

Dr Jekels' health resort in Bystra near Bielsko: the first treatment centre which adopted psychoanalysis in Poland

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Summary

The paper sets out to present the history of a health resort and hydrotherapy centre in Bystra near Bielsko from 1898 to 1912. At that time Dr Ludwik Jekels, one of the Polish psychoanalysis forerunners, was the owner of the centre. Initially, Dr Jekels was very enthusiastic about climatic treatment and hydrotherapy, until 1905 when he got interested in psychoanalysis. Shortly afterwards he became its staunch supporter and adopted it as a curative procedure in his health resort. That was the first documented case of psychoanalysis use in Poland. This paper presents the development of the therapeutic centre in Bystra and the characteristic of typical patients receiving treatment there. It also briefly reports on medical histories of the conditions of patients who received psychoanalytic treatment. The paper also focuses on another significant area of Dr Jekels' contact with Sigmund Freud ranging from an accidental meeting in Vienna around 1898, through the summer of 1910 when Jekels looked after Freud's daughters in his spa, to 1912 which saw Jekels' receiving psychoanalytic treatment from Freud. It also presents a detailed analysis of hypotheses why Jekels decided to sell the health resort and move to Vienna. Finally, the significance of Jekels' currently underrated therapeutic work for the development of the Polish psychoanalysis is reiterated.

Key words: Freud, history of psychotherapy, psychoanalysis

Introduction

Between 1898 and 1912 Dr Ludwik Jekels, who was a disciple of Sigmund Freud, ran a health resort and hydrotherapy centre in Bystra Śląska near Bielsko, which was under the Austrian partition in the past. At that time numerous institutions of similar profile were operating in the territory of Poland but it was the Jekels' health resort where psychoanalysis was adopted in clinical practice for the first time in Poland,

which made Jekel's spa an exceptional venue. A century has passed and the history of that centre and its significance for the development of the Polish psychotherapy seem to have been forgotten.

The origins of health resort in Bystra

Bystra is a typical health resort place which is located in forest-covered hilly areas of the Beskidy Mountains approximately 90 kilometres south-west of Krakow (approx. 50 km from border of the Czech Republic). Vienna is approximately 370 km from Bystra. The population of Bystra Slaska amounted to 487 residents at the beginning of the 20th century [1]. In 1956 Bystra Slaska and Bystra Krakowska were joined into one village which has the population of approximately 3,300 residents at present. All of the places mentioned above constituted part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time (until the end of World War I).

Ludwik Jekels, who was the owner and the director of the health resort in Bystra, was the most prominent representative of the first generation of Polish psychoanalysts. Undoubtedly, he can be regarded as the first Polish Freudian. Ludwik Jekels was born as Ludwik Jেকেles in Lviv in 1861. In 1903 he changed his surname to Jekels [2, 3]. He graduated with a medical degree from the University of Vienna. Subsequently, he spent a number of years receiving further training in a variety of medical fields: dermatology, gynaecology, bacteriology, surgery, paediatrics, obstetrics and ophthalmology [2, 3]. On starting his career as a health resort physician, he was definitely highly knowledgeable in the majority of medical fields. Afterwards, he returned to Poland where in 1897 he found employment as a physician in a health resort in Jaworze near Bielsko (formerly known as Ernsdorf) [3–5]. In a press advert of the resort he said he was “the deputy head physician at the Imperial-Royal Rudolfinerhaus Hospital in Vienna”, “a disciple of Opolski [Wiktór Opolski], the head physician, in Lviv and prof. Kraus [Friedrich Kraus – an internist], Limbeck [Ritter von Limbeck – an internist], Schauta [i.e. Friedrich Schauta – a gynaecologist], Winternitz [Jekels did not specify the first name of that physician so it might have been either Ludwig Winternitz – a deputy director of the Rudolfinerhaus Hospital in Vienna where Jekels was employed, or Wilhelm Winternitz – a Vienna professor of balneology], Hofmokl [Johann Eduard Hofmokl – a surgeon] in Vienna” [4, 5]. The several months he worked in the health resort in Jaworze were likely to prepare him to run his own hydrotherapy centre.

