatre facultés: médecine, droit, lettres et génie. Elles sont organisées sur votre modèle...”
Notre faculté de médecine, spécialement, est organisée exactement sur la vôtre; tous, nos professeurs, titulaires comme agrégés sont venus plusieurs fois ici pour suivre vos leçons et travailler dans vos laboratoires, quelques-uns ont fait leur études à la Faculté de Paris et ont leur diplôme français, comme pour emporter chez nous la marque de *votre science.*[italics in the original](278)

Voyez, messieurs, si Paris, si la France nous doit être chérie! (278)

“...Les travaux du professeur Charcot, ses ouvrages lumineux et pleins d’erudition que nous aimons beaucoup, sont très répandus. Ceux du professeur Ribot ont eu une influence extraordinaire sur notre jeune intellectualité, et la *Revue Philosophique*, fondée par lui, comme le héraut de la vérité à travers le monde, a bouleversé les fanatiques, les systématiques et les doctrinaires pour édifier solidement la science de l’esprit sur des bases inamovibles, sur la nature même. La psychologie de M. Ribot a révolutionné aussi notre pédagogie transcendente, pour ainsi dire; et voilà, messieurs, que, depuis une dizaine d’années, nous sommes en train de changer, par son influence, tout notre *système d’éducation* [italics in the original] (279)

“L’école de Wundt, fondateur de la psychologie d’expérimentation à Leipzig, a eu aussi de l’influence sur nos études; mais je dois le dire, elle n’a pas eu le succès énorme qu’elle a rencontré dans l’Amérique du Nord, où cinquante laboratoires suivent encore l’orientation spéciale du grand maître. A mon avis, ils ont fait trop de psychométrie, et je pense que celle-ci n’est qu’un petit chapitre de la psychologie.”(279)

La République Argentine, messieurs, a suivi avec enthousiasme et conviction ce mouvement [psychologie expérimentale] scientifique vraiment intéressant et, à l’heure actuelle, c’est la première dans l’Amérique du Sud qui peut offrir, comme manifestation de son adhésion, deux laboratoires de psychologie: l’un dans l’enseignement secondaire, l’autre dans les études supérieures. Depuis 1898-99, ils travaillent à vulgariser et à divulguer les nouvelles méthodes d’introspection interne et externe pour l’étude de l’esprit, l’expérimentation instrumentale et physiologique qui, avec la méthode subjective, l’auto-observation, nous permettent d’avoir tous les renseignements que la science met à notre portée. C’est à vous l’honneur de cette initiative su-américaine, ...”(281)

“[Aussi], ...à la Faculté de Médecine, nous avons fait des leçons spéciales pour l’étude expérimentale de la physiologie du système nerveux chez l’homme et les animaux, la physiologie de l’attention, de la mémoire, de l’émotion, de la volonté, qui attiraient aussi beaucoup de monde, désireux d’entendre ce qu’on appelait une *nouvelle forme de voir la vie et ses manifestations* [italics in the original].”(282)

“...inspirée par l’école de M. Ribot et de ses élèves. Cette même année [1898], nous avons demandé au Gouvernement des ressources pour faire de la psychométrie, de la vivisection, de la méthode graphique, etc. Ces crédits qui nous furent accordés (dix mille francs), nous les avons employés à des achats d’instruments : à la maison Verdin pour la physiologie opératoire; à Zimmerman et Petzold, de Leipzig, pour l’esthésiologie; à Corino, le mécanicien du professeur Mosso, à Turin, pour l’électrologie, en même temps qu’à la maison Gaiffe, à la maison Molteni, de Paris, pour les appareils de projections lumineuses, photographiques, etc. Voilà, messieurs, le premier laboratoire de psychologie expérimentale que la République Argentine a eu l’honneur de créer la première dans l’Amérique du Sud.”(283).

“A cette époque là [1900] se trouvait à Paris un ami et collègue de notre Faculté, et je l’ai prié de visiter les professeurs et les laboratoires de psychologie français et allemands pour me renseigner sur la forme et les conditions de l’enseignement de la psychologie, surtout au Collège de France et à la Sorbonne, et M. le Professeur Janet, avec cette gentillesse, vraiment française, que je n’oublierai jamais, me conseillait de faire mes *leçons en présentant des observations*, et il disait, justifiant son conseil, que le public qui s’intéresse aux choses de la psychologie est effrayé par l’abus des chiffres des certaines psychométrie.nous avons commencé notre cours de psychologie expérimentale a l’Université de Buenos Aires, en 1901, la première Université de l’Amérique du Sud qui adhérait *par les faits* [italics in the original] au vote demandé par le professeur Mosso, au Ve. Congrès de Physiologie de Turin sur l’enseignement de la psychologie expérimentale.”(286).

