Philosophical Counseling and the Interpretation of Dreams

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ABSTRACT: Philosophers are generally reluctant to say much about the meaning of dreams, especially since Sigmund Freud appropriated the interpretation of dreams as part of psychoanalysis. In this essay I will first review some of the theories of dreams proposed by early philosophers that are now considered largely out-dated. I will then critically examine the two powerful theories instituted by Freud and Jung by explaining them and then pointing out their flaws and weaknesses. In response to the failings of these theories I offer a lesser known but more recent theory formulated by Ernest Hartman that is supported by both his own empirical research and that of others. And finally I discuss how this intuitively more reasonable approach can be very helpful to the philosophical counselor whose client wishes to discuss the meaning of her dreams.

I know I am not dreaming right now. I can say this without the slightest doubt. People who are not ill or on medication are easily able to determine confidently and correctly whether they are dreaming or awake. It’s only academic philosophy instructors who still goad their students into spending hours agonizing over this so-called problem of epistemology. The philosopher who is perhaps the best known for his struggle with the question of how he could be sure whether he was asleep or awake was seventeenth century French philosopher René Descartes. He put it this way in his Meditations:

How often has it happened to me that in the night I dreamt that I found myself in this particular place, that I was dressed and seated near the fire, whilst in reality I was lying undressed in bed! At this moment it does indeed seem to me that it is with eyes awake that I am looking at this paper; that this head which I move is not asleep, that it is deliberately and of set purpose that I extend my hand and perceive it; what happens in sleep does not appear so clear nor so distinct as does all this. But in thinking over this I remind myself that on many occasions I have in sleep been deceived by similar illusions, and in dwelling
carefully on this reflection I see so manifestly that there are no certain indications by which we may clearly distinguish wakefulness from sleep that I am lost in astonishment. And my astonishment is such that it is almost capable of persuading me that I now dream.¹

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, a German philosopher of the same century, reflected Descartes’ skeptical position when he asked rhetorically, “What prevents the course of our life from being a long and well-ordered dream, a dream from which we could be awakened at any moment?”²

At first glance the apparent credibility of the idea that life is just a long dream (or “an unusually persistent and recurrent nightmare” as British philosopher Bertrand Russell put it³) can send a frigid finger of existential terror up the spine of any philosophy freshman. But once neophyte students have been given the freedom, and accepted the responsibility, of thinking for themselves, rather than simply having to memorize what reputed experts have said, many of them quickly consider Descartes’ epic epistemic struggle a rather silly academic exercise that is not worthy of further consideration. Other students, after more careful reflection and discussion, judge his declaration—that there are no certain indications by which we may clearly distinguish the state of being awake from being asleep—to be a remarkably hasty conclusion which is obviously false. They point out that dreams are often brief, chaotic, and fantastic worlds whose erratic events defy logic and causal relationships, and lack the kind of continuity and predictability we can depend on in waking life (Descartes also came to this conclusion, but not until his ‘Sixth Meditation’). They argue that, while there are times when a dream may seem real enough, in fact most dreams don’t seem real at all, and that if you say all of life is a dream just because last night’s dream seemed real then you are drawing an unwarranted conclusion and making a hasty generalization. What is often far more interesting to students of philosophy,
and to most other people as well, than the question of how they can be sure they are not living a
life trapped within a dream is the question of why they have dreams at all, and what their dreams
might mean.

Despite the fact that there has been a great deal written about the function and interpretation
of dreams in academic psychology books and journals, in science and medical journals, in so-
called New Age publications, and in the self-help manuals of popular psychology, philosophers
generally appear reluctant to venture into this territory.\(^4\) Sigmund Freud said at one time that it
is vain to expect philosophy to yield information about dreams.\(^5\) He then succeeded in putting
such a powerfully paradigmatic psychological stamp on dreams that many of today’s
philosophers and philosophical counselors are worried if they show even the slightest
professional curiosity about their clients’ dreams, or if they discuss the theories of dream
interpretation with any sort of enthusiasm, they will be accused of having abandoned philosophy
(this actually happened to me when I gave a public seminar on this topic). But if philosophy is
the attempt to come to a better understanding of the complexities of human life, and sleep and
its dreams are a significant part of that life, then why can’t an inquiry into dreams be part of
modern philosophy?

Perhaps the best approach for arriving at how a philosophical counselor might interpret the
enigmatic contents of a client’s dreams is to begin by systematically investigating the most
significant theories that have been formulated to explain them. Therefore, the first section briefly
examines what some of the earlier philosophers had to say about dreams. The second and third
sections summarize the familiar theories formulated by Freud and Jung respectively, and highlight
some of the critical weaknesses and limitations inherent in each. The fourth section then
presents the clinical findings of sleep and dream researcher Ernest Hartman, and explains why his lesser known theory of dream interpretation is a more empirically sound alternative on which to base philosophical counseling. And finally, the fifth section discusses how to integrate Hartman’s conception into actual practice.

1. WHAT IS A DREAM?

In order for the examination of anything to make sense, especially when that examination is meant to produce a theory of meaning, it is first of all necessary to understand what the nature and function are of the items under examination. Philosophers have spent relatively little time discussing dreams. For example, The Oxford Companion to Philosophy allows only two-and-one-half column inches for the subject of dreams, consisting of three unanswered questions (it gives the same amount of space to the subject “snow is white”), while on the other hand devoting a full fifteen pages to academic logic. Macmillan’s classic eight volume Encyclopedia of Philosophy allocs only slightly over two pages to the topic of dreams but logic-related essays span a massive one hundred and fifty pages over two volumes. And yet a much larger portion of our lives is taken up by our engagement in the mysteriously private, and yet biologically necessary, activity of dreaming than in puzzling over the scholastic complexities of formal logic. Are dreams being treated by philosophers the way our tonsils were treated by physicians at one time, when they were dismissed as mostly vestigial and generally unnecessary for human well-being? Or are they simply too mysterious, too impenetrable, for philosophers who feel the subject is better left to empirical scientists, clinical psychologists, and shamans?
However the discussion of dreams has not been avoided by all philosophers. The ancient Greek philosopher Plato postulated that dreams are “residual motion” from waking life when we have fallen asleep. Such motion engenders “visions within us, . . . which are remembered by us when we are awake and in the external world.” Plato’s student Aristotle agreed that a dream is a kind of phantasmic vision, “a presentation based on the movement of sense impressions.” Yet in order to differentiate the illusory dream of the average human being from the revelatory dreams of those claiming to be prophets, seers, and messengers from the gods he simply called ordinary dreaming a kind of imagination which occurs in sleep. But Plato went further still, noting that dreams are not as innocent as a person’s waking imagination. For him dreams were an indication that “there exists in every one of us, even in some reputed most respectable, a terrible, fierce, and lawless brood of desires, which seems are revealed in our sleep.” For Plato then dreams were a rather nasty exhibition of the unspoken desires of even the most respected members of his society; unspoken because these were not just ordinary desires, they were a “terrible,” “fierce,” and “lawless brood.”

