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Table of Contents

The Book of Daniel: Trauma, Faith, and the Resurrection of the Dead

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Abstract: The Book of Daniel often is considered a combination of two separate works, a series of diaspora tales in the first six chapters, and an apocalypse in the last six chapters. This paper argues that the Book of Daniel can be read as a meaningful whole when understood from psychological perspectives that portray the psychological and spiritual reactions of the Jewish people to their experiences of trauma, exile and loss that occurred over several centuries. Current studies of the effects of collective trauma are reviewed to support this thesis.

Keywords: Judaism, Bible, Book of Daniel, Psychoanalysis of Religion.

The first chapters of Daniel (1-6) reflect the protagonist's avoidance and suppression of the emotional impact of massive and horrific trauma, coupled with steadfast belief in the traditional conception of his God and redemption on earth. The final chapters (7-12) reflect Daniel's anguish and sense of despair as a result of the trauma he has experienced, his longing to return home and his apocalyptic experiences. The latter include his heavenly vision, symbolic representations of cataclysmic battles on earth, communication with divine figures and assurances that there will be a resurrection of the dead and eternal life for him. This final phase describes the development of a new spiritual orientation that promises hope for Daniel and his people. It responds to the ultimately inadequate adaptation to the effects of trauma that has occurred in earlier phases. This new (or expanded) spiritual orientation can be described as apocalypticism.

Introduction

The final form of the Book of Daniel probably was compiled toward the end of the first half of the Second century B.C.E., although the tales in the first part of the book may be much older than that. Daniel is sometimes considered the equivalent of two books (Collins, 1984; 2001). Chapters 1-6 is a series of diaspora narratives that emphasize, through the fantastic experiences of Daniel, a young Jew in exile, the importance of faith in Yahweh and adherence to the laws of the covenant regardless of situation, place or hardship. Chapters 7-12 are often considered a collection of proto-apocalyptic texts in which Daniel, under great stress, has a series of dreams and visions that reveal in symbolic terms the rise, fall and conflict of empires that subjugated the Jewish people in the late first and second Temple periods (e.g. Dan 7: 1-8,11-12,19-27; 8:1-26). Through his interactions with angels, Daniel learns of the potential coming of a Messiah, ongoing worldly destruction and the promised resurrection of at least some of the dead for their reward or punishment at the end of days (e.g. 7:13-14; 12: 1-13).

The Book of Daniel also can be read as a unified whole, however, when it is understood in the context of the traumatic experiences of the Jewish people and their aftermath during this period. When taken in this light, the Book of Daniel in its entirety becomes a more coherent narrative that describes the life of Daniel, perhaps a prototype of the Jewish people, who has endured or witnessed massive trauma through war, destruction, death and exile. The story of Daniel reveals the Jewish

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people's ongoing psychological and spiritual reactions and attempted adaptations to the multiple and multigenerational forms of trauma they experienced during this time.

Early chapters of the book (2-6) reveal Daniel's attempts psychologically to avoid, suppress and "undo" the historical events of war, destruction and exile that traumatized the Jewish people. This is done through a series of fantasies that reverse the lowly status of the captive people by emphasizing the greater capacities and power of Daniel and his God in comparison to that of his non Jewish oppressors and pagan gods in the land of his exile. The next part of the book (most explicitly chapter 9) reveals a deeper psychological picture of despair and suffering as Daniel's exile and trauma have continued. Finally (chapter 12), a new spiritual orientation provides hope for the future through a resurrection of the faithful at the end of days.

This paper traces these developments through the chapters of the Book of Daniel, supporting psychological interpretations when possible with theoretical perspectives and current research focusing on trauma affecting large populations or groups, sometimes termed "collective trauma". Psychoanalytic concepts related to compensatory and defense mechanisms have been employed in many cases to aid in the understanding of the biblical text and the possible motivations of the biblical writers. It is well known that Freud, himself, was critical of religion generally and considered religious beliefs to be an "illusion." This is not to suggest, however, that the concept of defense mechanisms and how they operate to ward off anxiety and reverse feelings of emotional pain and demoralization brought on by trauma cannot be used to aid in the study of religious texts, such as the Book of Daniel. As indicated in this paper, a knowledge of defenses, possible unconscious motivations and compensatory beliefs and attitudes may enhance the study of religion.

In reviewing the Book of Daniel from psychological perspectives, it also is important to recognize that the figure of "Daniel" may be an idealized representation of the views, behaviors or expectations of one or more individuals or groups during the time periods covered. "Daniel" may also represent the Jewish people in general or a segment of it during these times. In either of these cases, the Biblical writer(s) and/or editor(s) would be responding to and expressing through the figure of "Daniel" both what they felt were the people's reactions to the severe traumas that had occurred as well as how they, themselves, reacted to and wished the people to respond to the traumatic events of these periods. The term "Daniel" should be understood in this broader context in this paper. The term "Biblical writer(s)" is intended to reflect these activities of the unknown writer(s) and/ or editor(s) of the Book of Daniel.

The Book of Daniel

The first chapter of the Book of Daniel begins with a brief statement about the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians and the exile to Babylonia, a land of foreign gods (1:1-2). The narrative then describes the forced service of four young Jews in the palace of King Nebuchadnezzar. These are young men who are "handsome, versed in every branch of wisdom, endowed with knowledge and insight" (v. 4). They are to be given royal rations and educated for three years so that they can then be stationed at the king's court (vv. 4-5).

Daniel and his friends object to eating certain royal foods, however. Their dedication to the laws of Moses is complete (e.g. Ex 23:19, 34:26; Deut 14:21); eating the "royal" food would "defile" them. After entreating the palace master, they are allowed to eat only vegetables for 10 days. At the end of this time, they appeared "better and fatter than all the young men who had been eating the royal rations" (vv. 8-15). God apparently has protected these young men and has given them knowledge and skill in literature and wisdom. Daniel also has insight into visions and dreams (v. 17). It becomes clear to the king that they are "ten times better that all the magicians and enchanters in his whole kingdom" (v. 20).

Daniel and his friends have experienced or witnessed war, the destruction of the Temple, and forced exile (v. 1-2) (Lipschits, 2005). They are now in a completely subjugated situation. Despite these facts, the Biblical writer has avoided, suppressed or denied any mention of the reactions of

Daniel and his friends, who presumably are symbolic representative of the Jewish people in exile. The writer continues to maintain that their God is powerful; it is He who gives Daniel and his friends knowledge and wisdom (v. 17) Adherence to their faith despite all that has happened is most important. Their righteousness and trust in their God apparently will be rewarded. Whatever personal feelings they might have in their circumstances are unexpressed or avoided, at least at this point.

The second chapter describes an unlikely scenario that establishes Daniel as a wise man in the king's court. He correctly states and interprets a disturbing dream of Nebuchadnezzar. It is clear that Daniel's ability to understand dreams greatly exceeds that of all the "magicians, the enchanters, the sorcerers and the Chaldeans" (2:2) that the king had summoned to the court. The dream is of a great statue that is huge and frightening (vv. 31-34). Its brilliance is extraordinary. The head is of god, the chest and arms of silver, the middle and thighs are of bronze and the legs are of iron, but its feet are partly iron and partly clay. As the king views the huge statue, "*a stone was cut out, not by human hands,* and it struck the statue on its feet of iron and clay and broke them in pieces" (v. 34, italics added). The statue then crumbles, the wind carries the pieces away, and no trace remains. The stone that struck the statue becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth.

Daniel interprets the dream as follows. King Nebuchadnezzar is the head of gold. He is to be followed by another ruler and an "inferior kingdom" (of silver) that is represented as the chest. This kingdom will be followed by a bronze kingdom that will rule the earth. The legs represent a fourth kingdom that is "strong as iron" and "crushes and smashes everything" (v. 40). The statue's feet and toes are a mixture of iron and clay, however, indicating that the statue is both strong and brittle. The stone is a multifaceted symbol, sometimes being aligned with the rock, a symbol of God, or that which is forever unchanging. Mountains also are a multifaceted symbol, often symbolizing holiness, transcendence and the proximity of God, as in Mount Sinai (Chevalier & Gheerbrant, 1996). The stone here is cut from the mountain, suggesting that the destruction comes from God.