Pinero, H. La Psychologie Expérimentale dans la République Argentine. Communication faite a L’Institut Général Psychologique sur la demande de la Société de Psychologie de Paris. Instituto de Filosofia. Sección de Psicología. Publicado en la Revista de la Sociedad Médica Argentina. Tomo XI, 1903: 303-325 and in 1916 as part of the Trabajos de Psicología Normal y Patológica. Laboratorio de Psicología. Facultad de Filosofia y Letras. UBA. Volume I, 1916 (1905-1910), Buenos Aires: Compañía Sud-Americana de Billetes de Bs.As. 1916: 264-288.

(Extrait du No. 1 du Bulletin de l’Institut Général Psychologique. Paris, année 1903).

Appendix 7

Prof. Felix Krueger. Personal Correspondance to Wilhelm Wundt.

1906

Available from Cecilia Taiana upon request.

cecilia_taiana@carleton.ca

Appendix 8

Pierre Janet in Buenos Aires

1932

*Pierre Janet visita el Hospital de las Mercedes.
A su izquierda, Gonzalo Bosch con delantal blanco.*

Appendix 9

Luis Bonavia, Thesis, 1913
Faculty of Medicine, University of Buenos Aires

Available from Cecilia Taiana upon request
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UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE BUENOS AIRES
FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS MÉDICAS.

PSICOTERAPIA

TESIS

PRESENTADA PARA OPTAR AL TÍTULO DE DOCTOR EN MEDICINA

POR

LUIS L. BONAVIA

Ex-practicante mayor del Hospicio Nacional de Alienados (Lomas de Zamora)

BUENOS AIRES
«LA SEMANA MÉDICA» IMP. DE OBRAS DE E. SPINELLI
845 — JUNIN — 563
1913

Appendix 10

Prof. Nerio Rojas' visit to Sigmund Freud, 1930.

Published in *El diablo y la locura y otros ensayos*,

Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1951, 95-102.

CAPÍTULO VII

UNA VISITA A FREUD

Desde hace algunos años, Viena es como la Meca psiquiátrica y hay en ella dos mezquitas. Los alienistas se bifurcan hacia Wagner-Jauregg, creador de la malario-terapia y ex profesor jubilado de la Facultad, y Sigmund Freud, creador del psicoanálisis y enemigo de la psiquiatría oficial.

Ambos pueden ser tomados como símbolos de las dos corrientes que luchan por predominar en la medicina mental moderna: la orgánica y la psicológica.

Mientras la primera busca la interpretación de las psicosis en procesos anatómicos del cerebro o del resto del organismo, la segunda intenta la explicación en el dinamismo perturbado de las funciones psíquicas conscientes o no. Aquella parece aceptar que "el pensamiento es una secreción cerebral" y tiende a someter la psiquiatría a la medicina clínica; esta otra defiende una categoría especial: la vida psíquica, y quiere mantenerse dentro de la independencia de la psicología tradicional. Esto no significa, sin embargo, que cada una de ellas comporte o suponga una posición filosófica determinada, materialista o espiritualista. Y, desde luego, en Freud menos que en cualquier otro.

En mi reciente viaje a Viena tuve una entrevista con el fundador del psicoanálisis. Llegué puntual al "rendez-