Thomas Aquinas, said to be the greatest philosopher-theologian in medieval times, believed that dreams are partly caused by memories of what the dreamer felt and thought while awake, partly by internal and external stimuli occurring while the dreamer is asleep, and partly by God or demons influencing the dreamer’s imagination. He held that dreams sometimes influence future events and may therefore be used by the dreamer to choose an appropriate course of action, and that at other times dreams can actually foretell what is fated to happen in the real world regardless of what the dreamer may choose to do while awake. While Aquinas wisely recommended that it would be advisable to rely only on those dreams which are of divine origin,
he failed to suggest a serviceable methodology for accurately determining which dreams are
divine and which are demonic.¹¹

Writing some four hundred years later, during the period of history in which the authority of
scientific empiricism was beginning to seriously overshadow the authority of religious ideology,
British philosopher John Locke proposed that dreams are not at all visions from God or
demons. In his opinion they are “for the most part, frivolous and irrational” because they are
simply “made up of the waking man’s ideas, though, for the most part, oddly put together.”¹²

These three theories of dreams—Plato’s belief that dreams are a kind of exhibition of dark
desires, Aquinas’ belief that they are imagination influenced by God or demons, and Locke’s
belief that they are frivolous nonsense—sum up the predominant theories of dreams still held
today. The most important question for the practice of philosophical counseling is, Are any of
these theories appropriate as an approach to the interpretation of dreams presented by a client
in a philosophical counseling situation? And if not one of these then what?

It goes without saying that the most precarious approach is the one which holds dreams to
be somehow connected with the supernatural or paranormal. It is, first of all, imprudent from a
pragmatic perspective because it may lead a counselor to help a client base an important
decision or a significant action on what is believed to be a message from God that turns out to in
fact be demonic. Second, it is reckless from a scientific perspective in that the counselor simply
assumes the supernatural nature of dreams, which is an assumption that has not yet been
rigorously tested and proven to be true. The current body of research evidence concerning the
paranormal powers of dreams—such as the ability of dreams to foretell the future, communicate
with the dead, or view distant locations—is still intensely controversial and convincingly inconclusive.

2. SIGMUND FREUD

The theory that dreams are the release of “a terrible, fierce, and lawless brood of desires” which are normally held in check during waking hours may have been first suggested by Plato before the Christian era but it was brought into prominence by a nineteenth century neurologist and psychopathologist named Sigmund Freud. However, Freud went beyond Plato in that he did not stop at merely trying to identify the function of dreams; he developed a theory, or actually two theories, of how this “brood” of dreams are to be interpreted. There have been a number of different approaches developed by psychotherapists for the interpretation of dreams, such as Jungian analysis, Gestalt techniques, the body feeling approach, and others, but it is the methods developed by Freud which were the first and are considered foundational to all other methods.

According to Freud dreams are messages from an area of the mind—the unconscious—that is completely concealed from, and inaccessible to, the individual when she is awake. Freud postulated that most dreams have two aspects to them: the manifest dream content, which is the images, sounds, and emotions of the dream experienced by the dreamer, and the latent dream content, which is the deeper meaning hidden within the dream’s maze of symbols. Because he defined the unconscious as inaccessible to the dreamer, Freud was able to maintain that in order to understand the latent content of a dream it is necessary for the dreamer to consult an expert who can unlock its secrets with a special interpretive ‘key.’ It is interesting to
note that Freud’s interpretation of his patients’ dreams was not a new invention. In fact it was a revival of a very old tradition that harks back to at least ancient Biblical times. Both Joseph and Daniel of the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament presented themselves as having God-given interpretive skills that would let them explain the meaning of the symbolic features of other people’s dreams. But Freud’s approach was unique in that he claimed to have developed a means of dream interpretation that was not reliant on divine inspiration. Freud claimed that his method was scientific, which is a claim no one before him had ever dreamed of making.

For Freud the manifest content of a dream always acts like a screen which blocks or ‘censors’ its substantive core. The latent content of a dream is almost always, according to Freud, a forbidden childhood desire (predominantly sexual in nature) that has been hidden in the unconscious. This means that “the interpretation of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind.” To get at these unconscious activities Freud taught his followers to use two very different ‘keys’: free association, and translation of, what he believed to be, the archetypal or universal symbols found in all dreams.

Unfortunately, there are several major problems with his approach. First, regarding dreams themselves, there is what Freud himself cited as the problem of “dream-distortion,” or “disagreeable” or “counter-wish” dreams. These are dreams whose manifest content is distressing and which display events clearly contrary to those the dreamer would actually wish to experience. Freud explained these in several ways. At first he wrote that disagreeable dream content “serves only to disguise the thing wished for. . . . Dream-distortion proves in reality to be an act of censorship.” According to this explanation a wish hides within a dream within a disguise, and requires the dream analyst to examine first the disguise and then the dream
it disguises in order to ferret out the wish that the dreamer wants fulfilled. A few pages later he claimed that the seeming contradiction of his wish-fulfillment theory can be explained “with the principle that the non-fulfillment of one wish signified the fulfillment of another.” As an example he offered the instance of one of his patients who dreams what she would never wish for: traveling with her mother-in-law to the place they were both to spend the summer. When she told this dream to Freud as a counter-example to his wish-fulfillment theory, Freud argued that the dream “was her wish that I should be wrong, and this wish the dream showed her as fulfilled.” In this sort of case, according to Freud, a ‘counter-wish dream’ is just symptomatic of the patient’s state of neurotic resistance to his psychoanalytic investigations. Counter-wish dreams then, according to Freud, are not at all counter-evidence against his wish-fulfillment theory of dreams, and this can be easily proven simply by going not only behind the manifest dream to its latent wish, but behind its latent wish as well, that is behind the latent dream’s ‘disguise,’ during the psychoanalytic process of free association. The question this raises is, can the disguised latent dream content itself be disguised, and so on, in an absurd infinite regress?

