# The Narrator as Therapist: Narrative Therapy in Saul Bellow's *Herzog*

セラピストとしての語り手 ---ソール・ベローの『ハーツォグ』に見られるナラティブ・セラピー---

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[Abstract] Saul Bellow published Herzog a year after John F. Kennedy signed into law the Community Mental Health Act in 1963, which was aimed at deinstitutionalization. Herzog also challenges the view of mental problems. Critics have analyzed the cause of Herzog's illness, with less attention paid to treatment. However, this book questions the practice whereby a person is only labeled as ill through psychoanalysis. Herzog overcomes his mental crisis when he is freed from fixed ideas. Self-therapy is the way for him to achieve the effect of psychotherapy when he cannot trust psychiatrists. Herzog's carrying out therapy by using the narrator as therapist for the protagonist functions like narrative therapy. The narrative techniques in the novel support Herzog's narrative selftherapy. His problems stem from his views of home. He cannot feel at home inside his house because the kitchen symbolizes an untouchable place for him. He recovers while his stories about the kitchen are repeatedly re-authored. The kitchen becomes a place of justice and challenges his taken-for-granted sense of justice, that is, dominant stories. In the end, the kitchen symbolizes openness. It is open to many interpretations. Although it may seem uncertain, the therapy values uncertainty. As long as it is open to something unknown or unforeseen, the problematic story can be challenged. This is a voice from the kitchen, the seemingly outside academia.

[Key Words] narrative self-therapy, dominant story, alternative story, re-authoring

[要旨]1963年に発表された「精神病・精神薄弱に関するケネディ大統領教書」は、アメ リカにおける精神障害者の脱隔離・脱施設化の起点となった。その翌年にソール・ベロー が出版した『ハーツォグ』もまた、既存の精神障害治療に一石を投じる作品である。主 人公ハーツォグの精神障害については先行研究でも活発な議論が繰り広げられてきたが、 フロイトらの精神分析との照合に多くの注目が集まり、回復過程の検証は軽視されてい る。しかし、『ハーツォグ』は他者化や定言を疑問視する作品である。主人公は固定観念 から自由になることで精神的危機を乗り越えている。また、スティグマ化に挑む『ハーツォ グ』の文体や形式はナラティブ・セルフセラピーに有効に発揮する。家に居場所を持て ないハーツォグの問題はキッチンにまつわる「支配的な物語」にあったが、セラピスト としての語り手とクライエントとしての主人公の声の分裂および交錯によって、物語の 書き換えが可能になる。ハーツォグにとって両義的にアンタッチャブルな場であったキッ チンは、ハーツォグの固定観念を転覆し正義観念にも異議を申し立てる場へ、開かれた 場へと書き換えられていく。開放性を希求する限り不確かさを引き受けなければならず、 この作品の結末のその先にある悲観的な要素の存在も打ち消し難いが、その物語も更に 書き換えられる可能性に開かれている。『ハーツォグ』の語りは、キッチンという在野を 足場に身を晒して精神障害への偏見に対抗し、不確かさが押し広げる自己再生能力を証 そうとする学究的営為なのである。

[キーワード] ナラティブ・セルフセラピー、支配的な物語、オルタナティブな物語

#### Introduction

Saul Bellow's *Herzog* (1964) is a story about a middle-aged man with mental disorder. A mental health crisis erupted after World War II and continued into the 1960s in the United States. President John F. Kennedy signed into law the Community Mental Health Act (CMHA) in October 1963, a few weeks before he was assassinated. Aimed to transform the way people with mental illness are treated, CMHA sought to deinstitutionalize mental health care and release them out of the isolated institutions. It demonstrated "the new concepts in the treatments of mentally illness" (Kennedy 181). Published one year after Kennedy's death, *Herzog* also challenges the view of mental problems and presents the new concepts of treatment.

Herzog provides valuable suggestions regarding psychoanalysis. Critics have examined the mental illness of the protagonist Moses E. Herzog for a long time. Elyse Zucker discusses it in "Effusive Paralysis: A Pre-Oedipal Reading of Saul Bellow's Herzog" (2011). Allan Chavkin examines it in "A Family Systems Theory Approach to Saul Bellow's Herzog" (2011). Both Zachary Leader and David Mikics show the correlation between Bellow's mental suffering and Herzog's in their biographies, The Life of Saul Bellow: To Fame and Fortune, 1915-1964 (2015) and Bellow's people: How Saul Bellow Made Life into Art (2016). Many critics have argued that Herzog "illustrates many Freudian ideas through the behavior of its hero" (Gordon 60). These investigations focus on the cause of Herzog's illness, with less attention paid to treatment.

