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**In the Beginning was the Scripture
Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Bible**

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Introduction

“And even if I were deceived by him and became disillusioned, I should nevertheless observe the precepts of the Torah” (Yossel ben Yossel; cited in Lévinas, 1990, p. 144).

In a sentence added to his *An Autobiographical Study*, Freud emphasizes in 1935, i.e., only a few years before his death, looking back on his life: “My deep engrossment in the Bible story (almost as soon as I had learnt the art of reading) had, as I recognized much later, an enduring effect upon the direction of my interest” (Freud, 1925d, p. 7). Two things are remarkable about this statement: On the one hand Freud emphasizes what an “enduring effect” his early preoccupation with the “Bible story”, rather than his later acquired classical humanist high school education, often highlighted in literature, had on his entire intellectual and emotional life. On the other hand, he has to realize that he could only recognize the power of this influence with a characteristic delay, i.e. the mechanisms of bi-temporality and *Nachträglichkeit*, which he described in many ways, were effective here as well. If one subjects this statement to an initial examination in a kind of overall view, one can indeed conclude that this “deep engrossment” and preoccupation with the Bible gave the development of his intellectual life a framework and connects its beginning with its end in a returning or regressive movement: Freud not only began his mental and spiritual life with the Bible in an early religious instruction with his mother as well as, above all, in a joint reading with his father, but also ended it with it, after a return to his original interests – if one thinks, namely, of the biblical material that he processed in his last and testamentary book *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) and which had really driven him in the years before his death (cf. on this, for example, Hegener, 2001a).

If one examines in more detail what Freud was referring to with his mention of the “Bible story” in which he had already immersed himself so early on it must be emphasised more precisely that it comes from the *Jewish Bible* and that, moreover, it was a special edition of the *Jewish Bible* in which he began to read this story as a child: What is meant is the so-called *Philippson Bible*, which originated with the Magdeburg rabbi Ludwig Philippson (1811-1889) and which Freud’s father had acquired as a Family Bible some time before Freud’s birth. And Freud’s examination of the biblical writings in the context of his work on his late work in the 1930s also focused primarily on the *Jewish Bible* and on its central figure, Moses. The Jewish version of the Bible, let it be said already,

is not identical with the “Old Testament” of the *Christian Bible*, with which it is often confused. In fact the *Jewish Bible* differs from the latter both in certain “formal” characteristics and in disparate settings of content connected with it, and has assumed a certain shape in the course of many centuries – we shall discuss in more detail later in this introduction the differences between the Jewish and Christian versions of the Bible and the linguistic regulations derived from them. Neglecting the particular shape of the *Jewish Bible* and its embedding in the Jewish (textual) tradition prevents a deeper understanding of the cultural imprint that Freud already experienced through its early reading, as will be shown in a first example.

The importance of the *Jewish Bible* for Freud and his work, and his almost intimate familiarity with it, is revealed in a second step by the observation that there is probably no other “book” – that the designation of the Bible as a “book” is not appropriate in many ways will become apparent in the course of this introduction – that Freud quoted more diversely and more frequently both in his published works and in his correspondence.¹ Théo Pfrimmer, in his book *Freud lecteur de la Bible*, states that, taking the 39 books of the Old Testament, Freud quoted from 21 of these writings (Pfrimmer, 1982, p. 283). In the manner described in the last paragraph, Pfrimmer thus tacitly equates “the” Bible with its Christian form, which corresponds to a colonial appropriation of the Jewish (textual) tradition and, as we shall see, is characteristic of the history of Christianity – and it is this assumption and presupposition that largely deprives Pfrimmer of the possibility of understanding the specificity of the *Jewish Bible* and its significance for Freud in his study, the only systematic work on our topic to date. To be more precise, Pfrimmer’s statement is based on the canonical form of the Bible valid in Protestantism, in which the 24 or 22² writings of the *Jewish Bible* were divided into 39 books.³ If one takes the Jewish version of the Bible, which is authoritative for Freud, then, after counting the writings listed in Pfrimmer’s overview, Freud quoted from as many as 17 of the 24 (or 22) books contained in it (ibid., pp. 379-380). If we now look at which of these books are most frequently mentioned, it is striking that – quite in accordance with their central and superior position in the Jewish tradition (see below) – above all quotations

¹ In general, Jones (1957, p. 374) reports, Freud was very well versed in the Bible and always had a quotation from it at hand. Thus, not only in his written statements (in his works and letters), but also in his conversations, the Bible was obviously a constant companion and reference point for Freud.

² In the *Jewish Bible*, in contrast to the *Christian Bible* editions, the 1st and 2nd Book of *Samuel*, the 1st and 2nd Book of *Kings*, the 1st and 2nd Book of *Chronicles*, the Books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* as well as the Book of the *Twelve Prophets* are each counted as one book, resulting in a total number of 24 books. The reduction to 22 books occurs when, in addition, both the Book of *Judges* and the Book of *Ruth*, as well as the Book of *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations*, are each counted as one book. The two numbers 22 and 24 also stand in their own way for perfection and completeness: the Hebrew alphabet comprises 22 letters and the number 24 the double number of the 12 tribes of Israel.

³ In the Catholic Bible the Old Testament comprises 46 books; in this edition the seven books called *deuterocanonical* in Protestantism (*Judith*, *Tobit*, *1 Maccabees*, *2 Maccabees*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Jesus Sirach*, *Baruch*), which have come down to us in Greek, are included and inserted in the regular canon (in the Protestant editions of the Bible these and partly other writings are appended and delimited to varying degrees).

from the *Torah*, i.e. from the writings called *Pentateuch* or *Five Books of Moses* in Christian tradition,⁴ predominate by far. Compared to quotations from the *Jewish Bible*, scriptural references to the *New Testament* are far rarer and, qualitatively speaking, carry little weight: here, mentions from the Gospel according to Matthew are in the majority, and, spread over several works, Freud dealt with Paul in a partly appreciative manner, but on the whole critically and disapprovingly (Freud, 1911f, p. 342; 1921c, p. 91; 1930a, p. 114; 1939a, pp. 86-88 and 135-136; cf. also Taubes, 1993, pp. 106-131, who, however, argues uncritically towards Paul in large parts and takes a one-sided view of Freud's discussion of Paul).

Thirdly, if one asks how many Bible quotations can be found in Freud's work in total, only estimates are possible, but they are informative enough to be mentioned here. In the 2nd volume of the Complete Index of the *Gesammelte Werke*, under the heading "Bibliographical Index" on page 984, a total of 20 and 21 references are listed⁵ – again with a distribution of 18:3 and 17:3 to the writings of the *Jewish Bible* and the New Testament, respectively. This list is very incomplete, and already in the *Standard Edition* (Strachey, 1974, p. 186) quite a few more passages are listed, namely a total of 86 citations (cf. also Pfrimmer, 1982, p. 27). This puts the Bible just behind the citations from the works of Goethe (1749-1832) (92 references) and Shakespeare (1564?-1616) (76 references). Furthermore, one can read in this context again and again that Pfrimmer himself was able to find 488 different mentions of both writings from the *Jewish Bible* and the New Testament in Freud's work and his correspondences during his own sifting already at the beginning of the 1980s (see, for example, Vitz, 1988, p. 34; Gresser, 1994, p. 48; Rollins, 2007, p. 41). To the best of my knowledge and reading, however, this indication is not to be found anywhere in Pfrimmer's book, and it seems rather like an unverified passing on of a quotation. But after all, the (rather confusing) tabular listing at the end of his book (Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 379-380) certainly contains, in a rough estimate, at least 200 to 300 citations, of which far more than 100 are to Freud's writings – in Freud's book *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) alone there are 76 direct and indirect quotations and references (see also on this Pfrimmer, 1982, p. 283). And also now it must be added by way of specification that the references to passages in the *Jewish Bible* are in clear majority.

If we take all these details and initial indications together, we can already hardly doubt that for Freud the *Jewish Bible* was far more than an arbitrary book or a casual educational resource that

⁴ The term „Pentateuch“ is composed of the words πέντε *pentē* „five“ and τεῦχος *teuchos* „vessel“ or „jar“, In antiquity, papyrus scrolls were often stored in jars, and the partial term *teuchos* is metonymic for a papyrus scroll. In the 2nd century CE in Alexandria, this became the full Greek term ἡ πεντάτευχος βιβλο *hē pentateuchos biblos* „the five-volume book“. Here the transition from the *scrolls* to a *book* is already evident linguistically (see below). The term „Five Books of Moses“ later became popular, especially in the churches of the Reformation.

⁵ The 21st reference is to the (only) mention of the *Philippson Bible* in Freud's work (Freud, 1900a, p. 589), which, however, does not contain a quotation (but does contain an allusion to certain woodcuts in this edition of the Bible – see Chapters 1 and 4).

served him well, for example, only for illustrative purposes. In the course of the chapters of this book we shall try to show at some length that Freud was introduced to the Jewish tradition through his early and intensive reading of the Bible, which was bound up in specific family relational experiences. He was able to immerse himself in the “biblical *story*”, that is, in the narrative form of its books, which is characteristic of the *Jewish Bible* in particular, and there to become acquainted with the “foundational histories” and “foundational memories” (Assmann, 2012, pp. 59, 61 and 37) that were essential in shaping his self-understanding as a Jew and his approach to the world and to scripture. These stories were at the same time a foil or a “narrative envelope” with the help of which Freud was able to give expression and shape to his inner conflicts and fears and into which he could integrate them. The various mentions of the Bible in his private correspondence show that he often resorted to the Bible when he found himself in crisis situations and needed reassuring support. This only became more publicly apparent at the end of Freud’s life, when, in the face of Nazi persecution and emerging eliminatory anti-Semitism, and marked by his severe cancer, he openly recalled the *Jewish Bible* and the post-biblical Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition, reassured himself of his origins through them, and inscribed psychoanalysis in Jewish tradition and intellectual history (cf. Hegener, 2014b). Despite all the fluctuations and vicissitudes in his relationship to Judaism over the decades of his life, the reference to the *Jewish Bible* was a constant factor in Freud’s life. This is all the more remarkable in view of his so clearly articulated unbelief; in the *Jewish Bible*, formulated the other way around, he was able to find a central point of reference for his Jewish affiliation despite his unbelief.