Regarding the interpretation of dreams, in one method, which Freud called ‘free association,’ and which he first documented in 1900, the patient is asked to simply say whatever comes to mind. Elements of the dream that come up repeatedly in the form of recurring thoughts or wishes are what Freud refers to as the latent dream that is buried in the dreamer’s subconscious. The unearthing of this latent dream is the revelation of the dreamer’s desires and wish-fulfillment fantasies.

One of the problems with this method of dream interpretation is that many people find it exceedingly difficult to adopt the particular attitude which is required to articulate their ‘freely-
rising’ ideas. The act of free association at the heart of psychoanalytic dream interpretation is not an easy feat—although Freud argued that it is not difficult to learn. Second, the process of free association can be absolutely endless. Saying everything that comes to mind about every element of a dream can lead to an overwhelmingly disparate, and ultimately discouraging, amount of material. The third, and perhaps most troublesome, problem is that free association may bring to the patient’s mind thoughts which don’t necessarily constitute the thoughts and material that originally formed the dream. Many factors other than the dream’s content may be intruding on the patient’s thoughts at the time he is reporting on his dream such as his mood on that day, his feelings about the therapist, some recent annoyance, and so on.

Freud’s other approach to dreams, which he developed from 1909 to 1914, is based on the idea of universal or archetypal dream symbolism. He maintained that the relationship between dream elements and symbols is constant. This facilitates the translation process so efficiently that the dreamer may simply be left out of the interpretation process altogether. Among the most common imagery Freud found universally in all dreams was sexual symbolism. He wrote that

All elongated objects, sticks, tree-trunks umbrellas (on account of the opening, which might be likened to an erection), all sharp and elongated weapons, knives, daggers, and pikes, represent the male member. A frequent, but not very intelligible symbol for the same is a nail-file (a reference to rubbing and scraping?).—Small boxes, chests, cupboards, and ovens correspond to the female organ; also cavities, ships, and all kinds of vessels.—A room in a dream generally
represents a woman; the description of its various entrances and exits is scarcely calculated to make us doubt this interpretation.\textsuperscript{19}

This method of symbol interpretation raises the question of whether in the interpretation of, say, sexual imagery the analyst is correct in making the concretistic or simple symbol-to-organ translation Freud advocates. In other words, how does the analyst differentiate those times when a dream about an umbrella symbolizes a male sexual organ and when it is simply a dream about an umbrella? Furthermore problems can arise when the analyst takes into account not only the dream’s symbolism but it’s supposed inherent wish-fulfilling function. When a female client dreams of an umbrella is this to be interpreted as her having unconscious wishes about some other individual’s male sexual organ, or her unconscious wish to have such an organ of her own? Or when various male clients dream of an umbrella does it necessarily signify homosexual wish-fulfillment fantasies in \textit{all} of those clients?

Despite its inherent problems, the interpretation of dream symbolism has become very popular among the general public. Hundreds of so-called ‘dream dictionaries’ have been published which catalogue thousands of stereotyped interpretations of dream motifs claiming to reveal their hidden ‘meanings.’ They are sold as the ‘keys’ that allow for effortless dream interpretation with the highly incredible implicit claim that, just like a single horoscope is accurate for millions of individuals world wide, likewise, an umbrella has the same sexual meaning in every culture and for every person in whose dream it may appear. Of course the irony of these dream dictionaries, like the irony inherent in horoscopes, is that the meanings which various dream dictionaries attribute to a particular symbol often blatantly contradict one another.
An additional element of Freudian dream interpretation, related more to free association than to dream symbolism, involves what has been called the anagrammatic approach. This is a process whereby the individual concepts and words connected with dream imagery are meticulously scrutinized by the analyst. For example, in their book about Freud, professor Nicholas Rand and psychoanalyst Maria Torok attempt to prove that the rather obvious inconsistencies and contradictions in Freud’s model of psychoanalysis were caused by his deeply unconscious struggle with an unresolved ‘trauma’ which he experienced as a nine-year-old boy: the arrest of an uncle for counterfeiting, and the scandal this brought to the Freud family name. Rand and Torok proceed to reanalyze one of Freud’s own dreams, which he originally analyzed himself. They claim to demonstrate where he is wrong in the translation of his own dream’s imagery in order to prove their point.

It is important to bear in mind that the fifty-two-year-old Freud had a severe nicotine addiction (he would eventually undergo numerous surgical procedures to remove malignant tumors from his palate), and he often suffered physically from the discomfort and pain of hemorrhoids. In the preface to the second edition of his book *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud also explains that he had undertaken his self-analysis in October of 1896 in reaction to his father’s death earlier that same year. In his nightmare he observed

a dissection of the lower part of my own body, my pelvis and legs . . . The pelvis had been eviscerated, and it was visible now in its superior now in its inferior aspect, the two being mixed together. Thick flesh-coloured protuberances (which, in the dream itself made me think of
hemorrhoids) could be seen. Something which lay over it and was like crumpled silver-paper had also to be carefully fished out.\textsuperscript{20}

By using a classical Freudian anagrammatic approach to this dream Rand and Torok argue that Freud’s dream suggests, in part, the following interpretation:

The crumpled \textit{silver-paper}—to be “fished out,” in the original German, to be carefully pieced together one by one (= \textit{ausklauben})—leads us to the like-sounding \textit{syllable} (in German, \textit{Silber}: silver = \textit{Silbe} = syllable). Did the dream’s syllables get crumpled or mixed up? Did the words describing Freud’s self-dissection condense other words concerning his family’s counterfeiting affair? The German names of the two bones that make up the pelvis, on which Freud chose to operate, are no doubt telling about Uncle Josef’s impact on the family: a \textit{cross} and a \textit{shame} (sacrum = \textit{Kreuzbein}: cross bone; innominate bone = \textit{Schambein}: shame bone). Freud’s self-analytical operation seems to hover around these hidden thoughts. . . \textsuperscript{21}