vous" en su casa "después de comer", y mientras el maestro aparecía, pude observar el ambiente de su sala y su escritorio, como expresión de su espíritu. En ambas, todo es modesto y casi frío: escasos adornos de arte verdadero, muebles oscuros de líneas severas, sin estilo; dos litografías de tema mitológico con los infaltables sátiros; una vitrina llena de objetos antiguos, la mayoría pequeñas estatuas egipcias y griegas: ídolos, mujeres, animales; algún diploma; un retrato de Charcot, dedicado en 1886; otro de María Bonaparte, un tercero de una actriz francesa con dedicatoria que resulta una agradecida confesión, y, sobre una biblioteca, un busto del Dante. Al verlo pienso que como el florentino, que descendió al infierno colectivo de la sociedad, el vienés ha descendido al infierno individual del inconsciente. Yo estoy entregado a la asociación de estos dos espíritus tan diversos, que han presentado aspectos igualmente sombríos del hombre, cuando la puerta se abre y aparece un anciano sencillo, de perfil semita acentuado por la senilidad de tinte enfermizo, sonriente la boca desviada por un tic, inquietos y lúcidos los dos ojos pequeños: es Freud. La mano nudosa y cordial que acaba de estrechar la mía me indica un sillón y nos sentamos, separados por una mesita, él frente al modesto escritorio donde ha redactado muchos de sus famosos trabajos.

Estoy ante el maestro y no sé como abordarlo. Conozco su obra extraordinaria, el valor moral de su vida científica, su desagrado ante la polémica, he visto en enfermos muchos hechos favorables a su doctrina, pero yo no soy un ortodoxo y ni siquiera un total convencido del psicoanálisis. Como Freud me invita a plantearle las cuestiones que desee, prefiero empezar por las más fáciles. Después de explicarle que en la Argentina el psicoanálisis apenas empieza, que carece de organización, que algunos especialistas lo hacen aislada y fragmentariamente y que él suscita, sin embargo, un gran interés en los medios

intelectuales, recordamos la Sociedad del Brasil, y Freud tiene enseguida una evocación amable para el peruano Delgado, "uno de los primeros amigos extranjeros". Le refiero algunos ejemplos de mi observación, en los cuales resultó exacta la aplicación de su doctrina, y a propósito de uno de esos casos nos deslizamos hacia el tema de los complejos eróticos, selva obscura cuya topografía pretende conocer el psicoanálisis. Discúlpeame la discreción de unos puntos suspensivos en esta parte de mi relato a propósito de una doctrina que en otra ocasión ya calificué de "entre científica y pornográfica".

A continuación hablamos de la constitución nerviosa variable de los individuos y su papel en las psicosis y neurosis, aspecto descuidado por el psicoanálisis a pesar de su valor genético.

—En sus obras —le expreso entonces—, suele hablarse del factor constitucional, pero no aparece bien definido lo que su doctrina entiende por tal, y tampoco las relaciones entre ese elemento individual y las "constituciones psicopáticas", "desequilibrios constitucionales" de la psiquiatría (perversos, emotivos, esquizoides, paranoicos, mitómanos, etc.).

—Las constituciones anormales estudiadas por ustedes —me responde—, son un resultado; ellas no son primitivas. Lo originario es un conjunto de tendencias instintivas casi iguales en todos los hombres, entre los cuales sólo hay una diferencia cuantitativa inicial y no cualitativa. Los diversos impulsos de aquellas tendencias sufren la influencia de los acontecimientos externos desde el nacimiento; se diferencian, se deforman y producen secundariamente esos desequilibrios psíquicos, aparentemente primitivos. La influencia constitucional originaria, innata de verdad, varía de grado según los casos, lo mismo que los episodios accidentales. La psiquiatría oficial toma al hombre ya hecho; el psicoanálisis lo toma en su origen y su formación.

Todo esto es la síntesis de lo que en muchas páginas ha escrito Freud, con menos precisión, pero con ello no se aclara ni el vínculo patogénico entre esa constitución inicial, más o menos común, y los diversos desequilibrios bien conocidos, y mucho menos se llega a concretar los caracteres de esa entidad ultracongénita, cuyos primeros choques se producirían antes y durante el nacimiento y cuya fisiología hipotética se afirma un tanto dogmáticamente. En la cordialidad de la conversación el gran maestro me declara que, efectivamente, en eso hay un vacío, dadas las dificultades enormes para estudiar ese período de formación psíquica, pero que el psicoanálisis terminará por aclararlo, pues él es la buena vía.

A propósito de este punto de psicología casi embriológica, tocamos el linde de algunos enigmas metafísicos y el juego libre de mis asociaciones silenciosas evoca el nombre de Bergson. Recuerdo entonces la posición bergsoniana en el problema psicológico, con cierto parecido al freudismo. Es un tema seductor y arriesgado; él desborda una conversación de especialistas, pero me decido a someterlo concretamente al maestro; su opinión debe ser interesante.