The conquering kingdoms in the dream that succeed one another may represent in order, Babylonia, Persia, Greece and Rome. Alternatively, the kingdoms may represent, after Babylonia, Medea/ Persia and then Greece (Smith-Lewis, 1996). The interpretation depends in part on when Daniel was written and the degree to which the writer(s) would have anticipated the defeat of Greece by Rome, which was already exhibiting its strength during the reign of Antiochus IV in the first half of the second century B.C.E.

This issue is not central here. The important points for the purpose of this paper are that Daniel, the subjugated, captured young Jewish exile, is portrayed as being more competent than the wise men of the king's court, and that through his God, Daniel can foresee the future, which they cannot do. The future that Daniel openly describes is bleak for Babylonia and the kingdoms to come. They will be overthrown and the last of them will be defeated by the great stone of the Hebrew God, who will thus have revenge on these earthly kingdoms and their rulers. "The great God has informed the king what shall be hereafter. The dream is certain, and its interpretation is trustworthy" (v. 45). Daniel is now confident and firm in his beliefs (v. 45). There is no sign of his actual state as a lowly captive. A fantasied reversal of fortune has occurred in which the victim, with the help of his God, has overcome the victor, and speaks openly about this turn of events that will lead to the ascendancy of the Hebrew God and the Jewish people.

Oddly, the king is very grateful after Daniel's interpretation of the dream that foresees his downfall. Surprisingly, he worships Daniel. He also recognizes the greatness of Daniel's god, saying, '"Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord of kings and a revealer of mysteries, for you have been able to reveal this mystery'" (vv. 46-47). This unlikely scenario has a victorious king worshipping and bowing before a member of a vanquished nation and proclaiming the vanquished nation's God the greatest of all gods (v. 47). The scenario is, however, an understandable, if naïve, attempt of the same vanquished and terrorized people to avoid the psychological pain and reality of

their situation in favor of a fantasied and grandiose reversal of fortune in which they achieve prominence, vengeance and ultimate redemption.

Chapters 3 through 6 continue similar themes of avoidance and suppression of the discussion of traumatic events and their likely post traumatic sequelae. The latter would very likely have included troubling and intrusive memories, intense fear and anxiety and demoralization (APA, 2013)), perhaps in association with threats to the faith of some of those who had been traumatized (Pergaent,Murray-Swank, Magyar & Ano, 2005). The latter possibility is not mentioned in Daniel but may have been on the Biblical writer's mind given the assimilation and loss of the Northern Israel tribes during their Assyrian captivity many years previously.

In Chapter 3, Nebuchadnezzar builds a golden statue (3:1). This is somewhat reminiscent of the golden calf of Exodus 32:2-14 and thereby associates the king with idols and lesser gods who will be defeated by Yahweh. He calls for the leaders of the kingdom to worship this huge statue of gold. Whoever does not worship the statue "shall immediately be thrown into a furnace of blazing fire" (3:6). A group of Chaldeans tells the king that there are certain Jews (Daniel's three friends) in high positions who do not serve the king's gods and do not worship the golden statue (vv. 8-12). The reasons for denouncing the Jews are not clear, but jealousy or continued victimization of these foreigners in high places would not be surprising.

The king commands the three friends to worship the golden statue or face a furnace of blazing fire. The three friends refuse and are bound and thrown into the fire. They do not die, however, and in fact are seen walking with a fourth, an angel, in the middle of the fire (vv. 13-27). The king is astonished and says, "Blessed be the God… who has sent his angel and delivered his servants who trusted in him" (v. 28). He then issues a decree that "any people, nation, or language that utters blasphemy" against these young men's God "shall be torn limb from limb…for there is no other god who is able to deliver in this way" (v. 29).

King Nebuchadnezzar, in this chapter, as before, is made to play an unlikely and foolish role. He condemns Daniel's three friends to the fire, but when they are saved, lauds their God, affirms their God's superiority over other gods and condemns any of his subjects who would speak against the God of Israel. Furthermore, Daniel's friends' faith, steadfastness and loyalty to the God of Israel results not only in deliverance from the fiery furnace, but in a governmental promotion in Babylon, the land of their forced exile (v. 30).

Once again, we know nothing about the individual reactions of Daniel's three friends to being thrown in the fiery furnace. For many actual people, situations involving imminent danger and threats to survival almost assuredly would be associated with terror and its various possible sequels, some of which will be discussed further presently (APA, 2013). Viewed psychologically, the Biblical writers emphasize here the obligations of faith and the promise of redemption that comes with faith, as would occur through redemption from the fiery furnace. They minimize, suppress or deny the personal impact of traumatic events that have happened and are still ongoing. In its place, they put forth or create fantastic scenarios of redemption, power and success that compensate for and contradict the likely feelings of helplessness and devaluation of a traumatized people in exile (APA, 2013). They also extol the strength and power of their own God who, in a foreign land, may now be in competition for loyalty with other gods. The second part of Daniel suggests that these strategies may not be effective indefinitely.

King Nebuchadnezzar has a second frightening dream in Chapter 4 (vv. 10-17) in which there is a very tall tree at the center of the earth that had grown great and strong. It has beautiful foliage, abundant fruit, reaches to heaven and is visible to the ends of the earth. A "holy watcher" comes down from heaven, however, and commands that the tree be cut down, leaving only a stump of the tree with its roots. Later, a human mind is changed to that of an animal "in order that all who live may know that the Most High is sovereign over the kingdom of mortals" (v. 17).

Daniel interprets the dream to indicate that King Nebuchadnezzar is the tree (vv. 19-27). He has grown great and strong like the tree, but the Most High has decreed that he will be "cut down" and

driven from human society. He will be humbled, but not destroyed entirely. Daniel says that when the king has "learned that the Most High has sovereignty over the kingdom of mortals, and gives it to whom he will" (v. 25), his kingdom will be reestablished. Daniel advises the king to atone for his sins and be merciful to the oppressed (of whom he and his people are examples). The prophecy is soon fulfilled. Nebuchadnezzar, possibly after a period of madness (Collins 2001), recovers his reason. His kingdom is restored and he praises the "King of heaven", who "is able to bring low those who walk in pride" (v. 37).

This description of a king's mental illness may have had an historical basis (Collins, 2001). Its incorporation into the narrative nonetheless continues the apparent psychological defense against and suppression of the emotional impact of the massive trauma that has occurred. The fantasied infliction of suffering and vengeance on the aggressor who is responsible for the trauma to the Jewish people, and the humbling of their God, exact revenge and counter feelings of powerlessness in a people that has no power and no ability to retaliate. Nebuchadnezzar essentially is forced to apologize to the God of Israel. The king is brought low, or perhaps "cut down to size". If he did indeed suffer a period of mental illness (Collins, 2001), perhaps what he has done to the Jewish people can be considered "insane"? In any case, his "downfall" in this tale is attributed to his failure to recognize Yahweh's sovereignty over mortals (and over the king's gods).

Chapter 5 introduces King Belshazzar, identified as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, but perhaps actually the son of Nabonidus (Smith-Christopher,1996). In this chapter, the king drinks wine from the Temple vessels that Nebuchadnezzar had taken to Babylon (1:2). He and his fellow revelers "drank the wine and praised the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood and stone" (5:4). Fingers of what appear to be a human hand are then seen, followed by writing on the wall of the royal palace. The reading is indecipherable to all but Daniel (vv. 5-28). He tells the king that he, like his father, has not humbled himself and has "exalted yourself against the Lord of heaven" (v. 23). The king had used the vessels of the temple and praised the "gods of silver and gold, of bronze, iron, wood, and stone, which do not see or hear or know" (v. 23). "The God in whose power is your very breath, and to whom belong all your ways, you have not honored" (v. 23). Daniel interprets the writing to indicate that the king's days are numbered and his kingdom will be given to the Medes and the Persians (vv. 24-29). Oddly again, the king extols Daniel and proclaims that he should rank third in the kingdom (v. 29). King Belshazzar is killed that night, however, and Darius, the Mede, receives the kingdom (v. 30-31). If this chronology is accurate (which appears not to be the case), Daniel now would be an old man of about 70 years.