If one looks beyond the person of Freud, it can be stated that the *Jewish Bible*, across all directions and denominations, must be accorded a high status in the process of the formation of modern Judaism. Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran (2007) in their study *The Hebrew Bible Reborn. From Holy Scripture to the Books of Books* were able to show impressively how in the German-speaking world, in a process that took place over about three centuries and probably reached its climax in the second half of the 19th century, Jews increasingly learned to regard the Bible as the most important source and the most significant heritage of a common scriptural culture that has endured for millennia, and how they reappropriated it, albeit in new and changed ways. Both in public discourse and in private life, the Bible became formative for one’s own self-understanding and was understood as the indispensable and unique contribution of Jewish religion and culture to the development of all humanity. In the course of this “Biblical Revolution” it became, in summary, the decisive building block and key moment of a stubborn Jewish identity and developed its influence even into the Zionist movements.

In order to be able to access the Bible at all with this intention and effect, good Jewish-German translations had to be created that could be used outside of liturgical use in synagogal services (where only the Hebrew text was read) and, in their fidelity to the Masoretic version, offered an acceptable alternative to the prevailing Christian biblical works that were distributed among Jews with missionary zeal. In the context of the new translations that increasingly emerged from the end of the seventeenth century onwards (cf. especially Bechtold, 2005 and Gillman, 2018), a surviving ancient text was transformed into a “Modern Jewish Bible” (Levenson, 2011), and the “Holy Scriptures” thus became, in a sense, the “Book of Books” (Shavit & Eran, 2007), which now became not only a religious but, for many Jews, a (sometimes even exclusively) cultural-worldly point of reference. The aforementioned *Philippson’s Bible*, which Freud encountered so early on and with whose help he was introduced primarily to “biblical story”, is one such nineteenth-century work of translation. It represents perhaps even the or, to put it more cautiously, a high point of Jewish translation culture and had to be laboriously wrested from the tradition of Christian dispossession (creation of an “Old Testament”; colonial appropriation of the *Masoretic* text through Luther’s program of a “Verdeutschung”; devaluation of the Jewish approach to the Bible within the framework of historical-critical biblical scholarship). In relation to Freud, it can be justifiably said that without such a translation, which contains specific features such as an extensive commentary and gives Moses and the Torah a central position, it would probably not have come to the strong and “enduring” influence by the *Jewish Bible* that is so clearly expressed in the quotation mentioned at the beginning of this introduction.

Despite all agreement about the meaning of the Bible and even appropriate translations (which was long disputed in Orthodox circles), considerable conflicts arose in the various currents of Judaism, which had to do above all with the following question: Can the biblical text be understood at all without the great post-biblical Rabbinic-Talmudic commentary literature, or precisely only in the unity of written and oral tradition? From the orthodox and neo-orthodox side the Jewish Enlightenment movement was accused of separating the written Torah (extended Bible) from the oral (and later written) or Talmudic-rabbinic tradition: It merely copied Protestant biblicism and its principle of *sola scriptura*, moved in the direction of a turning away from Jewish tradition tending towards the heretical, and thus risked a self-prizing of Judaism. Conversely, or complementary to it, the reproach of representatives of the Jewish Enlightenment movement *Haskala* was that the excessive presence of the Talmud had led to a neglect of just the Bible and its reading, and that it was accordingly now important to reappropriate it, above all through good translations. Only in this way is it possible to bring the universally valid heritage of Judaism closer to the next generations of Jewish children as well as to the non-Jewish world.

How can Freud, with his Jewish socialization, be positioned in this field of tension? Of crucial importance for answering this question is the fact that both of Freud's parents came from Eastern European Jewry and that his father, Jacob Freud, according to all available knowledge, underwent a traditional Jewish education, which became effective in the common reading of the (Philippon-)Bible. His intimate familiarity with both the biblical and post-biblical Talmudic-Rabbinic traditions is impressively confirmed by accessible family documents and by relevant historical studies. Jacob Freud grew up in Tysmenitz, Galicia, where rabbinic Judaism traditionally had a strong influence, but in his youth he came under the influence of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, which was also growing there, "entfremdet [alienated]" (Freud, 1957e, p. 227) himself from his homeland and settled in Moravia. All previous attempts to locate him either purely in the liberal current in Judaism or in the Jewish Enlightenment movement of the Haskalah, or else in an "Orthodox" Judaism, disregard the fundamental tension in which Jacob Freud's life stood. On the one hand, he turned away from tradition, in some ways even broke with it, but on the other hand he remained connected to it and continued it precisely through his break, as a close reading and interpretation of his entries in the Family Bible show (chapter 1).

In this tension between betrayal and fidelity and "unbrokenly broken" (Bodenheimer, 2012), which could be driven to the point of paradox, perhaps lies at all a constitutive feature of Jewish tradition formation and transmission, which was displayed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the auspices of Enlightenment, secularization, and an accelerated scientific development. This tension is particularly well expressed in a story that Gershom Scholem (1961, p. 348) retold and commented on:

"Thus when a great Zaddik was asked why he did not follow the example of his teacher in living as he did, he replied: 'On the contrary, I do follow his example, for I leave him as he left his teacher.' The tradition of breaking away from tradition produced such curious paradoxes."

Jacob Freud conveyed a very comparable message to his son Sigmund with the gift of the newly bound Family Bible for his 35th birthday, together with the enclosed dedicatory letter. At the centre of this letter, in lines 9 and 10, we can read: "Since then the book has been kept/concealed like the broken tablets [of the Law] in an ark with me".⁶ Jacob Freud's intention was to tell his son that he had kept the (Family) Bible for him since the days of reading it together in his childhood and through the years of his turning away from the Jewish religion, and in this way he interpretatively

⁶ The Hebrew lines are reproduced here in the English translation of Gadi Goldberg's translation into German (see also the corresponding note in chapter 1).

integrated Freud's development into the context of a central Mosaic narrative and its Talmudic interpretation. On the one hand, Jacob Freud refers in these two lines to a verse from the Book of *Deuteronomy* that says: "Is not this laid up in store with Me, Sealed up in My treasuries?" (*Deuteronomy*, 32, 34).⁷ What is sealed up, as the progression of the line shows, are the tablets of the Law originally *broken* by Moses in anger over the apostasy of the Israelite people noted after his first sojourn on Mount Sinai (called Horeb in the book of *Deuteronomy*), which are now kept in the ark. Jacob Freud, on the other hand, alludes to several interpretations of the Bible found *only* in the *Babylonian Talmud*, which he evidently knew well: Thus one of these typically free interpretations, in Tractate *Menahot* (99b), says: "*Reish Laqis says: Sometimes the apparent dereliction of the study of Torah is its foundation*, e.g., if one breaks off his studies in order to participate in a funeral or a wedding procession. This is derived from a verse, *as it is written*: 'And the Lord said to Moses: Hew for yourself two tablets of stone like the first, and I will write upon the tablets the words that were on the first tablets, *which [asher] you broke*' (*Exodus* 34, 1). The word '*asher*' is an allusion to the fact that that the *Holy One, Blessed be He, said to Moses: Your strength is true* [*yishar kohakha*] in *that you broke* the tablets, as the breaking of the first tablets led to the foundation of the Torah through the giving of the second tablets."⁸ The statement that Jacob, with the aid of this interpretation, wanted to make and convey to his son is likely to be something like, "The dereliction and even the (dis)disturbance of the Torah and its study, symbolized in the broken but preserved first tablets, is an inevitable and even necessary part in the process of your life as well; your turning away is precisely not to be persecuted and punished, but to be treated with loving forbearance and even to be welcomed. I present thee with the book of books in a new binding, and commit it to thee for a new study." It is therefore the case that Jacob Freud wanted his son to understand that he could understand his sometimes vehement attack on the Jewish faith and tradition, not least from the experience of his own life story, and that he did not condemn him. Yes, he even welcomed this attack, since it was unavoidably necessary for Freud to find his very own approach to the Jewish tradition. Jacob gave his son Sigmund Freud the (Family-)Bible in a feeling of paternal love and in the confidence that he would not forget the biblical tradition and the Jewish tradition in general, but would continue it obstinately.

And indeed, as will be shown in detail, Freud did this in many ways, continuing in his own way the tension between betrayal and fidelity: Jacob Freud died only a few years after Freud's 35th birthday, and this event, according to his own account, "revolutionized" his soul (so Freud to Ernest Jones;

⁷ Biblical quotations in this book are taken from *מִיבִתְּכֵי מִיֵּאִיבֵי חַרְוֹת* *The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text. A New Translation* from 1917 (for more detailed information see the bibliography).

⁸ All quotations from the Talmud in this book I take from *The William Davidson Talmud* (see <https://www.sefaria.org/texts/Talmud/Bavli> and the references in the bibliography).