At the end of the 19th century hydrotherapy and balneology became massively popular methods of treatment. Professor Winternitz, the head of the department of balneology (University of Vienna), which was the first of its type in Europe, promoted hydrotherapy and he was one of the first medical professionals to carry out research in the field. He published a hydrotherapy textbook “Die Hydrotherapie auf physiologischer und klinischer Grundlage” [6] in which he elaborated on hydrotherapy methods together with indications and contraindications for their use. Prof. Winternitz postulated a personalised approach in hydrotherapy methods which were subject to the requirements of an individual patient. He recommended those methods in the treatment of conditions related to the nervous system and mental disorders (primarily neuroses). He

organised four-week trainings for physicians from all over the world in his polyclinic. Jekels is likely to have come into contact with Wilhelm Winternitz and his publications in Vienna considering the fact that he later decided to become a health resort physician.

The development of hydrotherapy in Poland was as dynamic as the one observed in the Western Europe. The Polish balneotherapy textbook for doctors entitled "Zarys balneoterapii i balneografii krajowej" ("The Outline of Balneotherapy and National Balneography") was published in 1900 as a result of urgent demand and "significant changes occurring both in the scientific advancement of balneology and the development of health resorts" [7]. It reported on as many as 68 Polish health resorts where individuals could undergo hydrotherapy, balneotherapy and climatic treatment. "Przewodnik po miejscowościach klimatycznych i zdrojowiskach Galicji" ("The Guide on Climatic Places and Health Resorts of Galicia") [8], which was published 12 years later, lists over 70 health resorts in Galicia itself. These publications demonstrate the dynamic development health resort treatment and hydrotherapy were undergoing at the turn of 19th and 20th centuries.

Dr Jekels' decision to work as a health resort physician gave him the opportunity to participate in one of the fastest growing fields in medicine at that time. Probably in 1898 Jekels bought the hydrotherapy centre, which was founded around 1874 in Bystra near Bielsko. The centre was in decline and Jekels carried out its reorganization [7]. Some sources also report 1897 as the year of purchase. However, 1898 seems most likely considering the fact that 1898 was reported by Korczyński who based that information on a brochure written by Jekels. That date is also repeated by Jekels in a chapter on Bystra which he wrote for "Polski przewodnik po zdrojowiskach" ("Polish Health Resorts Guide") [9]. It was definitely the year 1898 when the spa patients came here for the first time. As Dr Korczyński reports in 1900: "The new owner enthusiastically embarked on refurbishing and expanding the centre (...) The centre is housed currently in two buildings one of which is occupied by the director of the centre, whereas the second one encompassing 40 rooms is for patients. The apartments are heated with tile furnaces and electrically lit. The rooms are decorated in a convenient and even smart fashion" [7]. Initially, treatment with water was reported as the main curative procedure but the press advertisements published in the first year of the resort operation mention electrotherapy, baths in electric light, massage, therapeutic gymnastics, dietary and outdoor walking treatments [9]. Later the visitors were offered hand and mechanical massages, active and passive therapeutic gymnastics, electric baths and baths in air, sun and electric light, personal dietary treatment, outdoor walking treatment by Oertel, and psychotherapy [9]. The indications for treatment included "frail body build, organisation requiring hardening, illnesses of respiratory organs, heart conditions, illnesses of digestive organs and the nervous system, abnormal blood composition and metabolic pathology" [9]. The health resort services were also available to "neurotic individuals suffering from hysteria, neurasthenia, hypochondria, recuperating individuals and those exhausted with intellectual effort" [7]. In 1898 Jekels published an advertising brochure in Polish ("Zakład wodoleczniczy w Bystrej" ("Hydrotherapy Centre in Bystra")) [10], which he also later published in German in 1904 ("Sanatorium »Bistrai« bei Bielitz in den Schlesien Beskiden. Physikalisch-diätetische behandlung") [2]. The intensive

advertising campaign in daily press led to the fast growing number of visitors to the health resort in Bystra with 48 patients reported in 1898, 140 in 1899 [7] and as many as 274 recorded in 1903 [9]. The Polish artistic and political elite relaxed and underwent treatment there i.a. Julian Fałat, a renowned Polish painter [2, 11], Polish writers Gabriela Zapolska [3, 12] and Maria Konopnicka [2], (Konopnicka's famous "Rota" might have been created there) as well as Józef Piłsudski with his wife Maria [2]. These individuals received a standard resort treatment of massages, gymnastics, hydrotherapy and dietary treatment.