The treatment in the novel has been dismissed by critics mainly because Herzog's future is uncertain. Although he feels "free" and "joy" in the end of the novel, there remain negative signs (Gordon 74). Also, some critics doubt whether Herzog overcomes his mental disorder. Herzog may "not reach any firm conclusions but is determined to demonstrate his sanity" (Chavkin). He may be still neurotic as ever (Paris 260), and his problem may repeat itself (Clayton 229). Yet it should be noted these conclusions depend on the assumption that his mental problems define Herzog himself. In other words, as long as Herzog is labeled as a mental patient, his recovery from current mental problems is viewed as "fragile and temporary" (Gordon). After all, the treatment is regarded to be useless to Herzog. This reflects the state of psychotherapy in the 1950s and 1960s which "just seemed to explain problems, or to give them fancy Freudian names, rather than to solve them" (Dworkin 72). However, this novel questions such a practice whereby a person is only labeled as ill through psychoanalysis. This paper will argue that Herzog overcomes his mental crisis when he is freed from fixed ideas reflected in his view on kitchens. It is shown in his carrying out narrative self-therapy by using the narrator as therapist for the protagonist. He recovers while his dominant stories are challenged and alternative stories are repeatedly re-authored.

## 1 Narrative Self-Therapy

Psychology interests Herzog although it also disappoints him. Herzog has expectations for psychotherapy at first. He visits a psychiatrist when his mental states are doubted by his wife Madelaine. Herzog chooses Dr. Edvig because he has "written on Barth, Tillich, Bruner, etc." (53). His choice shows his interest in psychology although his knowledge is bookish. He trusts Dr. Edvig and often consults him. However, Dr. Edvig, treating both Herzog and Madelaine, listens sympathetically to her. Herzog later notices that Dr. Edvig is "a crook," who has taken Madelaine's side and supported her affair with Gersbach (53). The doctor's recommendation to leave town, which is his only treatment, turns out to be his trick to get rid of Herzog. Therefore, a psychiatrist's therapy dissatisfies Herzog although psychotherapy interests him. As a result, self-therapy is the way for Herzog to achieve the effect of psychotherapy when he cannot trust psychiatrists.

While Narrative therapy is done by collaboration between the therapist and the client, Herzog's therapy is possible with collaboration between the narrator and the protagonist. Many critics admit the relationship between them is unclear because there are inconsistencies in the way the narrator calls Herzog throughout the novel. The narrator address Herzog randomly as "I" and "he," and even "you." When the novel opens, for example, Herzog is "I" as well as "he" for the narrator: "If I am out of my mind, it's all right with me, thought Moses Herzog. Some people thought he was cracked and for a time he himself had doubted that he was all there" (1). The narrator drops a hint of the possibility that the narrator is Herzog himself from first.

Some critics point out the possibility that the narrator is Herzog. Gilbert Porter identifies the third person narrator with Herzog or Bellow as follows: "The intimacy of the first person enlists our sympathy; the objectivity of the third person, whether Herzog's voice or Bellow's, lends credibility to the perceptions." (214). Andrew Gordon observes Herzog is lying on the sofa or couch "like a patient in analysis," and views that the narrator is Herzog:

Herzog acts as both analyst and analysand, and we observe the process of his self-analysis, both identifying with and distancing ourselves from the character's trauma and mental disturbance. The distancing is created through the semblance of objectivity in the guise of a third-person, limited-omniscient narrator. (59)

According to them, the narrator often changes the positions because Bellow is conscious of the readers. However, the effect of changing is not only on the readers but also on the protagonist in the novel. The position of the narrator enables Herzog to do self-therapy because the narrator in *Herzog* is an ideal therapist.

The psychologist Harlene Anderson asserts that the clients are the experts in their own lives and the therapists are not the experts on the clients and their problems, resources, or

solutions. The therapists are required to be in "the position of not-knowing" (*The Client is the Expert 34*). Anderson declares the therapists "can never fully understand another person; and always needs to learn more about what has been said or not said" (*The Myth of Not-knowing 501*). The narrator in *Herzog* is the therapist who locates himself between the position of knowing and "not-knowing" of Herzog.