Freud, 1993, pp. 369f.). He subsequently began his self-analysis, joined the B'Nai-B'Rith Lodge, and was able to write the basic psychoanalytic text *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a). In this work, Freud takes up the paternal tradition in his own idiosyncratic way, eventually stating that he “we have treated as Holy Writ” (ibid., p. 513). Based on this statement, it can indeed be shown, right down to the individual steps of interpretation, that Freud’s method of dream interpretation is analogous to the methodological approach to scripture founded in Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism and forms its, as it were, secularized continuation (cf. on this also Hegener, 2017). While Freud treated dreams like “Holy Writ” in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in his late work *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) he treated the other way around, the texts of biblical tradition that were considered sacred like dreams and interpreted them with the help of his psychoanalytic method, which itself, however, already cannot deny its origin in the aforementioned Jewish line of tradition. With his testamentary late work, Freud created a secular psychoanalytic *midrash*.⁹ If we take the two fundamental works of Freud’s œuvre together, with which the full beginning and end of his psychoanalytic work are marked, we can see how clinical method and cultural analysis interpenetrate under the premise of a Rabbinic-Talmudic approach to texts and the world.

At this point, a sentence by Karl Abraham (1877-1925) almost suggests itself, who, with the deep feeling of a spiritual kinship, pointed out to Freud on May 11, 1908, the Talmudic traces in his book on the joke (Freud, 1905c) and wrote to him: “After all, the Talmudic way of thinking cannot disappear in us just like that” (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 39). And after a close reading of the texts, it indeed turns out that, as Abraham says with unsurpassed precision, the “Talmudic way of thinking” that created an entire scriptural and world approach can in no way be considered to have disappeared, despite all the turning away – just as, according to psychoanalytic understanding, nothing can “disappear” at all, and certainly not something of such great influence. The reference to the Talmud, however, should and had to remain rather invisible and hidden, apart from a few direct references; the “Talmudic way of thinking” could not show itself in its universal claim under the foreground of the Christian dominant culture and was considered outdated and merely particular Jewish at the latest since the time of the Enlightenment (cf. on this also Vogt-Moykopf, 2009; see below). Freud, who feared that psychoanalysis could be declared a merely particular “Jewish-national affair”, could only bring this very important part of the Jewish tradition to bear in a masked way. At a certain point, having met C.G. Jung (1875-1961) and having hoped for his entry of psychoanalysis into the “promised land of psychiatry” (Freud, 1974a, p. 196), he was even in danger of making the Jewish roots of psychoanalysis completely unrecognizable in order to secure

⁹ Roughly speaking, a midrash is understood in the Jewish tradition as an updating interpretation of a biblical text; cf. Hegener, 2017, pp. 27-32 and the further explanations in chapter 5.

its academic-scientific and social success and continued existence. Conversely, in the course of history, the violent disappointments in the relationship with Jung and his increasingly apparent anti-Semitism, as well as the painful realization of the danger inherent in the denial of the Jewish roots of psychoanalysis, led to feelings of guilt, wishes for reparation, and an increased recollection of the paternal tradition and its central figure Moses.

The marginalization of the Jewish tradition and its devaluation as a merely particular quantity concerned, as already mentioned and now to be explained in more detail, altogether much less the Bible and its central figure Moses – it was rather accepted as universal reference point in the Christian majority society with the typical distortions and devaluations – but rather the unity of written and oral tradition as well as the specifically Jewish approach to the biblical scriptures developed primarily in the Midrashim but also, albeit here more indirectly, in the *Talmudim* (in the *Talmudim*, the interpretation refers directly to the *Mishnah*, i.e. to the first writing of the religious-legal tradition, which is referred to as the “oral Torah”). The Talmud, in particular, had an extremely bad press, even in significant sections of contemporary Jewry, since the beginning of the 19th century at the latest. It was now regarded as the epitome of an outdated tradition and was attributed primarily to Eastern European Jewry together with its forms of pedagogical mediation, which were reviled as unfashionable. Freud presumably absorbed this devaluation already during his religious instruction in elementary school and at the Gymnasium, although it must be said with qualification that in the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, due to certain conditions connected with its character as a “multi-ethnic state”, the devaluation of Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism and its forms of teaching and learning was less pronounced than in the German lands of the time. Nevertheless, the study of the Talmud was also associated in Austria with the traditional Jewish school, the “Chederwesen”, widespread in Eastern Europe, of which, for example, the pedagogue and historian Gerson Wolf (1823-1892), who was influential for Jewish religious education in Vienna, disparagingly said that it had not yet been possible to abolish it completely, because this “unedifying” and “unscientific” study was still rampant in “Hungary and Galicia” (Wolf, 1867, p. 18; own translation).

Galicia, however, as already mentioned, is the origin of Freud’s family on both his mother’s and father’s sides, from which he tried with all his might to distance himself, especially in his adolescence and in his early years at the university – and we will see that this turning away is primarily based on Freud’s highly problematic relationship with his mother and led to a sharp reaction against both the Jewish faith and the Hebrew language that carried it. Two letters are known (Freud, 1969a, pp. 107-108 and 1985c, pp. 137) in which Freud reacted with extreme contempt to Jews who were obviously from this region by habitus and appearance and who spoke Yiddish. Although Freud’s urgent wish was the full bourgeoisification of his existence (with the

opposing occupation of the Eastern Jewish heritage, which for him was associated with poverty, austerity and backwardness), conversion, as can also be seen from the letter documents (cf. for example Freud & Bernays, 2013, p. 104), was never seriously considered by him. The extent of his desire for assimilation at this time can be seen from the fact that at the beginning of his medical studies he joined the “Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens” (cf. McGrath, 1967 and 1986, and Gödde, 1999, pp. 96-103), an association that had been created out of enthusiasm for the founding of the German Empire in 1871, had pan-Germanist goals (students of other nationalities were rigorously excluded), propagated a strictly German orientation of the Vienna University, and was characterized by widespread (though not racist) anti-Semitism. The experience of increasingly militant hostility towards Jews, as well as increased contact with balancing paternal figures such as his mentor and colleague Josef Breuer (1842-1925) and his revered religion teacher Samuel Hammerschlag (1826-1904), and finally the death of his father, meant that Freud gave up hope of complete assimilation and turned back to the Jewish tradition. It was to be a very long time, however, before Freud was able to refer more openly to his origins and declare in a letter of 9 April 1935: “I hope it is not unknown to you that I have always held faithfully to our people, and never pretended to be anything but what I am: *a Jew from Moravia whose parents came from Austrian Galicia*” (translation and emphasis W.H.).¹⁰

It seems to me that the recognition of his East-Jewish origin and the significance that the associated heritage has for him and for psychoanalysis was not only difficult for Freud, but for quite other reasons has not yet been comprehended in the German-speaking world and is a desideratum of research. Despite a widely developed Freud biography in Germany and Austria and numerous detailed studies on all possible aspects of his life and work, there is a lack of well-founded studies on the significance and impact of his and his parents (Eastern) Jewish origins, as well as the unity of both written and oral, of biblical and Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition that was particularly at home in Eastern Judaism – the works of Yigal Blumenberg (1996, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2012) are a significant exception. It is as if the “appropriation taboo” (Beland, 1987) that is prevalent in post-Shoah Germany, and which is effective vis-à-vis Freud’s work as a whole, relates particularly to this part of his origins. Here, presumably, the guilt of appropriating something that was destroyed by one’s parents and grandparents is still particularly powerful. When it comes to Freud’s work being part of the Jewish heritage, the suspicion quickly arises (and is occasionally expressed openly) that psychoanalysis is to be appropriated Jewishly or even declared to be something religious. This impression of a lack of access to this part of his work and life in Germany and Austria is reinforced

¹⁰ This letter can be found in the Freud Archives of the Library of Congress in Washington: <https://loc.getarchive.net/media/sigmund-freud-papers-general-correspondence-1871-1996-fehl-siegfried-1935-8b0ee4>.

when the research literature from other countries, especially that from the USA and England, is consulted in contrast.¹¹ For almost all of the topics covered in this book, the state of research here has been noticeably more advanced for many years, and the approach to the questions seems much less biased and unbiased: By way of example, the works of Rainey (1975), Klein (1985), Ostow (1989), Rice (1990), Yerushalmi (1991), Goodnick (1992), Gresser (1994), Rizzuto (1998) and also Berke (2015), which have hitherto received little or no attention in the historiography of psychoanalysis in Germany and Austria, may be mentioned in the chronological order of their appearance.¹² A major concern of the present book is to make the state of research achieved by these studies more widely known and, building on this, to achieve and present new results and insights.

The book is divided into five larger chapters and begins with the most detailed documentation and analysis possible of Jacob Freud's entries in the *Philippson Bible*, which will be called *Jewish textures* here, since they contain and, as it were, orchestrate the entire richness of his Jewish religious and cultural educational history (*first chapter*). It is important for me to let the texts speak for themselves, to present German translations of all Hebrew entries (which has not been done so far or is being done here for the first time) and to follow up in detail all references to the Jewish scriptural tradition (Bible, Talmud, prayers) of a psychoanalytical dream and Talmudic text analysis. An astonishing result of the examination of the entries from the year of Freud's birth is that important lines of conflict in the history of Jacob Freud can be found here, but also determinant anticipations of the no less conflict-ridden development of Sigismund / Sigmund Freud's Jewish self-understanding. The lines of rupture and conflict, as already alluded to, stand in a tension between betrayal and fidelity to Jewish tradition that transcends the individual life stories. In particular, Jacob Freud's elaborate dedicatory letter for Freud's 35th birthday, stylized like a letter and written in a special literary form (*melitzah*) known in enlightened Judaism and containing a mosaic of pieces from all parts of the Jewish scriptural tradition, conveys a message to his son and, as will be shown, opened up crucial personal and professional development spaces for him. Added to this chapter is another birthday letter, also penned by Jacob Freud, addressed to Freud's younger brother Alexander Freud (1866-1943) and again containing a multitude of scriptural references culminating in a similar statement and message: Referring to the Talmudic tractate *Berakhot*, which

¹¹ For example, there are still Freud monographs in the German-speaking world, such as that of Mayer (2016), which in their account of Freud's work (and life) think they can get by without *any* mention of his Jewish origins and the Jewish tradition in which he wrote.