This chapter continues to show the fantasied defeat of the Babylonians and an assertion of the ultimate power of the God of the Jews, who becomes angry at idol worship and the sacrilegious use of the vessels of His temple. The Bible writers imply that the turn of events that brings down the Babylonian empire reflects God's wrath for what has happened to them and the temple. The fantasies of revenge against the aggressor thus continue, as does the emphasis on the greater power of the God of Israel, whose own "home", the Temple in Jerusalem, actually has been destroyed. There is no direct mention of the trauma that has occurred to the people (or to God), but there is clearly hope that He will redeem them and exact vengeance against their oppressors. Daniel, however, has become old over the course of these fantasied psychological appeals to avoidance, undoing, and reversal of misfortunes.

Chapter 6 involves an incident that occurs when Darius has become king. He is the third monarch under whom Daniel has served. Daniel has continued to distinguish himself because of his "excellent spirit" (6:3), and the king plans to appoint him over the "whole kingdom" (v. 3). Other officials in the court become jealous, however. They can find no legitimate grounds for complaint, "unless we find it in connection with the law of his God" (v. 5). The plotters convince King Darius that he alone should be the object of his subjects' prayers for 30 days (v. 6-20). Daniel, knowing of the edict, nonetheless continues to pray to his God. He is found out and thrown into the lions' den. The king is distraught about his own edict and shown to be powerless when he cannot reverse it.

The next morning he hurries to the lions' den and cries out, '"O Daniel, servant of the living God, has your God whom you faithfully serve been able to deliver you from the lions?"' (v. 20).

Daniel is indeed found to be unharmed. His faithfulness and trust in his God has saved him (v. 23). Implicitly, the faithfulness and trust of the traumatized and lowly Jewish people in exile will save them and result in retaliation against their enemies and accusers. God has sent an angel to shut the lions' mouths because Daniel is blameless. He has been delivered from another king, this time it is the King of Beasts (Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996). Darius writes to all people of every language throughout the world: '"I make a decree, that in all my royal dominion people should tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: For he is the living God, enduring forever. His kingdom shall never be destroyed…."' (v. 26). Daniel prospers during the reigns of Darius and also Cyrus, as he had under the Babylonian kings.

The Biblical writer continues here to exhort the Jewish people through the metaphoric figure of Daniel to persevere in their faith despite the hardships and trauma that have occurred. Daniel has maintained his "excellent spirit" (v. 3) through it all. As of yet, there is no mention of any negative or painful reaction he may have had to the trauma his people have endured or to his own exile that began under King Nebuchadnezzar about one half century ago (1:1-6). He maintains the belief that his God is more powerful than all other gods, and it is he who protects and delivers his people from harm.

These promises reflecting God's power and steadfastness may be reassuring to some, but perhaps Daniel is beginning to wonder if he and others will continue to be saved, if his God will in reality conquer all enemies, if there will be retribution against those who destroyed the temple, and if his God's Kingdom will truly be established over the entire earth (2:44)? He has adapted well and maintained an "excellent spirit" (6.3) outwardly for many years, but his inner feelings and reactions are not yet known.

Chapter 7 begins what is generally considered the second part of the Book (Collins, 1984; 2001); Daniel, himself, now begins to have dreams and visions. This period is said to occur during the reign of King Belshazzar, although dates in Daniel are difficult to reconcile with historical fact. It generally is agreed that Nebuchadnezzar was king from 604-568 BCE and that King Belshazzar's reign officially lasted for a brief period around 539 BCE. It may be that he was in power longer. Cyrus the Great of Persia ruled from 539-529 BCE. Darius, a fourth king, is mentioned in the Book of Daniel also. He ruled from 521 BCE-486 BCE.

Chapter 1 had indicated that Daniel remained in the king's court until "the first year of King Cyrus" (1:21), which would have been 539 BCE. Despite the inconsistencies in dates, it seems clear that by the first year of King Belshazzar's reign, Daniel would have been a fairly old man and would of course have been even older during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius.

Daniel interprets the dreams of King Nebuchadnezzar in Chapters 2 and 4, but beginning in Chapter 7 his own dreams and visions are the concern. This signals a shift in the narrative from an outward to an inward focus in the two parts of the Book, and from Daniel's role as a wise man and interpreter of dreams for others to an emphasis on himself, and his own internal psychological and spiritual processes. Daniel is a skilled interpreter of dreams for others, but for the dreams and visions in the latter half of the Book, heavenly interpreters are needed.

The dream and visions of Chapters 7-8 and beyond are much more violent than the earlier dreams, and horrific destruction, chaos and conflict are depicted. These have been widely viewed as symbolic of the clash of empires and the harsh policies of Antiochus IV during the Second Temple period. The dreams express the intense anxiety and fear that would have been felt by the Jewish people who were involved with or witnessed the clash of empires. The dreams convey a sense of chaos and of helplessness in the face of overwhelming power during these times. Wild, aggressive and uncontrollable animals, such as a lion with wings, for example, replace the kingly statue or tree of the king's dreams in the first part of the narrative. There is interesting and rich symbolism

specific to each of the images although, except when necessary for exposition, symbolism per se will not be discussed in depth.

Chapter 7:1-8 begins with a dream in which the four winds of heaven stir up the great sea and "four beasts come up out of the sea, different from one another" (v. 3). The first beast is a lion with wings of an eagle that ultimately is given a human mind. The next beast looks like a bear. This is followed by a beast that appears to be like a leopard. Finally a fourth beast appears. This beast is terrifying; it is dreadful, strong and devouring. It has iron teeth and ten horns, from which a smaller one appears. This horn has eyes that resembled human eyes.

The four beasts seem to correspond to the four parts of the body described in Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Chapter 2. These represented four empires that successively overcame one another until the stone that was cut "not by human hands" (2: 34) destroyed the statue and established a kingdom that would last forever. As in the earlier dream, the images of these beasts are followed by symbolism to suggest the ultimate dominion of God. "Thrones were set in place, and an Ancient One took his throne…" (7:9).The last beast speaks arrogantly and is put to death, its body destroyed (v. 11). Daniel then sees "one like a human being coming with the clouds of heaven….To him was given dominion and glory and kingship, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion that shall not pass away, and his kingship is one that shall never be destroyed" (v. 13-14).

Daniel is understandably terrified. He approaches one of the Ancient One's attendants for an explanation and is told that the four beasts represent four kings that will arise, but "the holy ones of the Most High shall receive the kingdom and possess the kingdom forever—forever and ever" (v. 18). Daniel continues his observations. He sees war occurring between the horn of the last beast that has eyes and a mouth that speaks with arrogance and the "holy ones". Initially the holy ones are losing, but the Ancient One comes and judgment is given "and the time arrived when the holy ones gained possession of the kingdom." (v. 22). Ultimately Daniel's God will be victorious, but not without struggle.

Daniel then reports that "my thoughts greatly terrified me" (v. 28). He has had an extremely frightening dream and visions that may be taken as descriptive or prophetic in nature, but also can be considered a manifestation of severe trauma. Frightening dreams are in fact a common manifestation of post traumatic disorders (APA, 2013). Daniel, now symbolically older, may be more burdened, desperate and anxious than he was as a young man. His dream, while similar in some ways to Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Chapter 2, is more personal, more frightening and depicted in a more instinctual and aggressive form. The great cosmic struggles are described in chaotic, gruesome and destructive terms, but the outcome continues to evoke the image of God's everlasting dominion.

Here, unlike the dream in Chapter 2, however, we have the specific image of the Ancient One, God, and the introduction of someone who is like a human being coming on clouds from heaven. This suggests the possibility of a messiah coming from on high. It is a figure to whom dominion over all peoples and nations will be given for ever (v. 14), although later the attendant says that dominion of the kingdoms under heaven "shall be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High; their kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom…" (v. 27). It is therefore not clear if the one who is like a human being will have dominion on earth or if the Jewish people, or both, will have dominion.