It seems incredibly far-fetched to imagine that Freud’s unconscious was ‘hiding’ this important message from him like some sort of ‘backward masking’ on the soundtracks of his mind, and then leaking only cryptic hints about it through his dreams.\textsuperscript{22} It is more likely that Rand and Torok found the meaning they wanted to find, something like discovering a face in a cloud. Yes, of course, the face is there in the cloud, but the impetus for it being there is located in the observer not in the cloud. Naturally, if we were to believe that the unconscious does in fact leak such ambiguously clues about what the mind keeps hidden from its owner, it would
prove to be a convenient justification for the existence of psychoanalysts who claim exclusive expertise in their discovery and interpretation. Granted, Rand and Torok present their fantastic interpretation as only a possibility; they make no claim to hard evidence that would prove them correct. But a more plausible approach to interpreting Freud’s dream would be to keep in mind that he was not only dealing with the anguish of having lost his father, he was also attempting what no one had ever done before: a self-examination of the very intimate material in his personal dreams by means of a controversial form of analysis which he was still developing. He knew this ‘self-dissection’ would expose to his colleagues and to the public at large not only his nascent psychoanalytic method but, in a sense, his own interior (cognitive and affective) mechanisms. Again, he was struggling with a severe nicotine addiction, and the physical pain of hemorrhoids. These issues in Freud’s life at middle age easily lead to the conclusion that perhaps a more credible interpretation of his dream is that it simply represented his emotional concerns about both his own mortality (due to the death of his father) and his physical problems in combination with the metaphorical ‘opening up’ inherent in the publication of his pioneering attempt at self-analysis.

Then again, perhaps Freud’s dream was just so much nonsense, as Locke would have it. But the theory that dreams are just random nonsense is also counter-intuitive. There are often times in which the dreamer, in retrospect, is easily able to recognize the people in his dreams as having been individuals he came into contact with during the previous day; or he may recognize the story line of his dream as having a close resemblance to the plot of a movie he watched before going to sleep, and so on. These dream elements would not be nonsense at all to the dreamer. They would be something more like recent, although somewhat jumbled, memories.
Freud himself acknowledges that while a dream may bring to light memories of early childhood, "the dream clearly prefers the impressions of the last few days." Even those dreams whose imagery is extremely bizarre often seem to have an obvious connection to the people or events of the dreamer’s waking life. For example, I had a very vivid dream recently in which I was approaching a female bird resembling an eagle sitting on a branch in a rather nondescript environment. The bird was covered in small but very heavy brass plates which it was struggling, and failing, to remove with its beak. When I tried to help it pick the armour plates off its back it turned and pecked my hand. I tried several times but the bird persisted in trying to peck me. I finally gave up, at which point I woke up from the dream. At first this odd bird perched in a non-identifiable context seemed like a typically nonsensical and very bizarre dream image indeed. But it was not at all nonsense, and neither was it necessary to interpret the bird in terms of ‘universal symbolism.’ It was simply a matter of recognizing the feelings I was dealing with in that dream in relation to events of the previous day. My struggle with the bird had felt very similar to the real-life struggle I was experiencing with a troubled client. She was coming to see me for help in sorting out her problems but after several visits she continued to keep me at a distance from her by remaining closed and secretive. This seemed like a perfectly reasonable interpretation to me, and because I understood the imagery in this way the dream certainly did not appear to be either symbolic or random nonsense. The dream helped me to come to the decision be less insistent in offering my help. Naturally, for a follower of Freud, the question remains, Could there not also be a deeper meaning to this dream that I have overlooked?

Today the views which Freud held regarding dreams and their interpretation are, for the most part, no longer taken seriously by professionals. Many psychotherapists and most experts
in sleep and dream research no longer believe, as Freud did, that dreams are irrational or psychotic mental products, that they are the royal road to the unconscious, that every dream is the fulfillment of a childhood wish (typically sexual), that they are disguised products of psychical ‘censorship,’

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that there is a latent dream underlying each manifest dream that needs to be interpreted by an expert (by means of free association, the decoding of archetypal symbols, or anagrammatic deciphering), that dreams are rife with sexual symbolism, and that the function of dreams is to preserve sleep.\[^{25}\]

But if not according to Freud’s model, then how are dreams to be understood?

3. CARL JUNG

One of Freud’s best-known disciples, and one of his earliest critics, Carl G. Jung, held a far less sinister view of both the unconscious and the content of dreams. He believed that not all dreams are the fulfillment of repressed forbidden childhood sexual wishes as Freud had claimed. Similar to Plato’s claim that dreams are “residual motion” from waking life, Jung held that dreams are due to “an incomplete extinction of consciousness.”\[^{26}\]

They are not one-sided in either form or content but lend themselves to many different readings of their ‘text’ which can only be successfully accomplished through the combined efforts of the interpreter and the dreamer. Yet he agreed with Freud that ‘average’ dreams have a personal character reflecting the dreamer’s conscious impressions of daytime activities, and ‘deep’ dreams derive directly from unconscious sources. But according to Jung, deep dreams have a collective character; they are composed of a rich tapestry of symbolic images derived from a ‘universal unconscious’ which contains archaic elements of primitive myths and religions, which he
designated ‘archetypes.’ For Jung these archetypal images “prove that the human psyche is
unique and subjective or personal only in part, and for the rest is collective and objective.” As
well as common archetypal elements, dreams also contain typical dream motifs such as flying,
climbing stairs or mountains, being naked in public, losing teeth, being chased by frightening
animals or ghosts, and so on.

Jung observed that a succession of similar dreams can often run into the hundreds and that they “resemble the successive steps in a planned and orderly process of development.” He
reasoned therefore that these dream-series were “a kind of development process in the
personality,” the spontaneous expression within the unconscious of the dreamer’s individuation.
By ‘individuation’ he meant the process of “becoming a single, homogeneous being,” a
“coming to self-hood or self-realization,” “of psychological development . . . in which a man
becomes the definite unique being that he in fact is.” The function of the dreams themselves in
this process of individuation is to counter-balance the individual’s conscious attitude held during
waking life, so that if the conscious attitude to a life situation is positive while awake then the
dream takes the negative side and vice versa. A dream is thereby a compensatory mechanism
which aims “at establishing a normal psychological balance and thus appears as a kind of self-
regulation of the psychic system.”