¹² Balmary's book *Le Sacrifice interdit: Freud et la Bible* (Balmary, 1997) I have not included in this list because this text is not, as the (sub)title suggests, about Freud's relationship to the Bible, but about a psychoanalytical, Lacanian-oriented interpretation of biblical texts, which also show a clearly Christian overhang (which is perhaps not entirely surprising given Lacan's strong Catholicism).

was already invoked in the dedicatory letter and is crucially important precisely for the Talmudic understanding of the dream and its interpretation, they call for attacking not the sinner, but the sin, and exercising forbearance toward them. Finally, this chapter also contains more detailed information about the edition history of the *Philippson Bible* and the possible background and context of its acquisition as a Family Bible by Jacob Freud.

In the *second chapter*, the long history of *Jewish Bible* translations will be traced in order to be able to better classify and understand Philippson's Bible Work in terms of its significance within this process. Emphasis will be placed on the first Yiddish and then German translations that were produced in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, and cannot be explained without the preceding hegemonic effect that the Bible translation by Martin Luther (1483-1546) had. In an act of colonial dispossession, Luther wanted to "germanize (*verdeutschen*)" the "Old Testament" altogether and create an access to the Hebrew language that was independent of mediation by Jewish scholars (which at that time meant above all: by converts) and Jewish commentary literature. With the Enlightenment, there was also a growing need on the Jewish side in the German-speaking world to create modern translations of the Bible, which could above all offer an alternative to the downright oppressive *Luther Bible*. Here, too, the tension between rupture and fidelity, which has already been described several times, becomes apparent: on the one hand, the translation works of this period show unmistakable characteristics of the modernization process (creation of utility Bibles for non-synagogical use; individualization of authorship; development of scholarly commentaries; need for aesthetically pleasing formats), but at the same time they attempt to place themselves in the continuity of Jewish tradition (literal translations; bilingual editions; consideration of the Rabbinic-Talmudic literature taught in Scripture). With his translation, Ludwig Philippson also had to position himself in the 19th century against the increasingly dominant, Protestant-influenced historical-critical biblical scholarship, through which, especially in the context of the then emerging "Graf- Wellhausen Hypothesis", the idea spread that the development of the Israelite religion had proceeded in a continuously regressive process from a natural religion to a theocratic priestly religion, and that there was a break between the exilic-post-exilic legislation and prophecy. The hypothesis of a post-exilic religious-national decline of Israel towards Judaism has become known under the formula *lex post prophetas*. With it the uniformity and "authenticity" of the *Jewish Bible* was attacked, and Philippson's biblical work is not least to be understood as a concrete counter-draft to this devaluation. Contrary to what is often found in the psychoanalytic literature (most recently, for example, Whitebook, 2017, p. 28), Ludwig Philippson was not a pure representative of Reform Judaism, but represented an extremely moderate Reform that hoped for a religious revival in Judaism as a *whole* and, precisely for this reason, also strove to achieve a balance with

(neo-)Orthodoxy – and it was precisely out of this in-between position, as can be assumed, that these editions of the Bible were so fitting and “enduring” in their effect for Jacob and Sigmund Freud.

In the *third chapter*, an attempt will be made to reconstruct Freud’s religious-school socialization. For this purpose, the available curricula and the textbooks used for religious instruction at the two schools Freud attended in Vienna were documented and examined: What is meant is a private and that means compulsory a Jewish elementary school (*Volksschule*) and the *Leopoldstädter Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium* (secondary school). As far as the *Volksschule* is concerned, it is still unclear exactly which of the numerous possible schools Freud went to and how many school years he spent there (but a first archival record of his graduation in religion from the last grade in the *Volksschule* is presented in this chapter). Regardless of the answer to this question, certain subject matter was compulsory and certain teaching materials were prescribed – if they could not be worked out in an elementary school, it had to be done privately, in home instruction. If one takes a closer look at these, one notices that the learning of the Hebrew language was at the very centre of the lessons and that this emphasis pursued the explicit goal of enabling the pupils to read the biblical text in its original version and to participate in the synagogal service. Samuel Hammerschlag, Freud’s religion teacher and mentor, wrote in a paper entitled “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien” (The Program of the Israelite Religious School in Vienna), “[...] that the recitation of the Bible in the original language should form the basis and starting point for all religious instruction [...]” (Hammerschlag, 1869, p. 3; own translation). The language primers, for example, were intended to enable children to *read* the Hebrew text (they did not teach the Hebrew script, which was clearly different from the printed script). From a historical point of view, teaching in this way was the result of a longer reform process and differed noticeably from the form of teaching based on catechisms that had been valid until then. Reformed religious education thus also enabled Freud to appropriate the biblical text more freely without catechetical regimentation and to find his own approach to it. From the results of this chapter, which suggest that Freud had had Hebrew lessons for several years and was at least familiar with reading the “sacred language”, the question arises why he repeatedly claimed that he had never learned this language. A well-founded answer to this question, however, can only be found in the overall context of his early development.

In the *fourth chapter*, I would like to trace the development of Freud’s Jewish self-understanding over the span of his life in a kind of miniature and special biography. A clear focus will be placed on his early development, and it will be shown that his relationship with his parents followed highly disparate patterns, which in their diversity exerted a major influence on his relationship to the

Jewish faith, the *Jewish Bible*, and the Hebrew language. While Freud was capable of ambivalence in his relationship with his father, revolting against him and mourning his death, as well as forming his stubborn Jewish identity in the first place in his confrontation with him, his relationship with his mother was marked by profound and traumatic losses, which, according to a central thesis of this chapter, led to a loss of faith and language. Freud was never able to detach himself from her and to mourn the death of his mother, who throughout his life showed a great intolerance for actually all losses and experiences of separation. The relationship with her could not be transformed, as is shown not least by the fact that Freud never could arrive at a sufficient theoretical understanding of an independent female development, and throughout his life clung to a bland idealization of the mother-son relationship. It was the balancing relationship with his father, bound up in an intense reading of the Bible together, that helped him to be able to understand himself as a Jew despite the aforementioned loss of faith and language. However, as indicated above, this sense of belonging was subject to fluctuations: It ranged from his turning away from and attacking the Jewish tradition during his adolescence and early adulthood, to its reappropriation after the death of his father in 1896, to his initial readiness in his relationship with C.G. Jung and the Swiss psychiatrists to sacrifice psychoanalytic *shibboleths* for academic-university recognition of psychoanalysis as a science, to the rediscovery of the figure of Moses associated with feelings of guilt and desire for reparation during the period of separation from Jung, to a broad return to both the biblical and Rabbinic-Talmudic traditions since at least the early 1930s.

Finally, in *chapter five* I will explore the question of how the biblical and Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition was reflected in Freud's thinking and writing through a more detailed analysis of two of his most important, if not *the* most important, works: *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a) and *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a). As already mentioned above, these books broadly adopt the Jewish approach to the world and to scripture, and in their analysis of the dream text and the biblical texts they unfold the scenario of a Rabbinic-Talmudic hermeneutics in which no pre-established or fixed meaning is presupposed, which is merely to be found, but rather the plastic meaning has to be constantly created and perpetuated anew in the relationship between text and reader. All in all, it becomes clear that Freudian psychoanalysis is the contemporary science that has absorbed the Rabbinic-Talmudic heritage like no other and has transformed it with its very own means and signs. At the same time, however, as Bruckstein (n.d.) points out in her essay "... die talmudische Denkweise ... Wunderwaffen und eines Schattens Traum", psychoanalysis is the discourse that continues to be in danger of sealing the Talmudic legacy through its own institutionalisation – a danger to which Freud had already succumbed, which became a destructive reality under National Socialism and which is also more than virulent in post-war Germany through

its broad medicalisation and professionalisation. Yes, one could even say that the Talmud had to disappear first so that the “Talmudic way of thinking” (Abraham) could nestle largely unrecognised in psychoanalysis and survive its destruction damaged there.