No bien he precisado mi pensamiento, según el cual la doctrina de Bergson tiene grandes concordancias con el psicoanálisis, compruebo un cambio brusco en la mímica de mi interlocutor, que niega el hecho sin disimular su poco agrado. Deberes de respeto y de cortesía me obligan a aclarar mi afirmación, pero otros deberes de seriedad intelectual me imponen mantenerla.

—Ignoro, querido maestro, si esta opinión ha sido sostenida también por otros.

—Alguien, creo, la ha escrito ya, pero es la primera vez que me lo dicen. Aprovecho la ocasión y le ruego que me concrete los puntos de contacto entre Bergson y el psicoanálisis.

Sé que a Freud le desagrada discutir sobre su doctrina

—tal vez se ha cansado de hacerlo— y no ignoro que es un tanto celoso de su prioridad. Pero en tales asuntos e invitado en forma tan perentoria, considero que el hablar es un deber y un derecho. Además, en mi conciencia tengo igual respecto para Freud que para Bergson.

—Yo no hablo, manifiesto, de una influencia posible de la filosofía bergsoniana en la escuela psicoanalítica; creo que ambas se han ignorado a pesar de cierta simultaneidad bibliográfica y semejanza doctrinaria. Esta doble coincidencia histórica y científica suele darse a menudo en la obra intelectual, sin influencias recíprocas. Es como si ciertos tipos de ideas afines aparecieran sólo en determinado momento de la evolución de la cultura; como si algunos frutos del espíritu maduraran en diversas latitudes cuando se produce un adecuado clima intelectual. Es lo que, posiblemente, ha pasado entre el filósofo de París y la escuela de Viena.

Esta aclaración general facilita mi situación, y estimulado con el gesto por el dueño de casa, prosigo:

—El psicoanálisis es especialmente una reacción contra la psiquiatría oficial que estudia sobre todo los trastornos manifestados en el campo de la conciencia, en la forma de delirio, alucinación, amnesia, etc. El bergsonismo significa, por su lado, una reacción análoga contra la psicología intelectualista, que estudia los procesos normales de la vida psíquica consciente, respectivamente en forma de ideas, percepciones, imágenes. El psicoanálisis en patología y Bergson en psicología normal luchan contra las deficiencias de un atomismo psíquico demasiado estático y afirman la realidad de una corriente psíquica dinámica y continua, cuya forma concreta es el pensamiento verbal y la acción exterior, pero cuyo origen está fuera de la conciencia, en el fondo de la vida afectiva. Además, con la diferencia del contenido sexual, ambas escuelas estudian una psicología con dos "yo", afirman la influencia de una fuerza interior; de ahí que si la una

habla del "yo profundo", la otra habla del "ello" (el *soi*, el *ich*) y el super-yo, y se autodenomina "psicología de profundidad".

Freud me interrumpe entonces para reconocer la exactitud de esas semejanzas, cuya importancia acepta, y afirma:

—A pesar de eso, la diferencia entre Bergson y yo es fundamental. Él es filósofo y yo soy médico; Bergson es defensor del libre albedrío, y yo soy determinista; él propone la intuición, y yo la experiencia; él ignora el predominio de las tendencias instintivas en la forma estudiada por mí mismo. Además, el método de Bergson es personal, tiene valor en él, pero carece de rigor científico, de observación; es un método místico. Por eso su doctrina es casi estéril, mientras el psicoanálisis es fecundo siempre, en todas partes y en manos de cualquier hombre capaz.

A mi vez declaro con sinceridad que no había sostenido una identificación, sino puntos de contacto: una posición semejante. No quiero insistir sobre esas y otras semejanzas y diferencias, que podrían sintetizarse así: implicando ambos una dirección filosófica análoga en psicología, el bergsonismo es una doctrina luminosa con técnica imprecisa, mientras el psicoanálisis es un método feliz con teoría en parte discutible.

La asociación de ideas de nuestra plática, llevada a esas alturas inesperadas, me decide a explorar el pensamiento de Freud sobre los estudios de parapsicología o fenómenos metapsíquicos, muchos de los cuales —si son reales— parecen vincularse con "el inconsciente" y podrían, le digo, ser vistos a la luz del psicoanálisis.