The problem for Jung’s etiological claims of dream origins is twofold: first, it is not at all
self-evident that because the dreams of people of different cultures, or people of the same
culture but of different generations, contain within them what appear to be similar images of
gods or demons this means their dreams necessarily spring from a ‘collective unconscious’ in
which the memories of past generations and all cultures are stored. Other, far simpler,
explanations are available. For example, evolutionary psychology and evolutionary epistemology maintain that shared biological experiences have produced in human beings a common understanding of the world despite their superficial cultural differences. This has lead diverse civilizations to postulate analogous ‘gods’ and ‘demons’ to explain the universal occurrences of natural phenomena and human suffering. This sort of existentially-generated explanation seems far more plausible than the extravagant ontological proposition that there exists a universal or collective unconscious. Second, there is an inherent, and possibly unresolvable, epistemological difficulty when attempts are made to differentiate between which images ought to be understood as the experiential and intimately personal content of a dream and which as the universal or collective archetypal symbol. Once this is accomplished—if indeed it can be—there exists the further psychological difficulty of explaining how the dreamer benefits from the so-called ‘counter-balancing’ effects of the various elements of his dreams. And, finally, Jung states categorically that without the unconscious, “the dream is a mere freak of nature, a meaningless conglomeration of fragments left over from the day. . . . We cannot treat our theme (the practical use of dream analysis) at all unless we recognize the unconscious.”30 But this clearly begs the question whether this either/or dichotomy is in fact necessary, whether, without the unconscious, dreams are in fact just “a meaningless conglomeration of fragments left over from the day.”

At the end of his work on dreams, Jung acknowledged that, although the study of dream psychology had contributed substantially to his understanding of far-reaching philosophical and religious problems, he was not yet in possession of a generally satisfying explanatory theory of this complicated phenomenon.
4. THE PHILOSOPHY OF DREAMS

When it comes to dream interpretation there is a significant gap between popular conceptions of what dreams are all about—based on a lay reading of Freud’s and Jung’s theories—and what modern research is revealing. The director of the Sleep Disorders Center at Newton-Wellsley Hospital in Massachusetts, and professor of psychiatry Ernest Hartmann, offers a perspective based on many years of his own empirical and clinical research. The conclusions he reaches not only seem more intuitively correct when applied to one’s own dreams but are much more compatible with philosophical counseling than the other approaches to dream interpretation discussed above. Hartmann maintains that his own research, as well as the work of other specialists in the field, clearly indicate that dreams are not crazy or random meaningless brain noises, or some form of psychical and symbolic hints concerning previously censored obscene desires stored in the cryptic unconscious which only a highly trained expert in psychology can decipher. They can in fact be explained in a very simple and practical way.

Hartmann suggests that the mind is best imagined as a widespread net, or a network, within which there are specific regions that are more tightly organized because they contain well-learned material. This material is stored as memory by means of various inter-connections throughout the net. This net, like the ocean, is never absolutely still; it is always busy making connections to some degree, and never completely calm except perhaps in some deeply meditative states. Though continuously active, it is also always trying to settle itself into a condition of least agitation, that is, a relatively calm or stable condition with a minimum amount of disturbance. But because of the constant unsettling inputs from various kinds of external
events, especially trauma, stress, and emotional concerns, the calming process is never quite complete and the net requires on-going ministration. Particularly strong emotional concerns, such as the breakup of a significant relationship, a career-threatening workplace confrontation, having to make a major life-directing decision, financial difficulties, or a serious health problem, are like localized ‘storms’ on this net that effect not only a person’s wakeful thinking and imaginings, but her dreams as well. In the natural world the severity of a storm is diminished, and its potential to cause damage is reduced, if it becomes somehow less concentrated, that is if it becomes diffused over a greater area. This is somewhat analogous to what dreams do in the mental world.

Dreams, according to Hartmann, make connections guided by the dreamer’s emotions and emotional concerns in the “nets of the mind.” This is not radically different from the theories of Freud and Jung which state that it is the most powerfully emotional daytime events which most often occur again in dreams. But Hartmann argues that dreaming makes use of our visual/spatial picturing abilities and, rather than being symbolic guides to what is hidden in the unconscious, dreams provide explanatory metaphors for the dreamer’s emotional state of mind. The difference is that a metaphorical image is meant only as a comparison or an analogy, while a symbolic image is meant to definitely represent something else. Hartmann maintains that people’s dreams are simply the mind’s metaphorical pictures about what is important to them, what they feel strongly about. Dreams typically consist of very odd combinations of backgrounds, foregrounds, characters, time periods, childhood memories, recent memories, and real and fictional plots. As Jung puts it, dreams bring together “the most heterogeneous things.”
But the pictures in dreams are not meant as simple entertainment.\textsuperscript{36} Hartmann says the seemingly random dream process serves an important purpose.

The making of connections simultaneously smoothes out disturbances in the mind by integrating new material—“calming out the storm”—and also produces more and broader connections by weaving in new material. It does not simply consolidate memory, but interweaves and increases memory connections.\textsuperscript{37}

In other words, the aetiology of a dream becomes evident when its two practical functions are understood: first a dream reduces the ‘localized storms’ caused by the emotions which were experienced while awake by \textit{diffusing} them across a wide area of ‘connections,’ and second, these connections to other memories are the mind’s attempt to better \textit{understand} those events in waking life which caused the heightened emotions in the first place in order to reduce their negative impact when the dreamer is awake.\textsuperscript{38} This teleological theory of dreams is corroborated by a number of other clinicians and researchers. For example, dream researchers Ramon Greenberg and Chester Pearlman in Boston have continued clinical explorations along the lines initiated by earlier dream researchers and have added research work on Rapid Eye Movement (REM) sleep as well. Concerning function they suggest that the dream is the dreamer’s effort to cope with a currently meaningful issue, and they emphasize especially that it is clearly an attempt to solve a current problem. Their studies also suggest that there is an important role for dreams in the mind’s attempt to adapt to emotionally important situations.\textsuperscript{39}
The following example illustrates how a dream will draw from waking events with strong emotional content, located under various ‘headings’ in the memory, and then recombine them in order to diffuse their impact on the dreamer: my wife and I watched a program on TV which I found very troubling about male inmates who were pleading with prison officials for their early parole; I struggled all day to get the wording of one chapter of this book just right; on the late evening news we were told the disturbing story of a woman in hospital who had to give birth to her premature baby by herself because the nurses and doctors, for some reason, had ignored her cries for help; and just before going to bed I looked at my inadequate notes for the class I'd be teaching the next day and worried about how to improve them. One of my dreams that night—the one I recalled most clearly after waking up—was about my being a teacher to only two male students, one of whom was pregnant and was pleading with me because he seemed to be going into agonizing labor.