The title of this book already refers to the *Jewish Bible*, a term that requires further explanation (cf. Schmid & Schröter, 2019, pp. 22-38). First, a common misunderstanding must be countered: The *Jewish Bible* is not the Old Testament and not the Bible minus the New Testament. Against any Christian appropriation, which such a view and way of speaking in fact implies, it must be emphasized that the *Jewish Bible* is in every respect distinct and independent, as well as having central distinctive features in comparison with the Christian Old Testament. Let us begin with formal characteristics: In contrast to the Christian Bibles, for which codices were used from the beginning and which have therefore always been in book form, in Judaism the Scriptures have long been written on scrolls, and still in the synagogal service the Torah, the heart of the *Jewish Bible* and the epitome of the entire divine revelation (and as *Torah she ‘be ‘alpe* it also includes the oral explanations which, according to traditional understanding, are preserved in the Mishnah and the Talmud – see below), is read from such a scroll. In these scrolls, true to form, there are no numbered pages that can be turned. The flow of the writing is also otherwise uninterrupted or barely interrupted, for there is no punctuation of any kind, i.e., there are no periods, commas, or punctuation marks at all in the text. No sign indicates the transition from one sentence to another; only now and then, since a certain historical point in time (see below), empty spaces and gaps appear in the text – only in this way are sections and the individual books separated from one another (cf. on this Ouaknin, 2002, p. 42). It is crucial to add that the text is written without vowels, that is, it consists only of consonants. Consequently, the reading of the *Jewish Bible* depends on a good preparation, and the vocalizing reading of Scripture always already means interpreting and continuing it. Already in this formal text structure of the Torah, the “interpretative imperative” (Derrida, 1964, p. 67) or “imperative of interpretation” (Legendre, 2010) is expressed, which later, namely post-biblically, became fundamental for the entire Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition, in which a special form of hermeneutic understanding developed. In this sense, the Torah is not a “Bible”, not a *biblos*, not closed book-like, but a scripture open to interpretation, and only the Christian codification, canonisation and later the Protestant *sola scriptura* make the Bible a fixed and prescribed book (see below).

The core of this not closed book-like tradition is aptly expressed in a midrash that not only formulates its own concern, but also inscribes and reflects it in its own form:

“One day the nations of the world came to God and asked Him, ‘What is it with the Jews that You are so fond of them. Can You not tell us what there is to learn?’ Then they received in answer, ‘The children of Israel know the key to My secret.’ ‘And what is this secret?’ Answer: ‘The secret is Mishnah, ... *he’ach lidrosh*, literally ‘how to read,’ ‘how to interpret’” (Friedman, 1880, p. 14B; English translation of the German translation by Bruckstein, 2001, p. 71).

There is another peculiarity in the writing of the Torah: certain, namely seven of the twenty-two Hebrew letters are decorated with “crowns” (*ketarim*), which are assumed to have been applied by God Himself. The meaning of this calligraphic peculiarity is rendered more intelligible by a Talmudic interpretation found in the Tractate *Menahot* of the *Babylonian Talmud*. There it is related how Moses, when he ascended on high and found the Holy One, blessed be He, there, winding “wreaths” or “crowns” around the Torah. When Moses then asked him why he was so careful about it, the latter replied that it is a man who will be after many generations, named Aqiba b. Joseph, and that he will one day recite heaps upon heaps of teachings about every tick (*Menahot*, 29b). Even with the embellishments, then, it is signalled that the text is in need of interpretation, which God places in the hands of his people and the rabbis. Yes, the possibility and necessity of interpreting the Torah is already inherent in it and is even in some sense prior to it, since its meaning is only revealed via and through interpretation. The experience that the understanding of his own words is taken out of his hand must also be made by Moses: When, following the scene just described, he asked where he could find this man, the Holy One, blessed be He, stopped him to turn around, and Moses found himself in the eighth row of a school desk. But he was not able to understand the speeches of the Rabbi (Aqiba b. Joseph) and was therefore “dismayed”; he could only calm down again when he asked the Rabbi’s pupils how he knew all this, and they answered him that this was a teaching handed down to Moses at Sinai (*ibid.*; on the relationship between written and oral Torah alluded to in this, see also Hegener, 2017, pp. 74-78).

Another criterion of difference between the Jewish and the Christian Bible is the predominant language form: The books of the *Jewish Bible* were written before and predominantly in Hebrew, a few in Aramaic, namely parts of the book of *Daniel* and *Ezra* (*Daniel*, 2, 4b-7 and 28; *Ezra*, 4, 8-6, 18 and 7, 12-26). For quite principled reasons, writings written in Greek were not included in the canonical stock, and the Greek translation of the *Septuagint* (LXX) was rejected by the rabbis (see Chapter 2 for more detail). The Hebrew is considered sacred and inviolable in the Jewish understanding, since it is assumed that it is inseparable from the revelation itself and that the (Hebrew) Scriptures engraved in the tablets were created before the complete creation of the world

on the evening of the Sabbath (on the seventh day of creation) (cf. on this Liss, 2019). And it should be remembered even now that only Hebrew (and its closely related Aramaic) already formally possesses the interpretive structure of a consonantal script so characteristic of the entire Jewish tradition, and that this feature is not found in the alphabetic scripts of Greek and Latin, and correspondingly not in the *Septuagint* or the *Vulgate*, the Latin version of the Christian Bible. Although the Hebrew is of such central importance that it is justified to speak of a *Hebrew Bible*, the term *Jewish Bible* is nevertheless preferred here, since it expresses the fact that this written work is an integral part of Jewish tradition and history and is to be distinguished from the Christian Bible. A further reason for this choice of words results from the fact that the *Philippson Bible*, which is central to our topic, is also and essentially a German translation of the Masoretic text, i.e. this Bible is not only a Hebrew one.

The individual biblical writings were created over a period of several centuries, but they were not compiled into the authoritative form of their compilation in which it exists to this day until after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. During this period, first in Jabne, and later in the academies of Ushah and Beth Shearim, the writings were collected by rabbinic scholars to form the foundation of the *Tanakh*, which was then compiled by the *Masoretes* at the end of the first post-Christian millennium (see below). In addition to the canonization of the biblical scriptures and the compilation of the central rabbinic midrashim, the foundation for the codification of the post-biblical, i.e. rabbinic-talmudic, tradition was also and primarily laid here. This includes, in particular, the collection, discussion and commentary of the traditional religious laws by leading scholars until the end of the second century CE, which was incorporated into the great works of the *Mishnah* and forms the earliest layer of the (*Babylonian*) *Talmud*.

The artificial word *Tanakh* (*TaNaK*) indicates the basic scheme according to which the biblical books are bindingly arranged in Judaism. Also this scheme of arrangement marks a weighty difference to the Christian tradition, and this difference can best be determined as the difference between “Torah perspective” and “prophet perspective”: Whereas in the Jewish canonical form of the *Tanakh* the Torah is followed by the prophetic books (*Ne’vim*) and then by the wisdom writings (*Ketuvim*), in the Christian tradition, in spite of all the differences in detail (concerning above all the number of books included), from the *Vulgate* to the *Luther Bible* to more recent Bibles, and across all directions and denominations, there is a fourfold division and a modified outline that implies a Christo-logic: The Torah is followed by the history books, then the wisdom books, and in a fourth, concluding part, the prophets. This sequence implies a historical-theological and Christological structure, for the Torah and the history books are assumed to represent the past, the wisdom books the present, and the prophecy books the future, pointing to the coming of Christ. The Israelite

prophecy is thus moved to the threshold of the Gospels of the New Testament, in which, according to the Christian conception, its true, namely Christological sense is fulfilled – in a certain respect *all* “Old Testament” writings are understood as prophetic, as it were, which in a veiled or shadowy way point ahead to Jesus Christ.

Whereas in the Christian Old Testament the Torah and the prophetic books are separated from each other (which, as will be shown in chapter 2, was legitimized by the Wellhausen school of Protestant biblical research in the 19th century), in the *Jewish Bible* the Torah forms the foundation to which the other two parts remain related. The *Nev'im* in particular are regarded as commentaries on the Torah, and for the liturgical reading precisely those passages are selected from the prophetic books which underline this characteristic of a commentary (the *Ketuvim*, on the other hand, with the exception of the Psalms, do not play by far such an important role in the liturgy and do not have such a firmly established form as the other two parts of the *Jewish Bible*). The importance of the Torah is also manifested in the fact that the writings included under *Nev'im* include not only the classical prophetic books, but also the historical books from *Joshua* to *2 Kings*, that is, the books that stand between the Torah and *Isaiah*. This is to establish the continuity between Moses, the first and most important prophet, who wrote down the Torah after his second sojourn on Mount Sinai (Horeb) (that is why in the Jewish context of tradition it is also called: *Torah Moshe* – cf. the biblical formulations in *Nehemiah*, 8, 1; *Malachai*, 3, 22; *Joshua*, 8, 31 and *Ezra*, 7, 6), and the classical prophets beginning with the Book of *Isaiah*. Without an understanding of these fundamental connections, it should be briefly noted here, the central position of the figure of Moses in the *Philippson Bible* as well as in Freud's thought and work cannot be understood.

Whenever this book speaks of the Hebrew (original) version of the Bible, this will be called the *Masoretic Text* – and this too, in conclusion, requires a brief explanation (cf. also Zenger et al., 2006, pp. 36-40). The oldest surviving Bible manuscripts are about a millennium younger than the earliest editions of the completed biblical books themselves; thus, it took a longer process for the *Jewish Bible* to find its final form. As already mentioned above, the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE was a drastic event also for the post-biblical text transmission. In the period that followed, a strong desire for a unification of the biblical text developed, and already at the end of the 1st century BCE the Tanakh was fixed. Here, too, it must be said that this was done primarily for reasons of conflict with, as well as demarcation from, early Christianity, which permanently adopted the *Septuagint* (and later, in Western Christianity, the *Vulgate*) as the authoritative version of the Old Testament. In the course of the longer development towards the authoritative version of the *Jewish Bible*, first a proto-Masoretic version and, after the exclusion of further inner-Jewish traditions (so above all the Samaritan tradition and the Qumran special tradition), the “standardized

Masoretic text” (*textus receptus*) came into being. This happened only towards the end of the 1st millennium, since in the centuries before the rabbis were primarily concerned with the production and writing down of the *oral Torah*, i.e. the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara*, which were then compiled in a further step in the *Babylonian* and the *Palestinian Talmud* (cf. on this, Hegener, 2017, chapter 1) – the preoccupation with the oral Torah, which refers only indirectly, namely in the form of commentaries on the biblical text, thus appeared to the rabbis to be more important than that with the Bible or the *written Torah* (this is the long-term historical background for the dispute between Orthodoxy and *Haskalah* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, briefly mentioned above). Only after this work was completed did interest shift to securing the biblical text or its consonant stock, and the *Mosorettes* set about fixing the text as a whole. This included, on the one hand, the subdivision into sections (*parashes*) and verses: Sections of meaning were allowed to begin by a new line, and an empty space was inserted after the closing lines of the respective books (see above). On the other hand, the text was protected against misspellings and “improvements” with the help of certain reference systems (“small masora” and “large masora”): one now marked special peculiarities of the biblical text (spellings, duplications, single evidence or *hapax leomena, curiosa*) by textual markings in the margin of the text or at the top and bottom of the page (cf. on this summarized Kelley, Mynatt & Crawford, 2003). It is this Masoretic text thus created that has been used authoritatively in the Jewish tradition ever since, and has exerted its “enduring” effect not least on Freud.