In Chapter 8, two years later, another vision appears to Daniel (vv. 1-26). He sees a great ram with two horns that is charging from the east. The ram is then challenged and defeated by a male goat from the west with a horn between its eyes. At the height of its power, the great horn is broken and four horns come up in its place. One of these is especially vicious, challenging even the prince of the host (probably meaning God) and overthrowing the place of his sanctuary (v. 10). This may refer to the desecration of the Temple under Antiochus IV (Collins, 1984, pp. 87-88). A holy one

asks, “For how long is this vision concerning the regular burnt offering…and host to be trampled?” (v. 13). It seems that the desecration and torment are endless.

The angel, Gabriel, interprets this vision for Daniel, which he says is for the time of the end. Gabriel explains that the ram with the two horns refers to the kings of Media and Persia. The male goat represents the king of Greece (probably Alexander), whose kingdom is divided into four parts. The last king, referring to Antiochus IV, will be especially vicious, powerful and destructive. He will “even rise up against the Prince of princes. But he shall be broken, and not by human hands” (v. 25), using similar terminology that described the stone that destroyed the great statue of empires in Chapter 2:45. The “prince of princes” may be a reference to God or to the angel, Michael (Smith-Christopher, 1996).

The vision of clashing kings and empires finally ends. The struggle, even on a heavenly level, has been exceedingly difficult. The wicked king will be destroyed by the Prince of Princes after many days of what is likely to be further destruction and carnage. Not surprisingly, Daniel feels “overcome and lay sick for some days” (v. 27) after experiencing this vision of destruction and death, with the likelihood of continued conflict. He continues to be troubled as he goes about the king’s business; his youthful confidence and certainty of earlier days apparently weakened by his own fears and anxieties about the future of his people, their struggles and the evil forces with which they must contend. The vision’s portrayal of the difficulty that even God seems to be having in trying to defeat the forces of evil cannot be reassuring.

In Chapter 9, Darius has ascended to the throne. Daniel, apparently longing to go home, to end his exile and return to Jerusalem, wonders how long it will be until this is possible. He prays to God and has been fasting, wearing sackcloth and ashes (9:3). He is distraught, readily admitting that he and the people are sinners. They deserve the punishment they have received, including their exile to foreign lands. Jerusalem, the holy city, was destroyed because of the people’s transgressions. Daniel prays for its restoration. The people have sinned. God is righteous. The exile is the result of the people’s wrongdoing. Daniel is ashamed of what his people have done (vv. 4-16). He, like many people who have been victims of trauma, feels guilty (APA, 2013) and takes the blame for what has happened onto himself and his people (Janzen, 2012).

At this point, the angel, Gabriel, returns (vv. 20-27). He says that Daniel is greatly beloved. Seventy weeks have been decreed for a number of things to occur. These include: putting an end to sin, atoning for iniquity and anointing a “most holy place” (v. 24). There also will be an anointed one, although at the end of the 70 weeks the anointed one “shall be cut off.…and the troops of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and sanctuary” (v. 26). Gabriel says that “to the end there shall be war” (v. 26).

Some of the allusions here are unclear and their meanings have been disputed (Smith-Christopher, 1996). Who might be the anointed one who will be cut off? Who is the prince who is to come and why would he destroy the sanctuary and the city? These issues and how to understand the decree of 70 weeks are puzzling. Daniel speaks of 70 years in 9:2, and this would be consistent with a time during Darius’ rule (521-486 BCE), although Daniel would then be a very old man. The rebuilding of the temple would have begun prior to this. Gabriel may be alluding to the Temple in vv. 24, 26. The devastation may refer to acts of Antiochus IV.

It is clear, however, that Daniel has been longing to return home and has been praying and fasting (v. 3). It appears that his confusion, sense of helplessness and guilt have mounted. He is speaking more directly about the traumatic events in his life and in the lives of his people (vv. 12-13; 17-18) There has been “a calamity so great that what has been done against Jerusalem has never before been done under the whole heaven….all this calamity has come upon us” (vv. 12-13). There are feelings of guilt and shame; a sense of loss and separation from his home are prominent (vv. 4-16). A return to Jerusalem is not certain, however. Gabriel reports that there will be further destruction and interminable war (vv. 25-27).

Daniel reports a vision in the next chapter (10). He has continued in what may be a despondent or saddened state. He has been mourning and avoiding certain foods and not caring for himself (10:2-3). In the vision, he is standing on the bank of the Tigris River and sees a resplendent divine figure (vv. 4-6) who explains to him that he has been in conflict with the "prince of the kingdom of Persia" (v. 13) and Michael, a "chief prince" had come to help him. The divine figure explains to Daniel that he had come to help him understand "what is to happen to your people at the end of days" (vv. 13-14). Oddly, the angelic figure does not explain this mystery further at this point, but says he "must return to fight against the prince of Persia, and when I am through with him, the prince of Greece will come" (v. 20).

We see here that Daniel's world has changed dramatically. The reasons are not entirely clear. Is his anguish about Jerusalem, as it was in the last chapter, or is it possibly about ongoing war and violence in which his people are caught? Perhaps even more worrisome is the weakening of a sense of the power and commitment of heavenly forces. Evil empires and their kings continue to fight against angels. Reinforcements are meager. Only the angel, Michael, is there to help in the fight against the wicked.

Chapter 11 returns to the themes of battles between the great empires and the violence and destruction that have come to the Jewish people at this time. They continue to be traumatized, and are pawns and victims, helpless prey to great forces beyond their control. The chapter describes the rise of the Greek empire, its subsequent division and constant battles between the kings of the north and the south. The same divine figure is narrating. He describes the movements of the armies of north and south and says that the king of the north will "take a position in the beautiful land, and all of it shall be in his power" (vv. 11-16). It is likely that he is referring to Judea, as the "beautiful land".

There appears to be continuous warfare and the "ships of Kittim" (v. 30) (i.e. Rome) shall come against the king of the north. The latter (probably again speaking of Antiochus IV) will take action against the holy covenant and profane the temple. Holy laws and customs will be abolished. "Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed, until the time of the end, for there is still an interval until the time appointed" (v. 29).

This figure speaks further to Daniel at the beginning of Chapter 12. He says that at the death of the king referred to in the last chapter, Michael, "the great prince, the protector of your people, shall arise" (12:1). This will be a time of great anguish, but he reassures Daniel that "your people shall be delivered, everyone who is found written in the book" (v. 1). He goes on to say that "many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (vv. 1-2).

Daniel then sees two other angelic figures, one on the bank of the stream where he is and one on the other side. The angelic figure upstream is asked how long it will be until "the end of these wonders?" (v. 6). This figure learns from the "one who lives forever that it would be for a time, two times, and half a time, and that when the shattering of the power of the holy people comes to an end, all these things would be accomplished" (v. 7). Daniel is understandably puzzled. The divine figure says to him "from the time that the regular burnt offering is taken away and the abomination that desolates is set up, there shall be one thousand two hundred ninety days" (v. 11). Daniel, himself, is assured that he will rise for his reward at the end of days (v. 13).

These things still are not clear to Daniel. He has come into a spiritual world that is confusing and uncertain. Divine beings are not as strong as they had seemed. Wickedness persists, and it seems as if it must persist, at least for a time. While many will be purified in these violent and tumultuous days, evil will continue (v. 4, 10). There will be a resurrection of many who have died, and there is a promise of deliverance for the people, but all of this will occur at the end of days (vv. 1-2, 12:13). When this will be is uncertain. Daniel, who has been faithful throughout his life, is told that he will rise for his reward at that time (v. 13). This seems to be a very different expectation than he had when he first came to King Nebuchadnezzar's palace as a young man generations ago. He then

interpreted the king's dream to mean that "the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed" (2:44), apparently referring to an earthly deliverance and a kingdom on earth for those who keep the covenant. This orientation that appeared to focus on redemption in the earthly world has changed at least in part to an orientation that allows consideration of a spiritual existence after death in a realm that is not yet defined.