Julian Fałat, a well-known Polish painter and the rector of the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow at that time, was first treated there in 1902. Fałat was very pleased with the treatment and as a token of gratitude he offered Jekels his watercolour painting which depicted the complex of buildings of the treatment centre and he dedicated it as follows: "I offer this as a pleasant memento to Doctor Jekels and his wife" [2, 11]. A medical certificate issued by Jekels in 1910 says that the reason for Fałat's frequent stays in the health resort were neurasthenia and "the laziness of bowels and stomach" [2]. The painter enjoyed Bystra so much that in 1910 he purchased a property and settled down in Bystra with his family until he died in 1929 there.

Gabriela Zapolska expressed a completely different opinion about her stay in Bystra. She spent around two weeks in the health resort at the turn of May and June 1906 [12] as a result of tuberculosis severity and cachexia resulting from a substantial weight loss. Despite the tangible treatment efficacy (Zapolska gained two kilograms within two weeks), she was keen to leave the health resort immediately as she did not approve of Jekels' therapeutic approach. She did not have any trust in doctors and she changed them frequently. Whenever she wrote about her negative attitude to doctors, she emphasised that "she hated Jekels most" [12]. The history of that treatment will be the focus of another publication.

Freud's disciple

Jekels met Freud accidentally for the first time around 1898 or 1899 in connection with the opening of his health resort. The private practice of Freud was listed on the register of Vienna physicians who Jekels visited in person in order to encourage them to recommend his health resort to their patients. As Jekels recollected: "I arrived in the early afternoon hours – the busiest time of the day for the renowned physician ... The waiting room was completely empty ... I explained the object of my visit. Freud was not impolite, but ... he made it clear that in matters of current therapy of nervous patients he "thought completely different". My visit was evidently without any success. And a few moments later I took my leave greatly relieved despite my failure" [13].

Several years later Jekels realised again "the different way of thinking on the treatment of neurotic patients". He got interested in psychoanalysis in around 1905 while he was attending Freud's lectures at the University of Vienna [13]. He described the impression the treatment method made on him: "Although I had studied with the leading medical authorities of the time, the world that was opened to me in Freud's lectures was totally unknown to me. An enthusiasm I had never experienced before

made me go to Vienna year after year” [14]. At the same time he started to practise psychoanalysis in his health resort. It is the earliest (1905) use of psychoanalysis in Poland. Ludwik Jekels was also the first translator of Freud's works into Polish. He engaged himself in the promotion of psychoanalysis by delivering a series of lectures in different Polish cities (i.a. Warsaw and Krakow). His engagement in the popularisation of the psychoanalytic thought exceeds the framework of this publication.

Psychoanalytic patients in Bystra

Neither the specific number, nor the identity of the psychoanalytic patients in Bystra is known, however, it can be assumed that this type of treatment was applicable only to a low percentage of health resort visitors who were thoroughly pre-selected for the therapy. The psychoanalyses conducted by Jekels had to be short-term due to the nature of a health resort stay. As he reported: “Unfortunately, the case of a seasonal material with a very limited time of stay results in my analyses being incomplete” [15]. Jekels presented his clinical experience during the presentation “Psychoneurosis Treatment with Freudian Psychoanalytic Method and Casuistry” at the 1st Congress of Polish Neurologists, Psychiatrists and Psychologists on 12th October 1909 in Warsaw [15] as well as in a more concise form in “Szkic psychoanalizy Freuda” (“The Outline of Freud's Psychoanalysis”) [16]. Jekels' patients who received psychoanalytic treatment primarily suffered from conversion disorder symptoms (astasia-abasia, hysterical paraplegia, esophagospasm), persistent psychogenic pain, agoraphobia with anxiety attacks and functional gastrointestinal dysfunctions. Jekels recommended psychoanalysis only after other methods failed to bring any improvement. He reported on one of his patients: “When several weeks of hydrotherapy and suggestive treatment brought no result (...) I started his psychoanalytic treatment” [15]. In his psychoanalytic work he focused on symptoms regarded as the fulfilment of repressed perverse or incestuous sexual desires (therefore, so called, sexual interviews constituted an important part of treatment) and on subconscious material originating in patient's dreams. He presented a thorough analysis of four patients who were on treatment until 1909 and a brief one of one female patient. These are the first case studies of psychoanalytic approach reported so comprehensively in the Polish language.