Before we pursue this effect in detail in the following chapters, one last paragraph is necessary in order to at least briefly address the relationship between the biblical text and the Talmud, which has not been sufficiently determined so far. In the previous paragraph, I emphasised that the Talmud does not refer directly to the biblical text and, unlike the midrashim, does not engage in explicit biblical exegesis. However, it cannot be deduced from this (or only in a very specific sense) that the Talmud is the “no-Bible” (Lapidot, 2020, p. 301) and represents the “non- or anti-biblical paradigm” (ibid., p. 303). Lapidot justifies this with the fact that in the “biblical paradigm” the Bible had been “constructed, represented and developed as the prototype for the *biblios*, the Book” (ibid., p. 303), and this both in Christianity and already in “Judaism”. Lapidot, on the other hand, indicates the “non-Judeo-Christian Jewish in the figure of post-biblical *rabbinic* literature” (ibid., p. 302). Against this, it must be said on the one hand that the references to the biblical text in the Talmud do not only appear in the form of “occasional quotes” (ibid., p. 303), i.e. rather by chance and without systematic significance, but that the Talmud can probably rather be understood as the attempt to actualise the *Jewish Bible* or, more precisely, the *Torah Moshe* as the law of life of Judaism in its own form and with its own means and to withdraw it from its Christian dispossession

and embrace. On the other hand, it must be said even more fundamentally that the *Jewish Bible* itself, as should be clear from what has been said so far, is precisely not book-shaped, but is already profoundly “anti-mythical” and “dis-figurative” (ibid., p. 302). Until the *Jewish Bible* translations of the 19th century, it remained essentially the *Torah Moshe*, to which the prophetic books and other writings remained subordinate. The dissociation of the Bible and the Talmud leaves the Bible to the Christian tradition, as it were.

In his *Tales of the Hasidim*, Martin Buber reproduces two stories in direct succession – one first on the Talmud and a second on the Torah – which in their connection reflect the togetherness of written and oral Torah aptly. Their common principle is their textual openness and polysemy, and this enables, as it were, the continued production of a renewing Torah. The story about the Talmud is called “The First Page” and is briefly told: When Rabbi Levi Yitzhak was asked why in every tractate of the Babylonian Talmud the first page was missing and everyone began with the second page, he replied: “However much a man may learn, he should always remember that he has not gotten to the first page” (Buber, 1947, p. 323).

The second, subsequent story takes the principle of the Talmudic text’s inconclusiveness and turns it back on the Torah. It is called “Hidden Teaching”:

“Rabbi Levi Yitzhak said: ‘It is written in Isaiah: ‘For instruction shall go forth from me.’ How shall we interpret this? For we believe with perfect faith that the Torah, which Moses received on Mount Sinai, cannot be changed, and that none other will be given. It is unalterable and we are forbidden to question even one of its letters. But, in reality, not only the black letters but the white gaps in between, are symbols of the teaching, only that we are not able to read those gaps. In time to come God will reveal the white hiddenness of the Torah” (ibid.).

The whiteness of the text and the emptiness of the page can always be filled only provisionally, and a page or blank space always remains open to the play of further transformations and interpretations, and this forever, without the expectation of a messianic completion – in the story “The First Page”, there is talk of a “has not gotten” in the sense of a messianic reservation, i.e. the possibility of a future filling of the first page. Without such a reservation, the principle of inconclusiveness and polysemy is at stake, which opens the text to infinite productions of new texts. In his commentary, Derrida links polysemy to the message of the narrative “Hidden Teaching” and writes: “Polysemy is the possibility of a ‘new Torah’ capable of arising out of the other” (Derrida 1969, p. 345). If it is true not only for parts of the *Jewish Bible*, but for it as a whole, that it has always been a “rewritten scripture” in a certain sense and that the principle of polysemy is highly

effective in it, then the Talmud can indeed be understood as a “new Torah”. But let us now finally look more closely at how Freudian psychoanalysis can be read as a transformational product of the Jewish scriptural tradition.

Chapter 1

Jewish Textures: Jacob Freud's Entries in the Philippon Bible

“Psychoanalysis lays stress on the father-complex and many find the concept intellectually fruitful. In this case I prefer another version, where the issue revolves not around the innocent father but around the father's Jewishness. Most young Jews who began to write German wanted to leave Jewishness behind them, and their fathers approved of this, but vaguely (this vagueness was what was outrageous to them). But with their posterior legs they were still glued to their father's Jewishness and with their waving anterior legs they found no new ground. The ensuing despair became their inspiration” (Franz Kafka to Max Brod in June 1921; Kafka, 1977, p. 355).

Introduction

In the passage already quoted in the introduction, added in 1935 to his *An Autobiographical Study*, Freud speaks in the German version of an “*early immersion in biblical story*” (Freud, 1935d, p. 763; own translation and emphasis). If he emphasizes so explicitly that his preoccupation with the Bible began at an early stage, the question arises as to when more precisely such a beginning is to be placed and how it was integrated. Let us briefly summarize the accessible information: Freud reports in *The Interpretation of Dreams* about his first lessons with his mother at the age of six, which were obviously already related to the Bible and contained painful lessons about death and transience:

“When I was *six years old and was given my first lessons by my mother*, I was expected to believe that we were all made of earth and must therefore return to earth [*Genesis* 3, 19; W.H.]. This did not suit me and I expressed doubts of the doctrine. My mother thereupon rubbed the palms of her hands together – just as she did in making dumplings, except that there was no dough between them – and showed me the blackish scales of *epidermis* produced by the friction as a proof that we were made of earth. My astonishment at this ocular demonstration knew no bounds and I acquiesced in the belief which I was later to hear expressed in the words: ‘*Du bist der Natur einen Tod schuldig*’” (Freud, 1900a, p. 204; for a more detailed classification and interpretation of this passage, see chapter 4).

The far more intensive and less conflictual experience with the Bible, however, was, as we will see in the course of the book, integrated into the relationship with his father Jacob Freud and happened with the help of a special edition that the latter had acquired some time before the birth of his son, namely the so-called *Philippson Bible*. An indication of the beginning of this joint reading can be found in the dedication letter that Jacob gave Sigmund Freud for his 35th birthday together with the *Philippson Bible* (see below). There, lines 2 and 3 allusively speak of an introduction to Bible study between the ages of six and seven:

“In your seventh year [*Genesis*, 47, 28] the Spirit of the LORD began to compass you about [*Judges*, 13, 25] and said to you [*Habakkuk*, 2, 1], ‘Go, read in My book which I have written [*Exodus*, 32, 32]” (here in the English translation of Gadi Goldberg’s translation from Hebrew into German – cf. the information in this chapter)

Finally, we can also assume with some caution that Freud coloured some of the characteristic woodcuts found in the Philippson Bible of the family as a child (see figs. 5 and 6; see below). Children usually do this as early as preschool age, and it is at least conceivable that even before he learned to read, Freud leafed through the Family Bible, coloured in it, and immersed himself intensively in its imagery.

In summary, it can be said that Freud began to occupy himself with the Bible at the latest at the age of six and integrated into his relationship with his parents, but probably somewhat earlier. Thus Freud’s parents would have roughly followed the recommendation expressed in the *Pirkei Avot* (*Sayings of the Fathers*) (5, 47; https://www.sefaria.org/Pirkei_Avot.5?lang=bi), which comes from the Mishnah section *Nezikin*: “At five years of age the study of Scriptures [...]”. In another version this recommendation reads: “At the age of five the child is capable of being acquainted with the Bible” (quoted in Bamberger, 1986, p. 168; own translation).