At first the dream seemed rather silly, but the elements in it from the previous day are actually fairly obvious (when you know what to look for): I am a teacher, and the dream that I had only two students was probably due to my actual concern over my poor class notes; the real-life inmates who were pleading in front of the parole board supplied the image of the pleading student; and the birthing elements could have been furnished by the ‘birthing pains’ I was feeling over the chapter of my book I had been working on, but are probably better interpreted much more simply as the actual story of the woman in hospital. So what may at first have seemed like a totally nonsensical dream actually reflected and ‘dealt with’ a number of somewhat stressful events from the day before. Medard Boss, professor of psychotherapy at the medical school of the University of Zurich, studied a series of 823 dreams of one of his
patients over three years of therapy and found that they closely resembled the patient’s mode of existence in waking life. He wrote that dreams are *revelations* of existence and not concealments, they “are an *uncovering*, and *unveiling* and never a covering up or a veiling of psychic content.”

According to Hartmann’s theory dreams may be considered a coping strategy, or even a form of self-therapy. Fear and anxiety appear to be overall the most common emotions reported in dreams, and when there are several competing concerns in waking life the individual’s dreams will tend to deal primarily with the most serious one. Dreams are palliative care. They ameliorate both physical and emotional suffering by reducing the violence or intensity of the mental impressions of waking experiences. They are the therapy of strong emotions, especially ongoing negative emotions which can contribute to serious physical problems, such as ulcers, heart disease, a weakening of the immune system, digestive disturbances, and even what psychotherapists call mental illness, if they are left unresolved.

Dreams are the antibodies of the mind; they are the mind’s way of reducing the toxic effects of strong emotions that were felt but left unexpressed, or that were simply too complex and confusing to resolve during waking hours. They are an integral and essential part of the adaptive self-restoration and self-preservation mechanisms the human body has developed. They may be related to the automatic self-preservation system which causes a person to descend into unconsciousness when any sort of suffering becomes overwhelming and unbearable. In fact individuals who are suffering from severe emotional stress often have the urge to go to sleep, and then remain asleep far longer than the norm. From this perspective dreaming can be understood to be a much more positive and restorative life experience than presented in the
model of the rather secretive and sinister unconscious formulated by Freud. Hartmann also points out that a dream does not need to be analyzed by the dreamer in order for it to have a restorative effect. Even when a dream is forgotten—which they frequently are—that dream has already performed its therapeutic function of diffusing strong negative emotions and reducing the sort of stress that would ultimately prove physically or mentally harmful to the dreamer.\textsuperscript{32}

While they work to preserve both the physical and mental health of the dreamer, dreams can only express the dreamer’s emotional state and the state of his mind “in terms of the language available in the neural nets as they function in the dreaming, auto-associative mode—visual-spatial imagery and picture metaphor.”\textsuperscript{43} Again, there is an important distinction to be noted between Hartmann’s views and the views of psychotherapists who speak of Freudian ‘dream symbolism.’ Hartmann does not claim that the dream translates one object or stimulus into another, or that the unconscious mind produces a concretistic, and Freudian, object-to-object symbolism as an intentional or active concealment of true meaning. Hartmann maintains that his research, and the recent work of other sleep researchers, indicates that the dreaming mind, in dealing with the current emotionally important state, typically uses metaphoric pictures because that just is the language in which it operates.\textsuperscript{44}

Another good example of dreams working with the dreamer’s daytime emotions—or in response to the suppression of those emotions—is the experience of one of my clients who told me, “In many of my dreams I’m angry. When I’m awake I work hard at controlling my emotions. I was taught to never let my anger show. But when I’ve held my anger in during the day with some person I’ll often meet that same person in my dreams, or just that person’s head, and in some very bizarre places, and I find myself arguing very loudly with them. And I’ll
sometimes even wake myself up because while I’m in the dream argument, and fast asleep, I’ll yell something right out loud and it wakes me up. I think I wake myself up because I feel very uncomfortable arguing even in my dreams. In my dreams I often become very emotional, which is something I never allow myself to do while I’m awake.”

The recognition that she often does in dreams what she considers wrong to do in waking life helped this client to begin to identify some of the problematic restrictions she and others had placed on her need for the expression of strong emotions. In this case, with the help of a philosophical counselor, the dream brought to light for the client an issue that would prove to be of central importance in the philosophical inquiry into her unhappy life without the need to search for symbols. In a sense this dream had already presented to the client an answer to the question which I was only able to ask her several sessions later: What is troubling you? It seems reasonable to generalize from this that dreams often reveal answers to questions the dreamer has not yet asked, or is simply unwilling to dwell on while awake.

But this is not to say that dreams present answers in an intentional manner. A dream does not act like a homunculus, or little man, in the mind which sends cryptic messages to tease the dreamer with something censored and hidden. And the forgetting of a dream is not at all an unconscious and deliberate act full of “hostile intentions” as Freud suggested. A dream is simply a process of the mind which, like digestion, serves an important function without having to be observed. The restorative process inherent in dreams take place regardless of whether or not the dream is analyzed, understood, or even remembered. But when dreaming is understood to be a restorative mechanism it can render insights into the most pressing issues and concerns being experienced by the individual having that dream. This will explain why a dream or
nightmare will sometimes reoccur night after night: not because it has not yet been clinically
analyzed by an expert but because the individual having that dream continues to struggle daily
with the same issues or concerns which generated the dream in the first place.

5. DREAM INTERPRETATION IN PHILOSOPHICAL COUNSELING

The advantage of philosophical counseling over other forms of therapy is that the
philosophical counselor may use any means of inquiry available. The philosophical counselor is
not constrained by any particular school of therapy or systematized methodology. Therefore,
although commonly considered a psychotherapeutic approach, an inquiry into the meaning of
dreams can be very useful in philosophical counseling as a means of helping a client come to a
better understanding of what is troubling him.