—Este es un plano inclinado y de investigación muy difícil —me responde—. No creo que mi método pueda ser aplicado. No sé, yo no me intereso. Sin embargo, a propósito del anuncio misterioso de ciertos sueños, me he preocupado por la telepatía. Creo que ella existe y posi-

blemente se trata de un fenómeno de naturaleza física especial, todavía ignorada.

Después de ese breve vuelo metafísico, que no es de los hábitos ni del tipo mental del maestro, prefiero someterle dos cuestiones concretas. Es la primera saber su opinión sobre el valor o preferencias suyas ante las diferentes técnicas propuestas por él para estudiar el inconsciente. Según su opinión, todas son buenas, se complementan y no hay que usar una con exclusión de las otras para poder llegar a conclusiones seguras.

La segunda pregunta se refiere a la aplicación médico-legal del psicoanálisis en la psicología de los delincuentes y en el posible tratamiento, cuestión de cierta actualidad, sobre la cual había conversado en París con el Dr. Lafor-gue, que se mostraba optimista.

—Yo no he estudiado esta cuestión —me dice—. Algo se hace en Viena y sobre todo trabaja en ello Alexander en Berlín. Parece que en ciertos delincuentes actúa un "complejo de necesidad de punición". Yo no trabajo ya en las aplicaciones nuevas; son derivaciones de mi doctrina que otros deben hacer... Ya estoy viejo y dejo el sitio a los jóvenes; ellos siguen, yo no impongo, no soy "jefe de escuela...". Así es mejor, pues el psicoanálisis no es un dogma y está en evolución continua. Un método científico no es un sistema filosófico, una estructura del espíritu, un sistema armonioso para seducir... Lo mío no impide la libertad de los continuadores, la mayoría de los cuales ni me conoce. Mi doctrina, salida de la observación, es una fuente, una dirección fecunda, debe aún dar más... A veces pienso que ya no me pertenece...

El maestro ha dicho estas palabras lentamente; su contenido moral es profundo y su voz ha traicionado la emoción contenida de su vejez enferma...

Hay unos segundos de silencio... Yo me levanto para despedirme. Freud, entonces, toma un volumen de la biblioteca. Es un libro "Ma vie et la Psychanalyse", en la

traducción francesa de María Bonaparte, y me escribe su dedicatoria cordial: "buen recuerdo de su visita amable". Agradezco esa deferencia y me retiro pidiéndole disculpas por las dos horas que le he tomado sin tener noción del tiempo.

Cuando salgo de la casa en dirección a mi hotel, la calle Berggasse está vacía; marchó bajo el frío nocturno, buscando recapitular fielmente la conversación. Pienso después en el hombre, y lo que más me domina como impresión es la grandeza de su sencillez casi humilde. Tal rasgo de su psicología me certifica su buena fe y hasta sus momentos de reacción pasional. Y medito en las ideas audaces, enormes, casi cínicas, afirmadas por él en su doctrina, para cuya defensa al principio se necesitaba o la temeridad vehemente de un hombre escandaloso o la resolución despreocupada de un hombre muy ingenuo. Esto último, doblado del talento, explica su obra original, y sobre todo esa naturalidad con que ha expuesto las bases más arriesgadas de su doctrina. Esta falta de prejuicios por ingenuidad, facilitó la acción de su genio para descubrir una porción clandestina de nuestras almas.

Appendix 11

**Argentinean psychoanalysts in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
1945.**

**From left to right, sitting: Mrs. De Oliveira (Brazil), Alberto Tallaferro;
standing: Enrique Pichon Rivière, Marie Langer, Arnaldo Rascovsky, Angel
Garma, Eduardo Krapf, Luisa Alvarez de Toledo, Celes Cárcamo, Lucio
Rascovsky, top: Arminda Aberastury and Matilde Wencelblat.**

Los primeros psicoanalistas argentinos reunidos en Río de Janeiro, 1945. De izquierda a derecha, sentados: señora de Oliveira (Brasil), Alberto Tallaferro; parados: Enrique Pichon Rivière, Marie Langer, Arnaldo Rascovsky, Angel Garma, Eduardo Krapf, Luisa Alvarez de Toledo, Celes Cárcamo, Lucio Rascovsky; arriba: Arminda Aberastury y Matilde Wencelblat.