Summary of Daniel: The Impact of Trauma

The following summarizes and expands the trauma-based description of the Book of Daniel presented above. The initial chapters of the book describe the life of Daniel as an exile in servitude in a foreign land that has conquered and vanquished the Jewish people. Other than the setting and the indication at the beginning of the first chapter that Jerusalem was besieged and exiles were taken (1:1-3), there is no direct mention at all of the war, destruction of the temple and casualties that historically preceded these events until chapter 9 (9:2-19). The lack of description of what must have been extremely traumatic events is consistent with attempts to suppress painful memories and the avoidance of emotionally triggering stimuli in victims of trauma (APA, 2013). Daniel and the Jewish people essentially distance themselves emotionally to the extent they can from all that has happened.

Feelings of loss, personal devaluation, demoralization and guilt are, however, common in people who have experienced trauma (APA, 2013; Pergament, 1997)). The Biblical writers of Daniel addressed these issues for their community, along with the potential loss of faith that may occur in survivors of trauma (Pergament et al, 2005), through a series of "stories" or fantasies of great deeds in the first half of Daniel that make him appear wiser, and intellectually and spiritually superior to his captors. In this way, the biblical writers may be attempting to bolster the self-confidence and morale of the people and demonstrate for them that Daniel's faith remains intact despite all of the hardships and threats to his (and the people's) existence that have occurred. There also may have been threats to the continuance of the people's faith. Others, in similar exile situations, such as Israelites of the Northern Kingdom, probably came to adopt their captors' gods. The depiction of the God of the Hebrews as more strong and powerful than all other gods, despite His loss of home and seeming defeat by the worshipers of other gods, may be an attempt to reassure the people about their God and maintain their fidelity. The God of Israel will ultimately prevail and defeat all the pagan empires and their kings. Even Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia and Darius of Persia, perhaps the most powerful kings in the world during their respective reigns, are depicted as openly recognizing the greatness of the God of the Jews, a conquered and subject people (e.g. 2:47; 3:29; 4:34-35; 6:26-27).

Ultimately, these fantasied approaches to address the psychological and spiritual effects of trauma on the people seem to have failed. Later parts of the Book (and perhaps later writers) reveal other aspects of the people's collective response to the traumatic events that had occurred and then continued during the times of Antiochus IV. Daniel becomes distraught, anxious and confused (e.g. chapter 9). At one point he goes into mourning. He seems to be in the midst of a spiritual crisis and may not be taking care of himself (10:2-3). He has had a life in which there has been a great deal of trauma. This is shown in numerous examples, including the Babylonian exile and his forced servitude in King Nebuchadnezzar's palace (1: 1-21), the chaotic and aggressive forces in his dreams that reveal the conflict of empires (e.g. 7:15), and ultimately through the tyranny, forced Hellenization and religious edicts of Antiochus IV, as seemingly referenced in 11:29-32.

The extent of Daniel's trauma over the course of his life places him at risk for poor health and for religious doubt and uncertainty (Krause & Haywand, 2012). Consistent with an attempt to maintain his ongoing belief system and sense of order in the world, he exonerates God and blames himself and his people for what has happened (Pergament, 1997). He expresses guilt and remorse for what they have done that has brought these traumatic events onto themselves (9:4-19). Self-

reproach and guilt are common reactions to traumatic events that seem, on the face of it, to be inexplicable rationally (APA, 2013).

Finally, there is at least a partial resolution. A post traumatic spiritual crisis has led to a new religious orientation (Pergament, 1997; Pergament et al, 2005). Daniel's spiritual beliefs become apocalyptic in form (Collins, 1984, p. 22). He is told to expect a new form of salvation in a spiritual home that cannot be further traumatized or destroyed through ongoing war and endless suffering (12:7-13). Through his dreams and visions, Daniel has travelled to a heavenly realm, seen and communicated with divine figures, learned of transcendent realities and received a revelation about his own fate and the fate of the earthly world in which he lives (7-12). He has maintained his belief in the God of Israel, but his expectations of reward have been altered. It is not clear if his reward will be on earth, but it certain that it will occur at the end of days when he, like the other righteous of the world, will rise from the dead (12:13). Collins has argued that "all apocalypses are related to crises, but the crises are of different kinds" (Collins, 1984, p.22). Daniel's crisis and its spiritual resolution seem to have been at least partly the result of severe, prolonged and collective trauma that he and his people have endured.

Discussion

This discussion will highlight several aspects of the psychology of trauma that relevant to the interpretation of the Book of Daniel presented here. These areas include specific characteristics and symptoms found in traumatized individuals that have been described in modern psychiatric and psychological studies; the importance of a sense of "meaning" and identity for individuals who have been traumatized; and the effects of trauma on the religious beliefs and spirituality of victims. Empirical research studies conducted in the modern era with large groups will be used to supplement points made in relation to the interpretation of Daniel.

There are numerous possible characteristics and symptoms that may be experienced by people who have been traumatized in various ways. The American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (APA, 2013, pp.271-280) describes several problem areas that together are termed post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Specific trauma related problems may include: flashbacks of the event, distressing dreams, intrusive thoughts and fear or anxiety based symptoms, such as re-experiencing the traumatic event(s), or having extreme anxiety around triggers that recall the event(s). There may be a sense of numbness and avoidance of thoughts or feelings that might trigger painful memories. Negative beliefs or expectations about oneself or the world may occur. There may be anger, guilt or shame. Irritability, difficulties with concentration, and hyperarousal may be present. Trauma victims also may exhibit other specific symptoms, such as depression, aggression or periods of dissociation in which they experience a sense of their own or others' unreality.

Numerous stressors perpetrated against individuals or groups, being a witness to traumatic events, learning of traumatic events in close relatives or friends and repeated exposure to painful details about traumatic events all may result in PTSD symptoms. These stressors include, for our purposes, war, violence, being attacked physically, being tortured or incarcerated as a prisoner of war (APA, 2013). Events such as forced exile and deportation, forced displacement, forced separation from family and significant others would also qualify as traumatic events.

Some individuals who have experienced trauma will develop few or no problems or symptoms that impair adaptation and functioning, but many others may become significantly impaired or incapacitated by their symptoms. Prevalence estimates vary widely, but may be up to about 50 % or more in some studies of military combatants (APA, 2013). While more research has been conducted on the effects of trauma in individuals than in groups (i.e. collective trauma), there are commonalities in the experiences of individuals and groups and collective trauma may be described, at least in many cases, using the narrative form of personal trauma (Daschke, 2010). This seems to

be the case in the Book of Daniel especially since "Daniel" probably represents at least a segment of the Jewish people in exile, as described by the Biblical writers.

Understanding the effects of trauma involves recognizing the importance of "meaning" for individuals and groups that have been traumatized. Updegraff, Silver & Holman (2008) review literature on trauma that stresses the violation suffered in many victims of "basic assumptions people have about themselves and the world" (p. 710). These assumptions include the expectation "that the world is benevolent, predictable and meaningful and the self is worthy" (p. 710). When these assumptions are challenged sufficiently, a person's (and presumably a group's) sense of security decreases and their vulnerability increases. Many individuals who have been exposed to trauma seek meaning in the events that have transpired, although significant numbers (depending on the context) do not find it. Seeking meaning may be done in a number of ways, including accepting responsibility for the events that have occurred, assigning responsibilities to others, interpreting what has happened through a preexisting belief or religious system. Daniel, for example, sought meaning by accepting and confessing his and the people's religious transgressions as a cause of God's wrath that resulted in the massive trauma they experienced (9:3-19), although this does not seem to have been fully successful, given his ongoing despair.

Historical and biblical accounts (e.g. 2 Chron. 36:5-21; 2 Kings 20-25; Lipschits, 2005) (but much less in the first chapters of the Book of Daniel itself), suggest that the trauma experienced by the people was of course extremely severe. This type of trauma would apply to the people individually and collectively (Birnbaum, 2008). Presumably, according to the formulation around the importance of meaning presented above, it would have been very difficult for all of the people to find a fully satisfactory sense of personal or collective meaning in what had occurred.

In this context, it is interesting that the Book of Daniel, itself, speaks only very briefly of the assault on Jerusalem and the raiding of the Temple in the first part of the Book (1:1-2). It does not mention or perhaps avoids mention of the people who were killed or the desolation wrought on Jerusalem until later, in Chapter 9 (vv. 12-19). Silence of this type is an important dynamic of trauma, as many people attempt to avoid thoughts and feelings (and writing) about what has happened in the post traumatic period (APA, 2013; Andergon, 2004). Bohleber (2007, p. 344) comments that "there are things that can be neither spoken about nor endured… extreme burdens that the traumatized person does not wish to confront again by relating the events".