As discussed in my book *Philosophical Counseling: Theory and Practice*, it is not
always obvious to a client in the early stages of counseling what the problem is and why he is
unhappy. This is when an examination of his dreams can offer some helpful insights. But just
as the reasons for his unhappiness are not always immediately apparent to the client, the
meaning of a dream can also be very elusive to the client’s individual interpretive efforts. A
competent philosophical counselor can help a client reach an understanding of both his
emotional distress and his dreams by helping the client examine how the dream images reflect
the troubling events in his life. For example, a client may present a dream he has had of rolling
down a steep hill in a car with defective brakes. The philosophical counselor knows that in his
private life this client is in fact in a turbulent and failing personal relationship which he refuses to
give up despite the fact that the future of this relationship is out of his control. He may not necessarily make the connection that the dream of the malfunctioning car is a metaphor for the emotional risk he is taking by refusing to accept that his obsessive drive to maintain the relationship is doomed to end in emotional disaster. Aristotle said, “A good dream interpreter is one who notices similarities.” By helping this client to notice the similarities between his life and his dream, the philosophical counselor can help him to recognize that his dream is dealing with the concern he is feeling regarding his own well-being which he has not allowed himself to dwell on while awake. In this way the dream, rather than being a symbolic concealment of unconscious material, becomes heuristic: it has explanatory value in philosophical counseling.

Hartmann maintains that ordinary dreams are simply concerned with solving interpersonal problems, ethical concerns, or personal problems dealing with one’s health or one’s work, in order to diminish the emotional and somatic disturbances those concerns are producing. Given Hartmann’s clinical research into dream function, it is reasonable for the philosophical counselor to assume that the client’s dream material will show the way to serious emotional concerns which have been carelessly neglected, intentionally ignored, unintentionally forgotten, or sometimes simply missed while awake. The astute philosopher will recognize that strong negative emotions in dreams are a guide to the subtle areas of the client’s distress or perplexity, and that they are a clear indication that there is some sort of inter-personal issue, ethical conflict, or emotional problem—all related to his waking life—with which the client is struggling.

When it comes to the most serious disturbances in a person’s life it is important for the philosophical counselor to keep in mind that in the earliest dreams after a traumatic event, terror and fear usually predominate. Sometimes these are followed by dreams of extreme
vulnerability, after which survival guilt may surface. Research on dreams and nightmares after trauma shows that, although a trauma itself may sometimes occur in a dream, dreams very seldom replay a trauma realistically and exactly as it occurred. A person who has been extremely terrified by an auto accident, absolutely overwhelmed by a family disaster, or anxious about an upcoming event may find her distress and concern metaphorically pictured in her dreams as a burning house from which she can’t escape, a tidal wave breaking over her, or being chased by a gang of thugs. Similarly, the daytime worries and fears of children often manifest themselves in dreams of mythical monsters, fierce animals, and bogeymen. But while these images may exhibit a common theme among various individuals, and even among various cultures, they are not at all the kind of childhood sexual wish fulfillment fantasies hypothesized by Freud, nor are they the primitive archetypal symbols arising out of a collective unconscious postulated by Jung.

Dreams following trauma or severe stress, as well as so-called normal dreams, don’t need to have each little detail interpreted in order to be of practical value. A dream is like a jigsaw puzzle in that the overall picture can be understood long before the last tiny piece has been set into place. Useful subjective insights can be gained when the fragmentary material in a dream is correlated with the overall context of the dreamer’s waking life. This is not at all contrary to some aspects of the approach to the interpretation of dreams presented by both Freud and Jung.

But there can be a significant difference between how a philosophical counselor will use dream material to help the client examine his life, and how that same material is acted upon by a Freudian or Jungian therapist. For example, in his essay “The Practical Use of Dream
Analysis.” Jung offers the case of a man with “humble beginnings,” a peasant who, by virtue of ambition, hard work, and talent, had had an extraordinarily successful career but suffered from a sense of anxiety and insecurity. The man related two dreams to Jung, both exemplifying his insecurity about his own career successes. In the first dream he ignores some former classmates while walking in his own village. This is interpreted by Jung as meaning “You forgot how far down you began.” The second dream—actually more of a nightmare—involves the man missing a train he was trying to catch on the way to work. He explains that the track has a dangerously sharp S-curve in it but “the engine driver puts on steam, I try to cry out, the rear coaches give a frightful lurch and are thrown off the rails. There is a terrible catastrophe. I wake up in terror.” Jung then analyses the dream as follows:

Here again no effort is needed to understand the message of the dream. It describes the patient’s frantic haste to advance himself still further. But since the engine-driver in front steams relentlessly ahead, the neurosis happens at the back: the coaches rock and the train is derailed.

Jung says that this dream gave him not only the aetiology of his patient’s neurosis but a prognosis as well. Jung furthermore believes it tells him exactly where the treatment of his patient should begin. He proclaims, “We must prevent the patient from going full steam ahead” because this is what the patient’s dream (and his unconscious) has told the patient himself. But the man does not agree with Jung’s approach and he does not remain Jung’s patient for very long. Jung writes, “The upshot was that the fate depicted in the dream ran its course. He
tried to exploit the professional openings that tempted his ambition, and ran so violently off the rails that the catastrophe was realized in actual life.” So, based on this eventual unfortunate outcome, Jung reaches the conclusion that the dream was a kind of premonition of doom, a warning to the man from deep in his unconscious that he should not forget his peasant beginnings, and that he should stop his upward striving. But is this in fact what the dream was trying to ‘tell’ Jung’s patient?

In light of Hartmann’s empirical research into dreams, Jung’s reading of the dream should be troubling to any philosophical counselor. His interpretation and suggested treatment not only recommends a paternalistic interference in the course of a patient’s career but it advocates bringing into actuality the patient’s own ‘neurotic’ dreams of failure as, paradoxically, the best way to counteract his fear of failure. In other words, first, while Jung would paternalistically prevent his patient from striving for more success in his career, the philosophical counselor would never take such an authoritarian position. And, second, while Jung considers the dream to be a sure sign of impending doom, and while he would therefore intentionally ‘derail’ his patient’s career by preventing him from going ‘full steam ahead’ (making the man’s nightmare of failure come true), the philosophical counselor would consider the dream to be only a metaphorical indicator of the fear of the possibility of failure that is worrying her client. She would not presume to know as categorically as Jung did that the best thing she can do for her client is to stop him in his tracks. She would instead empathetically offer to discuss with her client why his success is causing him such anxiety and insecurity, find out if he still wants to continue his efforts to advance his career, and if so help him to examine what options are available to him to keep his extraordinarily successful career ‘on track.’ Put in another way,
rather than force him to stop his career because of a dream based on his fear of the possibility of failure, the philosophical counselor would understand his dream as an insight into his worries, help him resolve those worries, and then help him come to terms with the possibility of even greater success.