Herzog's carrying out therapy by using the narrator as therapist for the protagonist functions like narrative therapy. Before turning to a closer examination, a brief outline of this approach should be given first. Narrative therapy is a method of psychotherapy originally developed by Michel White and David Epston in 1980s. According to The Dulwich Center founded by White, narrative therapy assists person to resolve problems by three processes: "externalizing problems;" challenging "dominant stories;" creating "alternative stories." Narrative therapy externalize problems because it does not consider "the person is the problem." To use White's phrase, it assumes "the person is not the problem" but "the problem is the problem" (Dulwich). Viewing person as separate from his problems is a challenge to the previous way of psychoanalysis which is mentioned above. Influenced by the postmodern ideas, narrative therapy questions "dominant stories" which is "the central assumption that a person makes which is never itself questioned," that is what Jean Francois Lyotard called "meta-narrative" (Shawver 75). According to narrative therapy, we have stories about ourselves which determine how we view ourselves. In order to free from their "dominant stories" and relieve the cause of problems, the clients are encouraged to discover "alternative stories" among their memory and "re-author" them. These acts are the "procedures that subvert taken-for granted realities and practices; those so-called 'truth'" (White 122).

The narrative techniques in the novel support Herzog's narrative therapy. The therapist always needs to be "a blank screen" and be informed by the client's stories (Tarragona). In *Herzog*, "the narrative angle jumps around shifting wildly from one mode to another without warning and often within the same paragraph, creating an illusion of constant rapid nervous motion and a continuity of tempo that offsets the tortoise pace of the action and the cramping time schedule" (Rodrigues 162). On the other hand, Herzog "cannot select or filter his thoughts" and there is "no certainties, no calm programme, no sure focus" in his mind (Tanner 12). His thoughts are expressed on impulse in his unsent or unfinished letters. Because of the narrative's frequent jumps and shifts and Herzog's incoherent letters, the book seems to be chaotic at first sight. However, these disconnected elements provide opportunity to develop new and different narratives. Narrative therapy is done for Herzog the client by Herzog the narrator in the novel.

### 2 Dominant Story

Herzog's problems stem from a view on home. His current problem is a grief for divorce

from his second wife Madeleine. He was unwilling to divorce from her. Besides, he is shocked to learn he has been betrayed by her having affair with his friend Valentine Gersbach. Also, because of the failures of his marriage, he lives in isolation. He can scarcely meet his two children. All that is left with him is a big old house in a country village in Massachusetts, for which he runs through the legacy from his father. It is clear that his pain comes from feeling emptiness in his home.

He often complains about his houses in Massachusetts or in Chicago while working hard to repair the exteriors. He views the house is problematic. For example, his difficulties with his job as a writer is also attributed to his house: "He had all this paper to get through, and no help. The house was waiting—huge, hollow, urgent" (121). Also, Herzog uses the house for his excuse to a delay of his work as follows: "A bad case of poison ivy has kept me from my desk. Elbows on his papers, Moses stared at half-painted walls, discolored ceilings, filthy windows" (121). However, he, at the same time, enjoys dealing with the exteriors. He may seem to feel trouble with his houses, but he devotes himself to repair them. He sits up nights studying the Do-It-Yourself Encyclopedia (120). The outside of the house is his place. He is not annoyed at the exteriors.

Herzog, nevertheless, cannot find a comfortable kitchen at home. It is seen in the old house in Massachusetts. Because he never looks inside of the house before he buys it, he is later disappointed at "rotting Victorian ornaments" (120). He saves the house from collapse of by a year of hard work. His restoring the Victorian home for his new family manifests his longing for the so-called "The Angel in the House" in the Victorian era. The kitchen uncleaned by Madelaine annoys Herzog him. On the other hand, he admires the kitchens outside his house. For example, he praises his girlfriend Ramona Donsell for her "genuine family feeling" because she knows "how to cook, and how to set a table (155). Also, he thinks his ex-girlfriend Sono Oguki has "a tender heart" when he recalls "something was always frying or brewing in her kitchen" (171). However, it should be noted that these ideal kitchens are found only when Herzog is a guest. He never finds the ideal kitchens at his home. Madeleine says to Herzog, "You'll never get the surroundings you want. Those are in the twelfth century somewhere. Always crying for the old home and the kitchen table with the oilcloth on it and your Latin book. Okay—let's hear your sad old story" (124). As Madeleine points out, the kitchen Herzog pursues is what he cannot obtain within his home. He has been looking for an unreachable kitchen.