In addition to the psychological numbness and suppression of feelings and memories that trauma victims may experience, there may be a disruption of the victim's sense of self, relationship to others or sense of an orderly or predictable world. Rumfelt (2011) speaks of trauma in experiential terms related to a sense of self and others. She describes trauma as shattering a victim's sense of a just world and destroying the potential of the individual to consider life from a basically beneficent vantage point. People displaced by war are described as enduring displacement in three ways, physically, psychically (because of their displacement from cognitive assumptions about the justness of life) and relationally through potential displacement from other people in their lives, such as family or friends.

It is through recognition of the massive assault on the Jewish people's identity and sense of themselves that would have resulted from the Babylonian onslaught that the silence and apparent avoidance in the first part of Daniel can be understood. The "stories" of competence, faithfulness and deliverance that are presented might then serve the Biblical writer's desire to enhance (or attempt to rebuild) the self-esteem and sense of personal value of a demoralized people by emphasizing their God's greatness in relation to other gods and Daniel's ethical superiority, prophetic abilities and high position in a foreign land as he (and they) are compared to their oppressors.

The avoidance or suppression of traumatic memories in the service of enhanced self or group esteem also can be understood from a social-psychological perspective. Baumeister & Hastings (1997, p.297) describe "distortion of collective memories" as a mechanism used when groups, like individuals, attempt to maintain a positive image of themselves. "Errors" in collective memory that

present a more positive image of the group than is warranted by the facts may then be considered "motivated forms of collective self-deception"(Baumeister & Hastings, 1997, p.278). There are numerous examples of motivated self-deception of groups that include: denial of the truth, selective omission, inventing false facts, exaggeration and embellishment. From psychological perspectives, Daniel's friends' safety in the fiery furnace (Chapter 3) or his own safety in the lions' den (Chapter 6) might be considered along the lines of embellishment or inventing false facts.

In addition to these psychological and experiential issues, recent research has shown that trauma that is sufficiently severe also may affect spiritual or religious beliefs, adaptation and coping (Mihaljevic, Aukst-Margetic,Vuksan-Cusa, Koic & Milosevic, 2012). Daniel's spiritual suffering also is consistent with what Pargament et. al (2005, p. 251) describe as a "spiritual struggle" a mental state that occurs when people "encounter life experiences that push them beyond the capacity of their orienting systems". As is true in Daniel (e.g. 9:3; 10:2-3), emotional and physical distress often is associated with spiritual struggles that can dramatically alter a person's spiritual direction. These struggles "may reflect a tension between the individual and the Divine".(p. 248) This may be what is represented in the latter chapters of Daniel, as he (and perhaps at least some of the Jewish people) struggle to find a new conceptual path or coping mechanism that allows continued belief and faith on one hand, along with a new spiritual direction on the other (Pergament,1997). In this case, the new approach is apocalypticism. In the case of Daniel, it emphasizes continued fidelity to the God of Israel along with a new other-worldly conceptualization of the afterlife.

It is of course impossible to study or interview ancient populations directly to confirm these impressions or learn of the people's reactions to trauma directly. There is however a growing body of research oriented empirical literature that has focused on large populations of traumatized groups in modern times. At least some of this literature appears relevant to the study of Daniel. These studies of collective trauma in modern times that sometimes result from conditions such as "ethnic cleansing" may address the psychological functioning of affected populations and/or effects on people's religious beliefs and spiritual experiences. PTSD or other psychological problems, such as depression, have been found to be very common among those exposed to war, and in refugees, displaced peoples and other similar groups in diverse countries (e.g. Basoglu, Livanou, Cmobaric, Franciskovic, Suljic, Duric & Vranesic, 2005; Porter & Haslam, 2005).

Modern research also has found that when severe trauma and stress affect a person's religious orientation and belief system, the effects may be beneficial to the individual's adaptation but at times may be associated with poorer adaptation and increased psychological difficulties (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Mihaljevic et al, 2012). This depends whether the types of religious coping employed are positive (e.g. feeling a secure relationship with a caring God) or negative (e.g. feeling abandoned or punished by God). Daniel's strong convictions and religious devotion seemed to facilitate his adaptation to court life in the first years of his exile, while anxiety and despair about his continued displacement (Chapter 9), along with violence, war, forced Hellenization and the "religious edicts" of Antiochus IV that threatened his people and their religious identity may have challenged his religious adaptation later, although this is not stated in the text.

Another aspect of demoralization after trauma from both psychological and religious perspectives is a sense of hopelessness. Mihaljevic et. al.(2012) studied hopelessness and religious coping in the modern era. They found that war veterans with PTSD felt more hopeless than those without PTSD, but that those with PTSD who were less hopeless used more positive religious coping strategies than veterans with PTSD who were more hopeless. Examples of positive religious coping included: a sense of a secure relationship with God, belief that there is a benevolent meaning to life, and having a sense of connectedness with a transcendental force. Examples of negative religious coping included: feeling abandoned or punished by God, spiritual doubting, and feeling in conflict with God. In a broader study of religious coping and stress, Ano & Vasconcellas (2005) performed a meta-analysis in which they compared findings statistically in nearly 50 studies of religious coping strategies and psychological adjustment during stress. They found that groups of

people who had positive religious coping strategies compared with those who had negative religious coping strategies had more positive psychological outcomes.

In the case of Daniel, early strategies to address trauma and apparent hopelessness through mechanisms such as suppression and fantasied exaggerations of his accomplishments and capabilities do not seem to have worked over time. His psychological state in the second half of the Book appears to be one of confusion, agitation, and personal turmoil. He has a period of mourning (10:2-3) and possible depression. He seeks answers from God through "prayer and supplication with fasting and sackcloth and ashes" (9:3). Daniel appears desperate and may be at risk for spiritual and psychological deterioration. Fortunately, however, he is able to reach a new and (for him) more positive sense of religious adaptation and coping toward the end of the Book.

This new adaptation (or potential for coping) depends less on God's defeat of evil forces in this life and more on the promise of God's ultimate victory, the potential for eternal life and the resurrection of the dead with reward for the faithful. Daniel's redefinition as an apocalypticist offers him and that segment of the Jewish community that is able to genuinely choose this approach to spirituality the potential for increased resilience in the face of ongoing war. Essentially, from a psychological perspective, it offers him a sense of hope which, as suggested above with modern war veterans who have suffered trauma, is of great value both psychologically and spiritually (Mihaljevic,2012).

As noted earlier, empirical studies involving large groups of traumatized individuals may offer support for the study of Daniel and other Biblical texts using a trauma-based perspective. It should be noted, however, that the effects of trauma on groups taken as a whole (collective trauma) may not necessarily be the same as those found in individuals. Studies of individuals or populations in the modern era also may not accurately reflect the reactions of people in antiquity in which cultures, beliefs and expectations were different than those of people in the modern era.

The ability to study ancient trauma through the prism of modern research therefore remains a question that is not resolved. Smith-Christopher (1996) argues that the impact of trauma in ancient populations, such as those in the Hebrew Bible, can be studied by considering social and psychological research on modern day populations, such as refugees. He also argues that "there is increasing evidence for long-term, and indeed multi-generational, impacts of such crises" (p.271) which would be consistent with the experience of trauma across generations in Daniel. Marshall, Schell, Elliott, Berthold & Chun (2005) also emphasize that the effects of collective trauma can be longstanding. This raises the possibility that writers of the latter chapters of Daniel that are focused on the traumatic events surrounding forced Hellenization and the religious edicts of Antiochus Epiphanes may indeed have had in mind the earlier trauma of the Babylonian period as they linked these two periods in the narrative.