Female patient 1

Mrs G, mother of five children. For three years she suffered from esophagospasm and choking while eating. The patient believed the reason for that to be her secretive smoking habit. While interviewing the patient, Jekels established that the patient's last child delivery was very hard which resulted in “an almost morbid fear of pregnancy”. As a consequence of that fear she felt reluctant to engage in sexual intercourse with her husband. The first symptoms occurred when the examined patient fell in love with a young officer without reciprocity. The analysis of the patient's dreams provided a new set of data. She demonstrated an interest in her brother-in-law who she suspected of being incapable of regular sexual contacts and having propensity for perverse ones.

At that time she also started smoking cigarettes without her husband's knowledge. Jekels proposed the following interpretation of the patient's symptom: "her spasm [of the oesophagus] is nothing more than a fantasy of coitus per os" with the brother-in-law [15]. Whereas the neurotic structure of the patient he characterised as follows: "As a result of a fear of pregnancy and unrequited love, the lust in our sexually highly stimulated patient must have been repressed. The repression of the main channel resulted somehow in her regression into channels buried a long time ago" [15], meaning an oral phase. Jekels also recognised another symptom of the patient but did not manage to analyse it due to "a lack of time" and the symptom was related to the patient's repressed homosexuality.

Female patient 2

Mrs Anna S. was in an unhappy marriage with a 25-year older husband. She reported to the health resort with the symptom of astasia-abasia. This psychoanalysis lasted longer as Jekels had an opportunity to conduct it for several months. In the case analysis he quoted fragments of psychoanalytic sessions and added commentaries. Jekels believed that the unresolved Electra complex was the reason behind the patient's condition and he described it in the following terms: "I managed to demonstrate the love towards her own father originating in childhood and further repressed. During the great estrangement of marital relations the fantasy of the sick patient had recourse to it. Her abasia and astasia were the fantasy of her being a wife to her own father with whom she got pregnant. As a model, the patient adopted the recollection of her mother's pregnancy during which the mother had pain in her legs and could not walk" [15]. Again, the patient's dreams and childhood memories assisted in the interpretation of the symptom.

Male patient 3

Mr L. K. was a 33-year-old clerk suffering from a neuralgic pain in the left temple and agoraphobia with anxiety attacks ("a sudden occurrence of heartbeat, oppression, leaden heaviness in the legs, the feeling of psychic downheartedness" [15] which made it impossible to leave a house or health resort). The patient associated this condition with an inaccurate diet. Initially, Jekels adopted a standard health resort treatment which proved ineffective similarly to previous comparable therapies implemented by other physicians. An in-depth analysis of the history of symptoms demonstrated the correlation between the occurrence of symptoms and the engagement of the patient's younger sister. Jekels came to a conclusion that the patient suffers from "the fantasy that he is the sister's husband and the father of her child" [15], which indicated the repressed incestuous fantasies. He explained the patient's symptoms in the following terms: "The inability to leave the house is somewhat a shame of being seen by the external world", "the alleged neuralgia is to some extent a slap in the face, in Freud's terms, a very frequent symbol of an ignominious shameful thought" [15]. He drew that conclusion from the observation of the symptom severity which would subside

whenever he was at his home and escalate while thinking of going to his family place where his sister lived. The evidence that corroborated such interpretation was the "Freudian slip" (it was Dr Jekels who introduced the term into the Polish language when analysing this case study). When asked about the name of his niece, the patient responded: "Nina... Nina Krug (the patient's surname)" and it was only later when he corrected himself and blushed [15].