I. Genealogical Scenes: The Philippson Bible in the possession of the Freud family

After these brief introductory remarks on Freud’s literary-biblical initiation into the Jewish tradition, let us turn to the already briefly mentioned special edition of the *Phillippson Bible*, which Jacob Freud owned, used as a Family Bible, and with the help of which he introduced Sig(is)mund Freud in a decisive way to the world of the *Jewish Bible* and to the Jewish way of accessing the Scriptures. Our knowledge of this is bound up in a genealogical chain of scenes of paternal transmission: Sigmund Freud’s son Ernst, on the occasion of his father’s 100th birthday in 1956, reported for the first time on this Bible edition and its status as a Family Bible in a short note

“Sigmund Freud’s Family Bible” (E. L. Freud, 1956). He relates there how, after his father’s arrival in London, he had rummaged curiously in his father’s presence through the newly set-up library and discovered the Bible edition with the family insertions. Freud, sensing his enthusiasm, had thereupon given him this edition together with the inserted leaves. He thus extended the genealogical bond of passing on the Family Bible to each succeeding generation. For already once this Bible has passed from a father to a son, which now became recognizable by one of Jacob Freud’s additions: On May 6, 1891, that is, on his 35th birthday, Freud received from his already aged father Jacob what was actually a multi-volume Philipppson’s Bible compiled in one volume and provided with a new leather binding. Jacob Freud added to it a dedication written in Hebrew for the occasion, alluding to the early joint Bible reading of father and son (in the further sequel this leaf will be called *Widmungsschreiben* [*Letter of Dedication*]). This edition also contains a translation of this dedication into English, which (apart from the header and footer) is not in Jacob Freud’s hand, as well as, on the front of the leaf on which the dedication is written, three early entries in two or, more precisely, three languages, dating from the year of Sigmund Freud’s birth-Jacob Freud called and headed this page “Gedenkblatt” [Memorial sheet].

All these various additions to the Family bible will be considered in this chapter down to the smallest detail and placed in the context of the history of the Freud family and overlapping in that of Jewish history. This will be done with the help and consideration of archival documents documented and prepared by Davies and Fichtner (2006)¹³, which have received little attention to date.¹⁴ In addition, all Hebrew texts will be translated into English and compared with the German entries, which are not mere equivalents. Only in this way can the numerous family and cultural references, which they contain in a highly condensed form, be made approximately completely accessible. In a further step, the texts will be thoroughly analyzed for their biblical, Talmudic, and literary references and particularities. A more detailed examination of the aftermath of these Jewish textures and scenes on Freud’s life and work can only be cursory at this point and will take place in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5. To conclude this first chapter, another signature, which also represents a birthday letter from Jacob Freud and was addressed to Freud’s younger brother Alexander, should be included. In this small letter, too, a certain basic attitude of Jacob Freud, shaped by a broad and precise knowledge of the Jewish scriptural tradition, is evident, which was

¹³ To my knowledge, only Lilli Gast (2008), in her essay on Freud and the *Philipppson Bible*, has so far drawn on these archival holdings from the Freud Library in her analysis.

¹⁴ For literature on Freud and the *Philipppson Bible*, see (sorted according to the date of publication) especially E. L. Freud, 1956; Rosenfeld, 1956; Roback, 1957, pp. 85-96; Jones 1972, pp. 20-21 and Jones, 1957, p. 374; Pfrimmer, 1982; Balmory, 1994, pp. 241-250; Niederland, 1989; Ostow, 1989; Rice, 1990; Goodnick, 1992; Yerushalmi, 1992; Kijak, 1995; Rizzuto, 1998; Blumenberg, 2012, pp. 275-292; Berke, 2015, pp. 149-163; and Weissberg, 2018.

expressed and became effective in his relationship to his children (in these cases, to his two sons from his marriage to Amalia Freud).

Since in this chapter we will focus on the entries mentioned above, and in a later part, in the second chapter of the book, we will deal in more detail both with the person Ludwig Philippson and with the cultural and religious-historical classification of his transmission of Scripture in the tradition of Jewish and Christian Bible translations, we will only say a few important things about the Bible work and its publication history at this point – on the one hand, this information should give a first impression of the eminent importance of this Bible work, and on the other hand, it should help us to be able to better classify the edition that Jacob Freud possessed and the time of its acquisition, which is important in several respects for the understanding of the entries.

This *Jewish Bible* edition is named after its translator, the Magdeburg rabbi Ludwig Philippson, who, after writing¹⁵ a first German translation of several books of the *Book of the Twelve Prophets (Dodecapropheton)* in 1827 and publishing an extensive biblical commentary in 1838, began to translate the entire Jewish respectively *Israelite Bible*, which has three specific peculiarities: it contains, what constitutes the first of the peculiarities, printed in parallel the Hebrew text and its German translation, extensive learned commentaries (2nd peculiarity), and 755 illustrative “englische Holzschnitte [English woodcuts]” (3rd peculiarity; for the figure, see Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 220 and 372f.). This Bible work, so richly furnished, was intended to be a Jewish alternative to the *Luther Bible* and, as Johanna Philippson (1887-1986), the granddaughter of Ludwig Philippson, pointed out, to be inexpensive and distributed in large numbers in order to be able to effectively counter the activities of Protestant missionaries (J. Philippson, 1962), and became one of the most widely read and influential *Jewish Bibles* of the 19th century (on this, see Chapter 2).

In its final form, Philippson’s Bible Work comprises three volumes that have appeared successively since the middle of the 19th century and total 3,820 pages. The three-volume edition was preceded by a series of several individual deliveries, which began in 1839 with the *First Book of Moses* and was provided with an introduction by Ludwig Philippson as well as a promotional commentary by the publisher Baumgärtner’s Buchhandlung in Leipzig, which invited the readers to subscribe with a special reference to the rich decoration and design of the volume (advertised specifically with the illustration of a woodcut) and “the prompt progress of the work” at a “price of 6 Groschen for each delivery[,] which shall be brought into the hands of the venerated. Subscribers shall be brought”, promised (I have taken these details from the illustration of an advertising leaflet of the publisher in

¹⁵ This first translation, entitled *Die Propheten Hosea, Joel, Jona, Obadja und Nahum in metrisch-deutscher Übersetzung*, was written by Philippson in 1827, when he was only 15 or 16 years old, as the first Jewish student of the Latin school of the orphanage in Halle, under the name of his brother Phoebus, who was studying medicine there (cf. Brümmer, 1877, p. 143 and Heuer, 2010, p. 7).

Gillman, 2018, p. 144f.; own transcription and translation). Over the next few years, in fact, other biblical books appeared continuously in Ludwig Philippson's translation until 1853, when they were published as the complete *Israelitische Bibel* in the three volumes mentioned above. The three volumes will now be briefly described and their publication history presented (on this and on the subsequent versions of the work also mentioned, see Homolka, Liss and Liwak, without year, www.bibelpedia.com/index.php?title=Philippson,_Ludwig, which are supplemented here):

- In 1841 appeared the second (!) volume of *Die Israelitische Bibel. Enthaltend: Den heiligen Urtext. Die deutsche Uebersetzung. Die allgemeine, ausführliche Erläuterung nebst Einleitung mit mehr als 500 englischen Holzschnitten. Herausgegeben von D. Ludwig Philippson*. It contains two parts: The first part comprises *Die ersten Propheten*, נביאים ראשונים (Joshua / Jehoshua, Judicum / Judges, Samuel / Shemuel, Regum / Kings) and the second *Die späten Propheten*, נביאים אחרונים (Jeshaiah / Esaias, Yirmiah / Jeremiah, Jecheskel / Ezekiel, Hoshea / Hoseas, Joel / Joel, Amos / Amos, Obadiah / Obadiah, Jonah / Jonah, Michah / Micah, Nachum / Nahum, Chabakkuk / Habakuk, Zephaniah / Zephaniah, Chaggai / Haggai, Zechariah / Zechariah, Malachi / Malachiah). This is a bound and thread-stitched large octavo volume, 1560 pages in length (Part 2 begins on p. 705). The introduction is six pages long, and the commentary on the text is in some cases several pages long. The first part (*Die ersten Propheten*) has a peculiarity, since it was not translated and explained by Ludwig Philippson, but by his older brother Phöbus Moses Philippson (1807-1870). Phöbus Philippson was a physician who, in addition to his activities as a doctor, writer and translator, also worked scientifically on the history of cholera (see on the family history J. Philippson 1962).¹⁶
- In 1844, after the second volume, the first volume *Die Israelitische Bibel. Enthaltend: Den heiligen Urtext. Die deutsche Uebersetzung. Die allgemeine, ausführliche Erläuterung nebst Einleitung mit mehr als 500 englischen Holzschnitten. Herausgegeben von D. Ludwig Philippson. Erster Theil: Die fünf Bücher Moscheh*, חמשה חומשי תורה, published in Baumgärtner's Buchhandlung, Leipzig. This is also a bound, thread-stitched octavo volume, containing 30 pages of introduction and 1000 pages of main text. The text in this and the other two volumes is arranged in two columns: Each page contains the Hebrew text on the right and the German text on the left; below this is a detailed commentary that can occupy up to 5/6 of a page (see below).

¹⁶ In 1831 Phöbus Philippson published the two writings „Beiträge zu den Untersuchungen über die Cholera morbus“ (M. P. Philippson, 1831a) and „Anweisung zur Erkenntnis, Verhütung und thätigen Hülfleistung in Betr. der asiatischen Choleara“ (M. P. Philippson, 1831b) in the Creutz Verlag in Magdeburg, where Phöbus Philippson worked as a physician for a long time.