Conclusion

The Book of Daniel can be read as a coherent whole when it is understood as a narrative of trauma and its sequelae. From this psychological perspective, the first chapters of the Book reflect the attempts of the Biblical writer to avoid or minimize the emotional impact of the massive and collective trauma that affected the Jewish people during the period of the Babylonian exile and destruction of the First Temple. The writer also wanted to enhance the people's self-esteem and commitment to the God of Israel through heroic tales of Daniel's accomplishments and exploits. Later, in the second part of the book, Daniel's more realistic and emotionally laden recognition of the suffering and traumatic events that had occurred fostered a sense of spiritual upheaval that ultimately led to a new apocalyptic orientation for some Jewish people of the time.

Studies of the psychological and religious impact of trauma on large groups in modern times and on the religious coping mechanisms of people who have suffered collective trauma can contribute important insights to biblical literature. Studies of trauma in antiquity also may offer new perspectives on the people of the Bible, their history and the narratives they produced.

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Dogma and Stereotyping in Clinical Theory and Psychotherapeutic Practice[*]

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Abstract: The history of the transmission and of psychoanalytic technique in "classical" psychoanalytic institutions is critically discussed. Dogma and stereotyped thinking in clinical theory and psychotherapeutic practice are highlighted, and the myth of "classical" psychoanalytic technique is demystified. The separation between psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, as well as the phenomenon of so-called "wild" psychoanalysts, are discussed also from a sociological point of view and seen as consequences of a distorted way of conceiving the identity of psychoanalytic theory of technique, transmitted from generation to generation in the history of psychoanalytic movement.

Keywords: Psychoanalytic technique, Psychoanalytic theory, Critique to psychoanalytic education, "Classical" psychoanalytic technique, Psychoanalytic orthodoxy, History of psychoanalytic technique.

1. Therapeutic personality, methodological conscientiousness, and historical awareness are three indispensible elements of any vision of psychiatry if it is to draw from the past lessons which are useful for future development. For psychotherapy in particular, historical analysis is not an optional, it is of primary importance. If it is absent, the so-called basic concepts of technique are transmitted dogmatically. The most evident manifestation of this is in the crystallization of a set of ideas as reference points, accepted or rejected uncritically. This set includes: the psychoanalytic attitude, the silence of the analyst, the analytical neutrality, the real setting, the real interpretation, the separation between psychoanalysis and psychotherapy, the classical technique, the selection for training, the training analysis, etc. These categories are used, improperly, as a system of values by which to cast a shadow over that deplorable class, the so-called *wild* psychotherapists, and they cause considerable damage, particularly now that the psychotherapeutic approach is becoming part of the culture and practice of Community Mental Health Centers, and that the *therapeutic personality* factor is taking an enormous importance. When these categories are used as absolute terms of reference and criteria of demarcation, they give rise to *induced stereotyping*, which impinges heavily upon therapeutic behaviour, playing on the specific insecurity of the work situation and turning it into insecurity over one's training and ability.

The psychotherapist works in a state of chronic narcissistic injury, which seriously undermines the effectiveness of his principal instrument of work, his therapeutic personality.

One of the consequences of this is his relationship of dependence (or of reactive counterdependence) upon training institutions, presented on the market as the repository not only of knowledge, but of professional identity. The difficulties of psychiatric work constitute fertile ground for the cultivation of a sense of inferiority in many who operate in this field, the result of which is a specific, informal, hierarchical stratification in the profession. Credibility is given to the illusion, sometimes as a deliberate act of bad faith, that someone, *somewhere*, knows that what should be done.

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This becomes a specific instrument of control, exercised through its influence on the psychotherapist's self-esteem (Galli, 1981; Redazione di *Psicoterapia e Scienze Umane*, 1975).

A concrete example of the social importance of this phenomenon is given by a study of the parliamentary itinerary of bills introduced in Italy to govern the profession of psychologist, in particular the paragraphs relating to the exercise of psychotherapy. The excessive credence given to the *ideas* (I use the term loosely) of some professional associations is still decisive for legislators, reducing the problem to a field of research of interest to the student of social customs rather than psychotherapy. Regrettably, this operation is carried out behind the backs – and often against the interests of – thousands of psychotherapists.

The thesis, or series of theses, which I have outlined sums up the line of thinking which I have defended on numerous occasions. It is of central importance for the reading path suggested here (this article appears in a section titled "Reading Paths"), which represent above all the *point of view* of a reader faced with the specific literature of the subject (Galli, 1960). The term "reading path" derives from the fact that since the beginning of my professional activity as a psychotherapist in the late 1950s I have followed a second, parallel activity as a professional reader in the publishing sector[1]. I have followed the literature of my field of work from the point of view described above, and would like to invite the reader of this contribution to retrace some of the steps that I made, leaving aside the specific contents of technique and clinical theory. I have had the good fortune to meet and enter into personal contact with many important figures on the national and international psychotherapy scene. The books and articles with which I have been concerned have often therefore formed part of a living dialogue, of situations more similar to exchanges of letters in the course of a debate *in fieri* than to the cold pages of a library. This path has also seen fruitful episodes of heated arguments and clashes with various colleagues and/or teachers, all of which are part of the emotional history which I consider a structural component of the history of psychotherapy. The history of psychotherapy cannot be reconstructed simply in terms of the history of ideas.

To develop the components within the framework I have just expounded, I will now begin with the technical problem of the therapist as a person, before dealing with methodological conscientiousness and the historical-social analysis.

2. In the history of psychotherapy, the question of the *therapeutic personality* was removed long ago from the category of simple empirical observation and placed in a vague area populated by concepts such as "diffused psychotherapy". Years of experience have made it possible to work out a system of methodologies and learning, and an improvement of therapeutic ability, accompanied by the progressive eradication of the connotations of spontaneity and improvisation of the original concept. Specific technologies, with a high degree of applicability, have made this concept an important and measurable one, a function of the training programs of mental health professionals, starting from the suggestions contained in Balint's (1956) pioneering work.

Psychoanalytic research – with its attention to questions of countertransference, the phenomena of unconscious transmission and the concept of projective identification – places the "therapeutic personality" factor among those of central epistemological importance. From being an element to be *excluded* from the therapeutic field to make way for the myth of objectivity – whereby analysis for training purposes was itself conceived as an instrument for keeping the field "clean" and as a guarantee of non-interference – countertransference is now considered essential, a therapeutic factor

[1] The author founded some book series in major publishing houses in Italy, for example the book series "Library of Psychiatry and Clinical Psychology", published by Feltrinelli publisher of Milan (87 volumes, see the web site www.psicoterapiaescienzeumane.it/atti-mi-1970engl.htm) and the book series "Program of Psychology, Psychiatry, and Psychotherapy", published by Boringhieri (later Bollati Boringhieri) publisher of Turin (about 300 volumes, see the web site www.psicoterapiaescienzeumane.it/pppp-e.pdf). *[Editorial Note]*

of primary importance. Learning systems are now orientated towards the implementation of the *usefulness* of this factor, and above all towards its permanent management in the therapeutic field and in the organization of mental health services (Fromm-Reichmann, 1950; Gagliani & Pierantozzi, 1989; Galli, 1963: Gill, 1982: Gorkin, 1987; Sandler, 1987; Schafer, 1983; Sullivan, 1953).

What are the consequences of this change in orientation for the therapeutic personality?

Supervision and discussion groups of clinical cases occupy an epistemological position of central importance in the transmission of the psychotherapeutic approach, deriving from the characteristics of the work itself, particularly in instances of serious psychopathology. The consideration of supervision as nothing more than an instrument for training, and the learning of psychotherapy would thus appear to be a mistake deriving from the stereotype of traditional procedures of psychoanalytic training, based on the false separation of neurosis from psychosis, on the fantasy of the existence of a "classical technique", and on a hierarchical organization on the academic model.

The treatment of children, adolescents and psychotics has made it impossible to maintain the sort of collusion between patient and therapist upon which this illusion of the existence of classical technique was based. For a long time the theory of technique has been based on the avoidance of a proper study of therapeutic factors – the invention of the ambiguous denomination of "psychoanalytically-oriented psychotherapy" is used to refer to what really takes place during treatment. This protects the illusion that elsewhere, perhaps in limbo, classical psychoanalytic technique actually exists.