In fact, the kitchen at his home symbolizes something dreadful for Herzog. It becomes the place his divorce comes from. When he is in the yard dealing with the exterior of the house, Madeleine calls him "from the kitchen door" to demand a divorce (8). Although their discussion is held in the parlor, he emphasizes "the kitchen" as the place of something dreadful. The kitchen is the untouchable place in the contradicting aspects, that is, the kitchen

is something too ideal or too disgusting to touch for Herzog. This perspective on the kitchen is the dominant story which causes This problematic view of home. Adopting Michael White's phrases as mentioned earlier, Herzog is not the problem but his view on the kitchen is the problem.

Herzog's recollection indicates that the kitchen in the house of Napoleon Street has built up a contradicting image of the kitchen in his mind. Allan Chavkin argues "that Herzog's recollection of his childhood growing up in poverty on Napoleon Street provides the key to understanding Herzog's later attitudes and self-destructive behavior." Although Herzog's dominant story about the kitchen is not only caused by poverty, "much of his outlook and his patterns of behavior are largely products of his childhood that as an adult he tends to romanticize, no doubt because of unconscious defense mechanisms that protect him against the truth of that difficult childhood" as Chavkin asserts. Above all, Herzog's mother's death has a great impact on his view of the kitchen. Just after recollecting the scene when Madeleine calls him "from the kitchen" to discuss their divorce, Herzog soon tries to write a letter of apology to his dead mother. The letter says, "Dear Mama, As to why I haven't visited your grave in so long . . ." (11). The "depths of feeling" he eventually has to face is his bitter memory of his mother's death (10). However, he cannot finish the letter because he cannot face his memory of her death. Just a few days before her death, Herzog's mother gets out of the sickroom and enters the kitchen where he is reading books. When Herzog finds her message: "My son, this is death," he ignores it and declares, "I chose not to read this text (234). When he chooses not to face but to ignore his mother's death in the kitchen, the kitchen becomes the place to be avoided for Herzog.

What he chooses to "read" instead is the text about the outer world. He recalls, "Mama started to die. And I was in the kitchen winter nights, studying *The Decline of the West*" by Oswald Spengler (233). The book becomes a refuge which allows him to switch his attention from the matter in his home to the outside. Since then, he seeks salvation in the outside home. It is shown when his mother is on her deathbed:

Under the nails they seemed to him to be turning already into the blue loam of graves. She had begun to change into earth! He did not dare to look but listened to the runners of children's sleds in the street, and the grating of peddlers' wheel on the knotted ice, the hoarse call of the apple peddler and the rattle of his steel scale. The steam whispered in the vent. The curtain was drawn. (234)

When his mother is dying, he concentrates all his consciousness in the outside of the curtained window. He seeks something liveliness there because his home is filled with death. Since he chooses to evade his mother's death in the kitchen, he feels at home only when he is outside his house. After his mother's death, the kitchen becomes the uncomfortable place for Herzog because it recalls his fear of death and his guilty feeling to him. His fear and sense of guilty

create his dominant story that the kitchen is the untouchable place, and this dominant story causes his problems at home.

## 3 Alternative Story

There is a transformation in his view of the kitchen in about a week, that is, during the time of narration in the novel. As Tony Tanner lists in chronological order, *Herzog* "contains few actual incidents in the present—an abortive trip to Vineyard Haven, a night with a girl friend, a visit to see one of his children which ends with a car crash, the return to an old tumble-down house in the country" (*The prisoner of Perception 10*). Put simply, between his departure from New York and his return to Massachusetts, there are mainly four actions as listed above.

Among these actual incidents in the present, Herzog's appearance and leaving in the novel are both associated with the kitchens. At his appearance, the kitchen does not show a strong presence. Because of "the need to explain, to have it out, to justify, to put in perspective, to clarify, to make amends" for his problems (2), he starts thinking back to the past. "Lying on the sofa of the kitchenette apartment he had rented on 17th Street, he sometimes imagined he was an industry that manufactured personal history, and saw himself from birth to death (3). This small kitchen shows its faint presence where he is in agony struggling with his recollecting his life to. And at last, the novel ends when he is looking forward to cooking in the kitchen. "As he stretched out, he took a long breath, and then he lay, looking at the mesh of the screen, pulled loose by vines, and listening to the steady scratching of Mrs. Tuttle's broom" in the kitchen (341). For Herzog who waits to cook dinner for Ramona, the kitchen is his concern. The kitchen has a strong presence as the place of a hope in the end.