Foto Grel Stern

Marie Langer *Angel Garma*

Celes Cárcamo

Foto: Annemaria Hahnich

Arminda Aberastury

Enrique Pichon Rivière

Arnaldo Rascovsky

Appendix 12

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Ernest Jones' letter to the APA

1942

MENSAJES DE CORDIALIDAD
CON MOTIVO DE LA FUNDACION DE LA A.P.A.*De la Asociación Psicoanalítica Internacional*

Después de saludar y dar la bienvenida a la formación de la Asociación Psicoanalítica en Buenos Aires, tengo el placer de felicitar a sus miembros por su nueva empresa y de enviarles mis mejores augurios por el éxito de la Revista de Psicoanálisis. Esta, la primera publicación periódica de habla castellana dedicada al psicoanálisis, marca el comienzo de una nueva era para el psicoanálisis en todos los países de habla castellana.

El conocimiento del alemán, aún deseable, fue en otra época indispensable para los propósitos de vinculación internacional relacionados con nuestra labor, pero está cediendo su primer lugar al inglés y es de esperar que la colaboración política creciente entre los países de habla castellana e inglesa se acompañe de una correspondiente colaboración estrecha, en nuestro trabajo científico.

*Ernest Jones
Presidente*

Appendix 13

Appendix 13

History of psychoanalysis in the US:

A Review of the literature

The literature on the emergence and establishment of psychoanalysis in North America (Burnham, 1967; Hale, 1971, 1995; Hornstein, 1992; Jacoby, 1983; Kurzweil 1989; Shakow & Rapaport, 1964) presents multiple perspectives. Jacoby (1983) concentrates on the “political Freudians” (p.9), defined as the European immigrants who practised classical psychoanalysis and did not abandon Freud’s bold theorizing and social questioning. By identifying the factors that “conspired to domesticate psychoanalysis, subduing its broader and also critical implications (p.17)” he sheds light on the repression of psychoanalysis. Hornstein (1992) and Shakow & Rapaport (1964) concentrate on the relations between psychoanalysis and psychology, either on what psychologists had to say about psychoanalysis (Shakow & Rapaport, 1964) or to characterize psychologists’ attitudes toward psychoanalysis (Hornstein, 1992). Shakow & Rapaport (1964) considered their study “a single case history in the study of influence.” They defined influence in Hoffman’s (1957) terms; that is, by the time a theory reaches an artist or a scientist, he (or she) “will use and transform the theory as it suits his needs” (Hoffman, 1957, p.92, as cited by Shakow & Rapaport, 1964, p.11).

In preparation for their study, Shakow & Rapaport (1964) undertook a survey of the first fifty volumes of the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. They summarize their finding as follows:

This analysis showed that, beginning around 1909-1910, there was a quick rise in the number of Freudian contributions and discussions. Beginning in 1920-1921, articles opposing psychoanalysis tended to

preponderate. By the middle of the 1920's indirect discussions--often without any references to Freud--became more numerous than direct ones. In the 1930's both direct and indirect discussions became less frequent; only in the late 1930's did the volume of indirect discussions again begin to increase slowly, a tendency which appears to have persisted to the present.

p. 9

Psychology and psychoanalysis, according to the literature on this topic, faced off around 1890. An epistemological question was in contention: "Which field would ultimately dictate the ground rules for a science of the mind? ...What was at stake was the fundamental question of subjectivity in science (Hornstein, 1992, p.254)." Psychology at the turn of the century in the US, was applying experimental methods with the hope of answering questions that previously were answered by philosophers using metaphysical arguments. Laboratories sprung up in every college and in them psychologists measured and tested humans and animals using all sorts of new apparatuses (Hornstein, 1992; p.254). The creation of a scientific approach to the mind received the name of *new psychology*. While this expansion and reassured paced of progress was taking place in the science of the mind in North America, psychoanalysis in Europe continue to develop steadily along fundamental different epistemological and methodological lines. When Freud lectured in the US in 1909, his work on dreams and sex were considered irrelevant to the new science and its scientific study of the mind.

The occasional articles about psychoanalysis that appeared in psychology journals before 1910 (eg. Putnam, 1906; Scott, 1908) made it seem mildly interesting, but not essentially different from related methods like suggestion.