I would like to stress two points in this regard. Today it is fashionable to talk of the *crisis of psychoanalysis*. As far as the theory of technique is concerned, there has always been a crisis, but the bureaucratic strength and excessive credibility enjoyed by the psychoanalytic institutions have made it possible to hide this crisis for many years.

It is a common observation that many psychoanalysts, called to carry out supervision in the psychiatric field according to their role in the hierarchy of psychoanalytic institutes, have felt compelled to call into question the system of axioms upon which their training was based. It is only recently that the need for training in psychotherapy within institutes of psychoanalysis has been stated, besides training in "pure" analysis. This, however, is a new form of historical falsification, which is attempting to justify the past. The point is that it is important to break the circuit of the dogmatic transmission of the illusion and false identity of the analyst's role (Cremerius, 1986; Kernberg, 1986).

Psychotherapeutic knowledge has been transmitted for the most part as an *oral culture, through supervision*. This is the concrete form taken by the interpersonal relationship between the patient and the social group involved in this treatment. Supervision, in its direct connection with countertransference, is not a finite scholastic process, but a continuous presence required by clinical practice irrespective of the level of experience, seniority and rank of the therapist. Supervision constitutes an important scientific laboratory. It facilitates a deepening of enquiry and the building of a theory of technique, and is thus a field of great *epistemological importance*.

This fact must be acknowledged in full if the field of supervision is to become not the elephant's graveyard of senior analysts looking for a safe position, but the fulcrum of a subject-orientated psychodynamic psychiatry.

3. I spoke earlier of methodological conscientiousness, and I used the term *measurable* to describe the importance of the "therapeutic personality" factor. An example of these two concepts is to be found it one of Gunderson's most recent papers, presented in Italy at the International Meeting "New Trends in Schizophrenia" (Bologna, April 14-17, 1988) (Gunderson *et al*., 1988a) and at the

IX International Symposium on the Psychotherapy of Schizophrenia (Turin, September 14-17, 1988) (Gunderson *et al*., 1988b), where he presented the results of one of the few systematic studies on the psychotherapy of schizophrenia; as far as the treatment of borderline is concerned, attention should be drawn to his two books published in the United States (Gunderson, 1984; Waldinger & Gunderson, 1987). The Italian edition of the second of these is currently being printed and will be published in 1991.

The evaluation of the outcome of psychotherapy is a focal point of Gunderson's interest. His approach to the question has two distinct aspects: one is that of actuarial calculations, and the second is the "longitudinal" presentation of clinical cases, their assessment over time. It is particularly noteworthy that the statistically insignificant results of psychoanalytically-oriented treatment of schizophrenics have thrown light upon the statistical significance of the variable constituted by the *person of the therapist*. One of the so-called *aspecific* factors of psychotherapy has thus been found to be of considerable importance and may make it possible not only to identify the interpersonal foundation of psychiatry as a primary objective, but also to assess the factors conducive or of hindrance to the achievement and conservation of this objective.

As far as this last point is concerned, there are two marked tendencies which characterize psychiatry and in particular psychotherapy:

a) *The halo effect*. There is a wide gulf between the everyday practice of psychiatry and the resonance of ideas on and about psychiatry. This favours the ideological control of psychiatry and constitutes the terrain of propaganda. Many of the things said about psychiatry form a subject of study in which to measure both the penetration of the philosophy underpinning a particular system and the risk of the formation of social groups of disciples. The current situation is a cross between the disappointment of the expectations that had been placed in psychoanalytic psychiatry, and the return of the "medicalistic" concept of psychiatry, related to models of academic psychology. Neither of these is supported by new concepts or discoveries, but by groups of ideas extant in the field for decades.

b) *The synchrony of psychiatry*. The second general characteristic of our field is that no branch of psychiatry has ever gone out of practice. Criteria of obsolescence, applied in all other disciplines, do not hold in psychiatry or psychoanalysis. This is the result of the wide gulf between the psychiatry which is talked about (and therefore when it is talked about) and the practice of psychiatry. All branches of psychiatry have continued working in parallel; the only variables are the degree of communication and the power relationships between them. It is thus possible to identify a current return of the tendency of diagnosticism.

4. It may be said that the psychotherapy of psychosis is caught between its reduction to a *heuristic dimension* on the one hand and its submission to the *cult of outcome* on the other. The criteria of efficiency, effectiveness and productivity are now more decisive than they have ever been.

Like all other professions, psychotherapy is subject to external social pressures, such as the amount of money invested in the mental health system, and the number and quality of people able to do the job. The orientation of the 1950s towards community psychiatry, with a consequent lowering of inter-professional barriers and a holistic approach to the totality of the person, is now tending to be replaced by an *approach concentrating on techniques*, which raises barriers between professions and reinforces roles. Whereas the risk inherent in the former choice was a kind of therapeutic omnipotence, the current risk is that psychiatry may devote itself to the accumulation of advantages more for the establishment and organization of its own profession than for patients. In this context it is important to evaluate the influence of cultural factors on the training of

psychotherapists. The result is that there are two types of psychoanalysts: the first was brought up on the myth of the specificity of technique and the truth of interpretation; the second type was fed on the relativity of interpretation and the myth of the verification of the setting. From this point of view it is instructive to observe how an examination of the literature which attempts to distinguish between psychoanalysis and psychotherapy reveals that the question is more suited to a study of social customs than for the advancement of psychotherapy (Galli, 1985; Morgenthaler, 1978).

Both of these tendencies have had a strong influence on the identities of psychotherapists; they have produced psychoanalysts who considered their own "non-orthodox" work legitimate only if it could be called "psychotherapy". This in turn is responsible for the confusion that arises when an attempt is made to distinguish between "psychoanalitically-orientated psychotherapy", and "supportive psychotherapy".

The development of the various facets of the question of countertransference are of paradigmatic importance. In the future it will be interesting to see the psychotherapist typologies produced by current training programs, if, that is, a serious effort is made to integrate the clinical knowledge of psychotherapies. Attention will have to be paid to the basic philosophy and to the theoretical and professional values of the educational system. The illusion of a syncretic juncture, both theoretical and practical, may turn into hope for a regulation of operating criteria, thus eliminating the figure of the "half-therapist". In this context, "system of values" means concrete instruments of management, which can be brought to bear on incentives and factors of motivation and on criteria of responsibility and the taking on of responsibility, all of which are important in professions involving a high degree of personal contact. Any project for the future which takes these factors into account must avoid the risk of the "ideology of measurement", with the attendant dangers of misunderstood "clinicization" brought by the cult of the DSM-III (and later editions) (Parloff, 1985; Minguzzi, 1986).

The alternative to the static crystallization of the evaluation question, for the development of projects with accurate instruments of prediction, is to be found, as far as psychotherapy is concerned, through a historical-critical analysis of the study of therapeutic factors and of the development of clinical theory. This dimension cuts across the plurality of techniques currently present in the field. An objective examination can prevent the elimination of the category of plurality, through the culture of "parallel tolerances" and the development of the dimension of belonging (Bolko & Merini, 1988; Cremerius, 1979, 1984; Friedman, 1978).

The contribution made by Giampaolo Lai is an important one in this context. He is undertaking a systematic attempt to relativize unitaristic coordinates too close to points of idealistic fixation which are no longer being put to the test, either as regards their logical construction or in an empirical way. The concept of "*disidentity*" used by Lai (1988) in this last book is an example of a line of thought which has been pursued with interesting developments over the last few years (Lai, 1982, 1985).

In this paper I have sought to stress the connection between questions of method and fundamental questions regarding value systems and their practical effectiveness. The purpose is above all to define *what has to be measured*, in order to avoid the taking of scientistic positions.

In concision I would like to recall an episode recounted by Franco Fornari – one of the first Italian psychoanalysts to become involved (in the 1950s) in the psychotherapy of psychotic patients – in his 1969 novel *Angelo a capofitto* ("An Angel Headlong"). When he was an assistant in a private psychiatric clinic, one of his patients died during shock treatment. Fornari was terribly upset, but the coroner's report and his colleagues gave him reassuring figures on the frequency of deaths under shock treatment. His percentage was much lower than average. «I found out – he writes – that I was in credit to the tune of thirteen deaths. But I was terribly upset just the same».

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