Transformation of the kitchen's presence is emphasized when the narrator announces previously that the kitchen is going to be the "headquarters" for the protagonist after his return to the old house in Massachusetts (1). Besides, the narrator finds a fragment of kitchen's image in Herzog's actions. He carries "a piece of kitchen towel" throughout his trip. When he starts the trip from his apartment in New York on the first day, he carries "his pens, notebook, checkbook, a piece of kitchen towel he had torn off for his handkerchief, and the plastic container of Furadantin tablets" (24). As the narrator witnesses, "a handkerchief—the scrap of kitchen towel" is used in the trip and later he is "unable to locate his handkerchief—the scrap of towel" (283) before his return to Massachusetts. Herzog's transformation of his relationship with the kitchen is shown when the narrator joints his random memories with the fragment of kitchen's image.

To study the transformation of his dominant story about the kitchen, four actions of Tanner's list will be discussed in order. At first, Herzog makes "an abortive trip to Vineyard Haven." It is reasonable to suppose that this trip is his struggling to escape from a home kitchen. He

decides to spend summer at his friend Libie Sissler's house in Vinyard Haven because he aims to "get away from Ramona" (18). When Ramona invites him to her second house to live together, he decides "not to accept Ramona's offer" (17). He refuses her offer because he is afraid to change her kitchen for their kitchen; he wants to stay as a guest. That is why he chooses to visit the Sissler, a newly-married couple. Neverthelss, once he arrives at the Sissler's house after spending hours on the train, he runs away from there before they have the other guests. The narrator describes, "He stole from the house. The Sisslers were in the kitchen" (98). Herzog's escape journey shows his dominant story that the kitchen is the place to be avoided.

The second action is a turning point to his dominant story. Herzog enters into the kitchen when he is invited to a dinner at Ramona's apartment. "I'll help you clear the table" and "I'll wash the dishes," says Herzog because "there's something about washing dishes that calms" him (195). His unusual action is defined as "unique outcomes" in Narrative therapy. In Narrative therapy, "unique outcomes" are the basis for a new plot or a different version" of the client (Tarragona). The discovery of alternative story is strengthened by both the protagonist and the narrator. There is a sort of therapeutic conversation between them from the first action till the second. The alternative story, which is initially very fragile, is strengthen in collaboration. While the protagonist randomly recollects his memory, the narrator reinforces the positive stories about the kitchen.

After his return from Vineyard Haven, he remembers the kitchen located in the center of the house on Napoleon Street. The children were always able to see what was happening at home. Even at night, the kitchen could be seen from their bed room. "It was family theater" (136). It taught them the difficulties of poverty, but at the same time it "amused" them to see and hear what was going on in the kitchen (136). On the other hand, the narrator asserts "All he ever wanted was there" whatever Napoleon Street was a "rotten" place (140). When his parents or neighbors had a trouble, his family "were all there" in the kitchen. Herzog finds "love" at home (147). Moreover, when the protagonist remembers his father's word, "We have to live" (148), the narrator appreciates the memory: "These personal histories, old tales from old times that may not be worth remembering. I remember. I must" (149). Declaring in first-person "I," the narrator collaborates in creating alternative stories with the protagonist. As the therapist and as the client, Herzog creates the alternative story that the kitchen is an unforgettable familiar place for him because it contains both life and death. Challenging the dominant story that the kitchen is an untouchable place, he overcomes his fear to face difficulties.

He decides to face difficulties and takes the third action, that is his visit to his daughter June. After he observes the cases of gross child abuse in the court by chance, he makes a flight to Chicago. The purpose of the trip is to save June because he has been informed of the possibility of child abuse by Gersbach, who is now her father-to-be. This is the opposite of

his previous way because Herzog does not avoid a family problem but tries to apply what he learns at the outer world to it.