Hornstein, 1992, p.255

A few years later well informed articles and scientific criticism started to appear, although psychoanalytical thinking on the sexual origins of symptoms was still problematic for some who still referred to psychoanalysis as "weird", "grotesque", "fantastic", "sheer nonsense"

(Hornstein, 1992). Some experimental psychologists went further in their criticism; they considered psychoanalysis dangerous for civilization and publicly called for the means “to prevent its spread (Ladd-Frankin, 1916, p.374 as cited by Hornstein, 1992, p.).” By 1920 a systematic campaign to win Americans to the psychoanalytical cause paid off; many articles by Ernest Jones and others appeared to explain psychoanalytical concepts. However, this process was slow and gained little ground in the published writings of standard psychological literature. For example, as Hornstein reminds us, psychoanalysis “did not appear in the index of *Psychology: A Factual Textbook*, the text Edwin G. Boring published with Langfeld and Weld in 1935 (1992, p. 257).”

By the early 1940s, the popularity of psychoanalysis in the media and society-at-large rendered experimental psychologists’ criticism irrelevant. During this period, the authors of introductory textbooks were able to assimilate psychoanalytic concepts into mainstream psychology without mentioning its origins and pass it on to new generations of psychologists. Psychoanalysis itself also adopted a mainstream mentality by the 1950s. Some authors, like Herma, Kris, and Shore (1943), seemed to have been able to identify this trend very early on in the 1940s: “Parts of Freud’s theory are being integrated into the general body of knowledge. Acceptance tends therefore to be anonymous, while rejection is personalized (p.331, as cited by Shadow & Rapaport, 1964, p.9).

Burnham (1967) weaves the story of psychoanalysis in the US (1894-1918) to its connections to medicine, in particular the leading role taken by the neurologists, and examines the eclectic nature of North American psychoanalysis. His discussion on the agents and agencies of transmission of psychoanalysis provides detailed insights into the institutional reception of psychoanalytical theories during this early period. However, this book’s contribution to the

understanding of theoretical innovations in psychoanalysis is limited, as is its explanations on the resulting eclecticism.

In his first volume Hale (1971) studies the beginnings of psychoanalysis in the United States, (i.e., the period 1876-1917). His second volume (1995) analyses the rise and crisis of psychoanalysis from 1917 to 1985. Hale's first volume was undertaken to explore Freud's influence in the popular and professional culture of the 1920's. In his opinion,

Several studies of psychoanalysis in America, some of them excellent, had failed in one major respect. They had not clarified the state of American psychiatry, neurology, and sexual morality before Freud became important. Without analysis of the pre-Freudian order, the nature of Freud's influence could not be determined

p.xii (1971)

As Burnham (1967) did, Hale pays detailed attention in both volumes to American conceptions of science in medicine and the important influence of German and Viennese models of medicine that influenced the development of programs at the American medical schools (p.8). He begins with the Clark Conference held in September 1909 at which Freud presented his views to J.J.Putman, a leading neurologist, and to other influential Americans. He goes on to examine the professional, social and moral order that determined the American reception of psychoanalysis. American optimism and pragmatism, he suggests coloured the ideas imported from Europe.

Kurzweil (1987) compares the development of psychoanalysis in the United States, Germany, United Kingdom, Austria and France. She sets out to explore the factors arising within specific national contexts that have influenced psychoanalysis. By focusing on local differences

she identifies the clues to the various interpretations, priorities and emphases that historians and psychoanalysts themselves have placed on the original materials.

This author's sociological perspective leads her to situate psychoanalysts "within native philosophical assumptions, intellectual controversies, and fashions of their culture (p.1)." Only eighty two pages in length (Part One of this book) are dedicated to psychoanalysis before 1945. Part two discusses applications of psychoanalysis in other fields like education and literary criticism. Psychoanalysis after 1945 is taken up in Part Three, the longest section. Argentina/South America, although not listed in the index, appears ten times in Part Three. Kurzweil's book convincingly demonstrates that "the inroads of psychoanalysis into history, anthropology, psychology, and sociology have had an impact beyond the academy and have penetrated every recess of modern culture (p.309)."

A review of the major writings on this topic in the US suggests that psychoanalysis in Argentina might be productively investigated through the examination of the professional and cultural order that determined the Argentinean reception of psychoanalysis.

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