Male patient 4

Mr T. M. was a 22-year-old patient who suffered from constipation and persistent pain in the abdomen radiating to the groin and scrotum. The first occurrence of symptoms was experienced when he went abroad first time and "due to the fear of being infected, he became a sexual abstainer while experiencing high excitement from a woman who he loved solidly and had honest intentions towards" [15]. The conflict related to sexuality construed as the inability to enter into a sexual intercourse with women whether it was because of fear of infection or out of respect ("honest intentions") was repressed and revived in the shape of "childhood love towards mother with a concurrent erogenous sphere which got activated. From that sphere understood as a stool bowel a small child experiences, by means of its mother, the sensation of sexual stimulation (anal eroticism)" [15].

Female patient 5

A patient who suffered from paraplegia and complained about crushing pain in the back. The analysis showed that she was in an unhappy marriage which she entered into against her mother's will. Jekels characterised the origin of the symptom as follows: "in the second year of her unhappy marriage (...) she complained about her husband to her mother who responded harshly: I am not interested in that if you decided to take that cross onto yourself, carry it now then!" [16]. Jekels also added that "We can see in this example how by means of, I would say, primitive symbolism, the suffering patient demonstrated the syndrome that was torturing her" [16].

Jekels believed that the analysis of each symptom aimed at "making the patient aware of the essence and significance of a disease symptom in order to uncover the repressed image which got substituted with the disease symptom in the patient's consciousness" [16]. Jekels regarded the results of his analyses as satisfactory and said that "I can assure that I obtained more or less proper recovery in those cases" [15]. He observed that in the majority of analyses "we find a conflict of sexual nature as a starting point of neurosis" [16]. In Jekels' (and Freud's) opinion "cultural sexual morality" lies at the basis of these difficulties. It imposed numerous unnecessary restrictions and it could be characterised with dishonest references to sexual aspects in the form of "prudery and lust" [16]. Consequently, as these restrictions "affect our libido in the saddest manner," Jekels postulated the implementation of "mitigation and reforms in the area of sexual views" [16].

The views which were innovative in the medicine of that time as well as conducting "infamous sexual interviews" might have been the reason why the lower numbers of

patients stayed at the health resort as mentioned by Herman Nunberg who wrote that “the health resort was very popular until [Jekels] started to practise psychoanalysis” [17]. However, the description of the health resort as reported by Minna Bernays in her correspondence to Sigmund Freud during the summer of 1910 did not suggest that the venue was losing its popularity (“the health resort bursts at the steams” [18]). On the contrary, the number of patients was so high that Jekels felt overwhelmed with work. That could be a likely reason why he employed Dr Herman Nunberg as his assistant who is credited to have left the last recorded report on psychoanalytic therapy carried out in Bystra.

Nunberg’s female patient was addicted to morphine. Despite the fact that he never led the treatment of an addicted person before, “in his naivety” he opted for analysis [19]. He was carrying out the treatment without the drug being set aside. Moreover, he administered the patient daily injections himself. The treatment progressed very quickly. Nunberg wrote: “I was quite amazed how readily the pathogenic material rose to the surface” [19]. As the psychoanalysis progressed, he gradually dosed down on the morphine with the patient’s consent until the moment when the patient requested the injections be completely stopped. The treatment proved to be effective and “her analysis continued for some time thereafter, and then she left the sanatorium, apparently cured” [19]. Nunberg stayed in occasional contact with the patient until the outbreak of World War I and up to that time she never went back to the addiction. Then clearly saddened he wrote: “After that, I lost sight of my patient, to this day I do not know what happened to her” [19].