Furthermore, when Jung’s assumptive diagnosis of the man’s supposed endogenous pathology is viewed from a feminist perspective it is clear that Jung’s approach to the dream amounts to Jung’s (unconscious?) attempt to maintain the status quo by having the man with the peasant background stop advancing in his career into the realm of the upper class of which he is not a member. The philosophical counselor’s approach, on the other hand, would be to help the man overcome the exogenous social barriers put up by both his peasant friends and members of the upper class (including Jung), which barriers are exacerbating the man’s anxiety and insecurity.

So the fact that the man’s career did eventually crash was not at all due to his having reached the highest point of his career and having exhausted his strength, as Jung contends. It was in fact due to Jung’s erroneous assumptions about the premonitory meaning of his patient’s dreams, his attempts to paternalistically dissuade his patient from pursuing his life goals, and the man’s subsequent disillusionment with, and abandoning of, Jung’s misguided directive therapy.

But, obviously, a dream can only be made use of by a philosophical counselor if and when the client remembers it. What is to be done if the dreamer can’t recall the dream? Hartmann recommends that five general facts about sleep and dreams be kept in mind when attempting to mitigate this problem: (1) developing a conscious interest in dreams will usually increase dream recall; (2) recording a dream immediately after having it, and in only a few words, will help
recall it later; (3) reviewing a major problem or emotional concern at bedtime will stimulate
dreaming in that area and will prompt those dreams to be more vivid; (4) getting a good night’s
sleep is essential to dream recall; less than six hours of sleep substantially reduces the likelihood
of dream recall. And if all else fails he suggests (5) working with daydreams since they function
somewhat similarly to dreams although in a more limited capacity.  

In summary, the function of dreams is best understood as analogous to the diffusion of a
storm, and to the physical body’s adaptive self-restorative system. It is in sleep that the body
engages most actively in its physical healing, growth, and repairs, and it is in dreams that the
mind carries out its own ‘healing,’ ‘growth,’ and ‘repairs.’ In dreams mental connections are
made which help to diffuse the dominant emotional concerns of the dreamer. This restorative
process takes place regardless of whether or not the dreamer understands or remembers the
dream’s connective metaphors. Understanding dreams as this sort of restorative mechanism
explains why an individual can suffer from sleep/dream deprivation if not enough hours have
been spent sleeping, and why it is not possible to ‘store up’ sleep/dream hours ahead of time.
Just as the body is not always able to deal adequately with severe physical trauma in just one
night’s sleep, serious emotional trauma may require more than a single night’s dreams to ease
the pain of that sort of injury. And just as physical pains often benefit from being attended to by
a caring individual skilled in the practice of medical therapy, mental and emotional pains can
likewise benefit from the attention of a caring individual skilled in the practice of philosophical
counseling. It is not uncommon for a recurring nightmare to disappear after the dreamer has
discussed its meaning with a philosophical counselor simply because the issues and concerns
which generated the nightmare have been brought to light and dealt with.
Dreams need not be treated as meaningful symbols which need to be interpreted as the exhibition of malevolent or forbidden desires which the mind has somehow inexplicably hidden from itself in its own inaccessible unconscious; neither does the dream state need to be feared as some sort of competing illusory reality meant to confound the human condition. Dreams are most often simply an attempt of the mind to resolve one or several troubling issues stored among the complex interconnections of daytime memories. Although psychoanalysts may hold dreams to represent repressed desires and fears, the interpretation of dreams within a philosophical counseling setting will be most profitable if dream events are seen as metaphorical road signs pointing the way among the complexities of the client’s daily life.

Endnotes


4 The only account I’m aware of in which a philosophical counselor discusses a client’s dream is chapter 11 of Shlomit Schuster’s book *Philosophy Practice.* Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1999.


14 See the Bible verses at Genesis chapter 40 and Daniel chapter 2.

15 Freud. 176–184.

17 Ibid., 161.
20 Ibid., 396–7.
22 The term ‘backward masking’ has been used in litigation to describe the supposedly insidious hidden messages in popular music. The theory was that some musicians were recording backward messages into their music in order to ‘subliminally’ manipulate the unwary public. It has never been proven that such ‘backward masking’ in fact exists.
23 Freud, 206.
24 Logically, if there is ‘censorship’ of thoughts it would require some sort of ‘homunculus’ (little man) in the brain who decides what thoughts need to be censored. In order to make such a decision the homunculus would have to have a brain which would then require another homunculus to censor its thoughts, and so on ad infinitum. The only way to avoid this infinite regress of homunculi is to argue that the brain just does this and that the use of the word ‘censor’ is metaphorical, which is no explanation at all.
28 Ibid., “The Relations Between the Ego and the Unconscious” (1953). 143–44.
31 Hartmann draws on 5,000 of his own dreams, over 10,000 dreams in long dream series (“dream logs”) supplied to him by various dreamers, several thousand patients’ dreams, and dreams from numerous research studies conducted by himself and others. Ibid., 3.
32 Ibid., 57, 147.
33 Ibid., 92–3.
36 It should be noted that not all dreams are experienced as pictures. Chapter 3 of this book came to me while I was asleep, not as a picture but in statements without any imagery whatsoever. But this is in line with Hartmann’s contention that dreams are concerned with what is important to the dreamer and what the dreamer feels strongly about. For two days previous to the occurrence of this dream I had been wondering what, if anything, could be said about experimental philosophy. Interestingly, I had been considering writing a completely independent essay about it; I had not been considering writing about it in relation to philosophical counseling or as a chapter in this book. This demonstrates how dreams connect various, and often unrelated, items from waking life, thereby contributing to the waking creativity of the dreamer.
37 Hartmann, 3–4.
38 This theory of dreams is also a reasonable hypothesis concerning the function of ‘flashbacks’ experienced by victims of severe trauma (such as those who have been diagnosed as having Post Traumatic Stress Disorder [PTSD]). A flashback is like a waking dream or nightmare, and is the victim’s attempt to make sense of a seemingly senseless violent act.
41 Hartmann, 64, 55.
42 Ibid., 136.
43 Ibid., 99.
Freud often writes as though the unconscious has a mind of its own. For example he states that the unconscious “is certain” about some things. See Freud, 516.

Freud, 442.


Hartmann, 154.

Ibid., 21, 23.

Jung. *Dreams*. 89

Ibid.

Jung writes “Circumstances prevented me from treating the patient further, nor did my view of the case satisfy him.” Ibid., 90.

Ibid., 89–90.

Hartmann, 141–44.