However, through this trip, his sense of justice is repeatedly challenged in kitchens. He believes justice is on his side, but that is challenged in three kitchens in Chicago: his stepmother Taube's kitchen; Madeleine's kitchen; Gersbach's wife Phoebe's kitchen. Herzog visits Taube at first to get his father's pistol, thinking of shooting Gersbach. He thinks he is justified in using it. Yet his sense of guilt is seen when he tries to obtain the pistol: "He heard her slow steps in the passage. She was going to the kitchen. Herzog quickly made for the small sitting room. . . Then he went back and shut the door, first making sure Taube had reached the kitchen . . . and found what he was looking for—Father Herzog's pistol" (252). The kitchen challenges his feeling guiltiness about stealing the pistol for a criminal act. Next, he witnesses Madeleine and Gersbach carry on an illicit affair, but he leaves there without using the pistol when he finds Madeleine at the kitchen. At last, Herzog asks Phoebe to "sue for divorce" and help him to win custody of June, but she rejects to condemn her husband's affair. Phoebe points out Herzog's selfish behavior which ruins the children's peace: "That's the old devil in you talking again, Moses" (262). Herzog accepts her judgement in her kitchen and expresses "a softer kindliness" which is "not often seen" (264). Thus, these three kitchens function as a place of justice. The kitchen is not a place of blaming him, but it saves him from his guilty behavior. In that sense, the kitchen challenges his taken-for-granted sense of justice, that is, dominant story.

After his return to the old house in Massachusetts, that is the fourth action, openness is symbolized in the kitchen. First of all, the kitchen is open to animals. Herzog shares food with a rat which has "chewed into a package of bread" (1). "Unwilling to disturb these flat-faced little creatures," he never shuts up the house while he finds the nests, the dead bodies and droppings of animals in the house (312). The taint which Herzog has been disgusted is accepted. Next, it is open to the other people. He has worked hard to repair the walls of the house before, but he allows anybody to come inside now. Herzog is "particularly pleased" to find that the youth of the village have freely intruded into the house in his absence (312). He also invites Ramona to entertain her for the first time.

In addition, the kitchen signifies that Herzog's future is open to many interpretations. The point is that the story ends before he successfully cooks dinner for Ramona. It is true that he has flowers and a bottle of wine. He has Mrs. Tuttle for cleaning the kitchen. Yet although he looks forward to entertaining Ramona in the kitchen. there are some negative signs: "yellow day lilies" Herzog has picked have "wilted" instantly; the notes and papers are everywhere on the messy floor; he is annoyed by Mrs. Tuttle's "raising too much dust" (341). "Not a single word" is left in the end of the book as the narrator says, and nobody predicts what happens next. It may seem too uncertain, but narrative therapy values uncertainty. As long as the

story is open to something unknown or unforeseen, the problematic story can be challenged, just as Herzog's story about the kitchen is re-authored.

#### Conclusion

For Herzog who cannot trust psychiatrists, self-therapy is the way for him to achieve the effect of psychotherapy. His carrying out therapy by using the narrator as therapist for the protagonist functions like narrative therapy. The narrative techniques in the novel support narrative self-therapy. He succeeds in escaping from his dominant story about the kitchen and in finding the alternative story. It is done in collaboration between the protagonist's desultory recollections and the narrator's observations on "unique outcomes" that contradict the dominant story.

Herzog's problems stem from his view of home. He cannot feel at home inside the house because the kitchen symbolizes an untouchable place for him. Herzog recovers while his stories about the kitchen are repeatedly re-authored. Herzog's transformation is shown in the narration jointing his random memories with the fragments of kitchen's image. The kitchen becomes a place of justice and challenges his taken-for-granted sense of justice, that is, dominant stories. In the end, the kitchen symbolizes openness. It is open to many interpretations, better or worse. Although it may seem uncertain, the therapy values uncertainty. As long as it is open to something unknown or unforeseen, the problematic story can be challenged.

This is a voice from the kitchen, namely the seemingly outside academia. *Herzog* is well known as Bellow's first professorial novel, but in fact the protagonist's position is between a professor and nonprofessor. The Committee on Social Thought in the University of Chicago expected to have someone "in other creative walks of life than the academic" and Bellow, who was just writing *Herzog* at that time, was invited to join it in 1962 (Leader 616). The significant role of kitchens as discussed above suggests that openness in the book is also aimed at the ivory tower of academia as well as mental institutions.

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