Personal tragedy – wife’s suicide

On 21st January 1910 when Jekels was not around, his wife Zoe took her own life with “a shoot in the head” [20]. What led to this tragedy still remains unexplained up to the present. Two motives have been speculated about: unrequited love to one of the health resort patients [2] and the rejection of Mrs Jekels’ play by one of the theatres in Bielsko [2]. The latter reason seems unlikely. As “Kurier Warszawski” reported in a posthumous note about Mrs Jekels: “most recent work (...) a stage play entitled “Die Spiele Ihrer *Exzellenz*” (“Her Excellence’s Dalliance”) was to be staged in a fortnight at the Vienna Burgtheater” [21], which was a much more prestigious venue than the theatre in Bielsko.

We can find out about Jekels’ reaction from a short analysis of a case study which was published in 1913 in “International Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse” [22]. It is difficult not to get the impression that he was reporting on himself and discoveries he experienced during his own psychoanalysis with Freud initiated in 1912 [23]. He presented a case of a doctor who “had lost his young, beautiful and dearly-loved wife in a tragic manner. He fell ill of a neurosis whose main theme was that he was to blame for the misfortune. Moreover, he had no further relations with women and took a dislike to marriage and lasting love-relationships, which unconsciously he thought of as being unfaithful to his dead wife but which he consciously rationalized in the idea that he brought misfortune to women, that a woman might kill herself on his ac-

count, etc. In view of the strength of his libido it is therefore not surprising that the most adequate relationships appeared to him to be those – transient from their very nature – with married women” [22, 24]. He also wrote about fantasising about getting married to his psychoanalyst’s (Freud’s) daughter. It was to validate the interpretation of his neurosis and evidence that a transference relationship existed. It was expressed in the willingness to compete with the analyst (taking his loved daughter away) and take revenge on him (since he lost wife due to psychoanalysis, so he will take the analyst’s daughter away and when she kills herself, then the analyst will lose someone as well) [22]. The fantasies might have referred to Freud’s 19-year-old sweetheart daughter Sophie, who was considered to be very beautiful, or her younger sister Anna. Jekels was very familiar with both of them as he looked after them during the holidays in 1910.

Anna and Sophie Freud and Minna Bernays in Bystra

Freud was to spend the summer of 1910 with his family at Jekels’ villa located in the premises of the health resort in Bystra. He reported on that to his closest associates (on 5th May 1910 in his correspondence to Ferenczi: “In June, part of the family is going to Bistraï to see Jekels, where I will follow on July 14” [25] and on 26th May 1910 to Jung: “From 14 July to 1 August we shall very probably be in Bistraï near Bielitz, staying with our colleague Jekels” [26]). Jekels most likely invited Freud’s family to help him recover from mourning after his wife’s death. The holidays spent together might have also served as a way to get closer to Freud and enter his circle of closest associates. For Freud and his family, Anna in particular, it was the opportunity to relax. He would recuperate after intestinal problems [25], whereas she would start to gain weight after an appendicitis operation she underwent in March 1908. Freud was apprehensive about the conditions in Bystra and around 14th May 1910 he requested Jekels for “a prospect, photographs and conditions” of his health resort and villa [27]. Despite this he still felt uneasy and at the turn of June and July in 1910 he sent to reconnoitre “an advance guard, consisting of an aunt [Minna Bernays] and two trifles [Sophie and Anna Freud]” [25] so that they verify if the conditions offered by Jekels would be suitable. The results of the inspection carried out by Minna proved to be unfavourable for Bystra and eventually only the three guests spent holidays with Jekels. The fact that it was Minna who discouraged Freud to arrive in Bystra is supported by her letters in which she wrote: “I deserve a prize for protecting you from your arrival here” [28]. Unfortunately, the original letter did not survive. We can conclude more about Freud’s reasons for changing his plans from his letters to Jekels and Ferenczi dated 3rd July 1910. In the first letter he cancels his arrival explaining that a place in the villa would be “barely sufficient” for him and his wife but not for his two sons. He also added that “your splendid villa might not handle such a crowd” [29]. In the second letter he elaborates on the difficulties that he came across: “we found out that Bistraï does not have enough room”, “the boys were unable to find lodging [at the Dutch seaside], and so I called it off with Jekels and am at loss as to what to do. The both of us [with wife] will probably go to a Dutch boarding house in the Hague with two boys and will do a bit of sightseeing in the cities until there is room by the sea” [25].

Both Freud and Minna had some remorse about Jekels and Freud wrote to him on 10th July: "Please believe me it was not easy for me to refuse it to you. The kindness in your invitation was the genuine reason why I wanted to take advantage of your hospitality" [30]. Minna, on the other hand, attributed Bystra with epithets ("Galician desert", "extremely boring hole") but at the same time she said that "the poor doctor who values you greatly indeed cannot find out about it" [28].

Freud's family stay in Bystra did not turn out to be a disaster or possibly it was on the contrary. The first recorded letter of Anna Freud comes from that period [31]. Unlike Minna, Anna was pleased with the holiday and she reported to the father: "I am fine here [in Bystra] and I like Dr Jekels a lot" because he "is very nice to us and talks a lot about you" [31]. The only complaint she made about the doctor was related to his refusal to lend Anna the book "Gradiva" without the father's consent (it is unknown if that was the short story by W. Jansen or the study on the short story written by Freud entitled "Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens Gradiva"). She was also trying to "[do her] best to get as well by autumn as the short time will allow". She boasted about "putting on weight" and being "already quite plump and fat" [31].

Minna supported the favourable opinion of her niece as she wrote: "The kids are feeling fine and they are quite pleased", "the doctor is relentlessly kind, polite and he pampers the kids a lot" [18]. She reported on Jekels' attitude towards Anna: "The doctor does adore her and he is absolutely opposed to her being sent to school in Vienna. However, he cannot offer any rational advice at the moment" [32]. The doctor who was fantasising about marrying his future analyst's daughter might have wanted to keep Anna in his health resort, which could not be taken with approval. The entertainment organised by Jekels included mostly carriage rides and Anna wrote to her father: "I always sit on the box seat, but without a riding whip and with my shoes on" [31]. Minna subsequently described Anna's stay in Bystra as "a return to nature" and in one her letters she reported that "Today Annerl made one of her dreams come true as she walked bare-footed, sat on the box seat during the carriage ride and passionately rolled a wooden hoop on the road with a stick [a popular children's play in the 19th century]" [18]. At present it cannot be ruled out that it was the greater freedom and independence of adolescent Anna that Minna disapproved and that motivated her to go back to Vienna as soon as possible.

Minna praised both nieces by saying that "they behave very politely and blamelessly" [33]. Their health improved considerably as Sophie "experiences a good time and is bothered with few ailments", whereas Anna "is definitely flourishing as well and I hope the bad times definitely have gone into oblivion" [33]. Furthermore, Anna finally gained some weight, which made her parents immensely happy. Freud expressed deep gratitude and said: "You returned my little women in a state so good that only the most serious friendship could lead to it and I do not really know how I could return the favour for it to you" [34] and added that "I also thank you profusely for the attention you paid to my ladies, the little and the big ones. I express my deep hope that the time spent together will result in a long-standing relationship between us" [30].

The stay in Bystra was not that pleasant for Minna as Freud expressed it directly in a letter to Jekels: "Unfortunately, the stay in Bystra troubled Minna in many ways"

[34]. She was not accustomed to such conditions and she expected luxuries and better company. She disliked other health resort patients most. She reported on general conditions of the health resort: "At present the health resort bursts at the seams and they are forced to cram people in nearby houses". While discussing the patients she wrote: "There is no one here I could exchange a word with", "they are so antipathetic and nervous in the most hideous way" [18] adding that they are "the people whose appearance itself causes nausea" [28]. Anna agreed with the comments to some degree: "The people at the establishment are very disagreeable and they stare at us as they cannot imagine what we are doing here" [31]. The patients' antipathy towards Freud's family could be understood to some extent as eventually they were taking away the attention of doctor Jekels who must have been very busy in the overcrowded health resort. Without mincing her words, Minna described Jekels' attitude towards his patients by saying that the patients "are incidentally no more abhorrent to anyone than the doctor himself, he courses every arrival"¹ [18]. That opinion was not solely of Minna who could project her own attitude towards the patients onto the doctor. Anna also mentions in a letter that the doctor is fed up with his peculiar patients. Anna writes that "Dr Jekels keeps on telling us how he dreads seeing his patients and I can imagine how much more unpleasant it must be for you, since you have even more" [31]. The discouragement and a sense of being overburdened with the work were the likely causes for Jekels to devote less and less time to the patients and to spend more time promoting psychoanalysis. He made the most considerable effort in that area between 1911 and 1912. He carried out the "apostolic activity" by delivering lectures on psychoanalysis to professionals and wider audiences [35]. He also translated into Polish and published Freud's first work "O psychoanalizie" ("On Psychoanalysis") [36] as well as he released his own publication "Szkic psychoanalizy Freuda" ("An Outline of Freud's Psychoanalysis") [16]. In the summertime of those years when the health resort was at its busiest peak, he would employ the second doctor, previously mentioned Herman Nunberg, who was a Polish psychiatrist. He was born in Czestochowa and studied at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. He graduated from Zurich medical faculty which focused on psychoanalytic treatment. He was also educated in the psychiatric field at Burghölzli Clinic [19].

Health resort closure

In 1912 the health resort in Bystra was sold. That marked the end of over a 10-year period when it operated under the supervision of Ludwik Jekels who around November 1912 settled down in Vienna [2]. Such seemingly sudden decision might

¹ One of the works included the statement which led to believe that Dr Jekels' patients had a negative attitude towards him ("They cannot stand the doctor most") [Dybel P. *Psychoanaliza – ziemia obiecana? Dzieje psychoanalizy w Polsce 1900-1989. Cz. I okres burzy i naporu*. Krakow: Universitas; 2016]. One cannot agree with that view which results from mistranslation of the German sentence: "...sind aber sonst unsympathisch, die Nervösen niedrigsten Genres, die übrigens niemanden zuwider sind als dem Doktor selbst, er verwünscht jeden Ankommenden" [Bernays M. *Letter from Minna Bernays to Sigmund Freud, July 18, 1910*. In: Hirschmüller A, ed. *Sigmund Freud Minna Bernays Briefwechsel 1882-1938*. Tübingen: edition diskord; 2005: p. 255-256]

be explained by several theories which exist nowadays. Most publications made references to Jekels' depressive symptoms which made him start psychotherapy with Freud in October 1912. As it was previously mentioned, the treatment did take place and much evidence suggests that it was related to the crisis after his wife's death [23]. However, Nunberg, who collaborated with Jekels in Bystra, suggested another reason in "Protokoły Wiedeńskiego Towarzystwa Psychoanalitycznego" ("The Protocols of Vienna Psychoanalytic Association"). He wrote that the health resort "was very well attended until he began to practice psychoanalysis" and added that "his adherence to psychoanalysis became a financial disadvantage for him" [17]. However, Minna Bernays' description of the overcrowded health resort in 1910 completely denies that argument. A more probable hypothesis is related to the changes in Jekels' attitude towards his patients' treatment and his more intense engagement in the activities of the International Psychoanalytic Association. The signs of weariness of the previous work style could be clearly spotted in his statements about patients. They were quoted by Minna Bernays and Anna Freud ("[The patients] are incidentally no more abhorrent to anyone than the doctor himself, he courses every arrival" [18], "He keeps telling us how much he dislikes his patients" [31]). Furthermore, in 1911, a year before he sold the health resort, Jekels would constantly travel to Vienna and would deliver lectures promoting psychoanalysis in Warsaw, Krakow and Lviv so practically he had hardly any time left for running the health resort. Consequently, at some point he had to make a choice between the career as a climatic doctor and psychoanalyst and he opted for the latter, which turned out to be the right choice. Shortly afterwards he became one of the most prominent figures of the Vienna Psychoanalytic School, a close associate of Freud and one of his closest friends. Therefore, it seems that Freud's family stay in Bystra was a starting point of close relationship between the two men.

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