- In 1858 finally appeared, after a total of 96 individual deliveries, the third volume of *Die Israelitische Bibel. Enthaltend: Den heiligen Urtext. Die deutsche Uebersetzung. Die allgemeine, ausführliche Erläuterung nebst Einleitung mit mehr als 500 englischen Holzschnitten. Herausgegeben von D. Ludwig Philippson. Dritter Theil: die heiligen Schriften. Die Hagiographen. Die heiligen Schriften, כתובים (Psalmi / Psalmen, Proverbia / Sprüche, Job / Jiob, Cant. Cautic. / Hoheslied, Ruth / Ruth, Threni / Klagelieder, Ecclesiastes / Prediger, Esther / Esther, Daniel / Daniel, Ezra / Esra, Nehemia / Nechemiah, Chronica / Chronik)*. This is also a bound, thread-stitched, large octavo volume, containing 1188 pages, with an index of six pages and a “Allgemeine Einleitung zur heiligen Schrift [General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures]“ (XLIV pages).¹⁷

These three volumes appeared unchanged in a second edition in 1858, and two separate printings from the third volume were also published by Baumgärtner’s Buchhandlung, Leipzig:

- 1857 came *Die Psalmen תהלים. Enthaltend: Den hebräischen Text, die deutsche Uebersetzung, die allgemeine, ausführliche Erläuterung mit 50 englischen Holzschnitten nebst Einleitung zu den Psalmen* published by the above publisher. It is a bound large octavo volume with thread stitching, comprising 376 pages.
- In 1859 appeared *Das Buch der Hapthoroth סדר ההפטרות. Text, Uebersetzung und ausführliche Erläuterung*. This volume is also a bound large octavo volume with thread stitching and contains 282 pages.

How much Ludwig Philippson was concerned about the distribution of his *Jewish Bible* at an affordable price is evident from the fact that in 1859 he founded the “Israelitische Bibelanstalt” (Israelite Bible Institute) and called in an appeal of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (*General Newspaper of Judaism*), which he edited, “Zur Herstellung und Verbreitung wohlfeiler Bibeln [On the production and dissemination of well-thumbed Bibles]” (cited in Herrmann, 2015, p. 47). As a result of these efforts, a revised but altogether much less elaborate edition of *Philippson’s Bible* was published in 1865 (bilingual, but without commentaries and woodcuts), in which the Dresden Chief Rabbi Wolf Landau (1811-1868) and the Prague rabbi and private lecturer Saul Isaak Kaempf (1818-1892) also participated as co-editors. The full title of this edition is *מקרא קדש Die Heilige Schrift. Der Urtext. Die deutsche Uebersetzung mit Zugrundelegung des Phlippson’schen Bibelwerkes revidiert von Dr. Philippson, Dr. Landau und Dr. Kaempf. Bd. 1: Die fünf Bücher Moses und die frühen Propheten. Bd. 2: Die späteren Propheten und Hagiographen* (Herausgegeben auf Kosten der israelitischen Bibelanstalt. Druck und Stereotypie der Nies’schen

¹⁷ In this and the following Bible editions, the bibliographical references are found directly in the text; the references are not repeated in the bibliography.

Buchdruckerei (Carl B. Lorck): In Commission bei Louis Gerschel in Berlin). The preface begins with the following remark:

“The purpose of this new edition of the Bible in the original text with the German translation is first and foremost: to promote the treatment of the divine Word by producing a correct text and a translation of the Bible at the cheapest possible price, so that the majority of our fellow believers will no longer be compelled, as before, to take recourse to foreign sources for their religious needs, which does Israel neither honor nor salvation” (no page number; own translation).

The popularity of Philipppson’s Bible in the 19th century is also shown by the fact that it was published in 1874 by the Stuttgart publisher Eduard Hallberger in a splendid or representative edition under the title *Die Heilige Schrift der Israeliten in deutscher Übertragung (samt den Apokryphen, übertragen von David Cassel)*,¹⁸ which was intended to appeal especially to the representatives of educated and well-off Judaism and was later dubbed the “Prachtbibel der Israeliten [Splendid Bible of the Israelites]” (cf. Bechtoldt, 2005, p. 272). This edition, which however lacks the detailed commentaries, is provided with 154 pictures by the then very well-known Catholic painter Gustave Doré (1832-1883), who had become famous in the 1860s for his Bible illustrations and was considered a militant “painter-preacher”.¹⁹ There is some possibility that Freud was familiar with Doré’s Bible illustrations. In a bridal letter to his fiancée Martha Bernays dated August 23, 1883 (Freud & Bernays, 2013, pp. 168f.), he enthusiastically describes his reading of an edition of Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* that features illustrations by Doré (Cervantes, 1876). In conclusion, he writes: “I can imagine, however, how splendid the pictures must be for the raging Roland, a material entirely made for Doré, and *even some of the Bible*, namely the fabulous and heroic” (ibid., p. 170; emphasis and translation W.H.). It must remain open, however, how well Freud knew these illustrations and whether this mention refers to the *Philipppson Bible* or to an edition of the *Luther Bible*. In 1867 the Hallberger publishing house in Stuttgart published *Die Heilige Schrift. Alten und Neuen Testaments. Verdeutsch von Martin Luther* was published, with 230 pictures by Gustav Doré. It seems more likely to me, however, based on Freud’s early

¹⁸ We will see in the third chapter that David Cassel (1818-1893), a German educator and Hebraist who worked as a teacher at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin, was also the author of the *Leitfaden[s] für den Unterricht in der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur. Nebst einer kurzen Darstellung der biblischen Geschichte und einer Uebersicht der Geographie Palästina’s war*, which was published in 1868 in the first edition in Berlin by the Louis Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung. This book was one of the textbooks in the religious education classes at the Leopoldstadt Gymnasium, which Freud attended.

¹⁹ Again and again one finds in the literature the assertion that the woodcuts of the three-volume editions are also by Gustave Doré. However, this is not the case.

familiarity, that he meant the illustrated version of the *Philippson Bible*. In addition, for Freud “Bible” meant the Jewish and not the Christian version.

Finally, it should be mentioned in this enumeration of historical editions that the three-volume edition of the entire Scriptures in a revised translation, but without the commentaries and without illustrations, was newly published in two volumes in Berlin by Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung (1889 *Die fünf Bücher Moses und die früheren Propheten*, תמשה חומשי תורה, (והנביאים ראשונים)) and also published in Berlin In Commission by Louis Gerschel Verlag (1867 *Die späteren Propheten und die Hagiographen*, נביאים אחרונים והכתובי). This edition was published in 1889 without the Masoretic text, that is, only in the German translation, also by Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung Berlin.²⁰

Now the next step is to ask when and in what form Jacob Freud acquired the *Philippson Bible*. Since the early work of Eva Rosenfeld (1956, p. 99), it has been repeatedly assumed that Jacob Freud possessed it in the second edition of 1858.²¹ This assumption requires further verification on the basis of available documents. On the page called “Gedenkblatt” and pasted in the front, we read at the top and under the name “Jacob Freud” the entry written in Latin letters:

“Freiberg den I^o November 848” (Fichtner & Davies, 2006, pp. 41 and 116 and CD-Rom, Appendix 6, p. 564 and Fig. 1 in the appendix).

We cannot, of course, know definitely when Jacob Freud inscribed this line, but if we assume that this “Memorial leaf” was already initially associated with the Bible edition, the date given will probably refer to the time of acquisition (another reason is hardly conceivable in this case). There are now two possibilities: In 1848, as noted, the first and second volumes of the *Philippson Bible* had already been published in a first edition, but the third volume had not yet appeared; Jacob Freud may therefore have acquired the first two volumes at that time. This is matched by a crucial feature

²⁰ It now only remains to add that since 2015, after the 125th anniversary of Ludwig Philippson’s death in 2014, a carefully revised new edition of the *Philippson Bible*, which had unjustly fallen into oblivion since the end of the 19th century, has been published successively in three volumes (albeit without commentaries and woodcuts) by Herder Verlag in Freiburg i.Br. (Germany), so that the translation text is once again available in a modernized German version (no English translation exists until today): Volume 1 (2015): *Die Tora. Die Fünf Bücher Mose und Prophetenlesungen (hebräisch-deutsch) in der revidierten Übersetzung von Rabbiner Ludwig Philippson*, edited by Walter Homolka, Hanna Liss and Rüdiger Liwak with the assistance of Susanne Gräbner and Daniel Vorpahl. Volume 2 (2016): *Die Propheten (hebräisch deutsch) in der Übersetzung von Rabbiner Ludwig Philippson*. Revised and edited by Walter Homolka, Hanna Liss and Rüdiger Liwak with the assistance of Susanne Gräbner and Zofia H. Nowak. Volume 3 (2018): *Die Schriften (hebräisch deutsch) in der Übersetzung von Rabbiner Ludwig Philippson*. Revised and edited by Walter Homolka, Hanna Liss and Rüdiger Liwak with the assistance of Susanne Gräbner and Zofia H. Nowak.

²¹ A special variant of this hypothesis is currently represented by Eva Laibl: “In all probability, he had acquired the second edition, published in 1858, at the establishment of Baumgärtner, a bookseller in Leipzig during the family’s trip from Freiberg to Vienna with little Sigismund, then three years old” (<https://www.encyclopedia.com/psychology/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/philippson-bible>; as of April 1, 2020). For this hypothesis, however, there is, as far as I can see, no evidence.

of the volume that Freud received as a gift from his father for his birthday in 1891: This is incomplete, even doubly incomplete, since it contains only the *Tora* [*Five Books of Moses*], parts from *The Book of Kings* (the entire *1st* and parts of the *2nd Book of Kings*), and parts from the *2nd Book of Samuel* (chapters 11 to 17) (Fichtner & Davies, 2006, CD-Rom, Appendix 6, p. 563). The volume, with a total of 1,215 pages (i.e., just under one-third of the total of 3,820 pages), consequently includes the first volume of Philippon's Bible work in its entirety and the second volume only in part – and the third volume not at all. If Jacob Freud had possessed the third volume, published in 1859, the question immediately arises why he did not add any of its parts to the gift volume. The possibility of an acquisition of the third volume is at best still plausible if we assume that it was later lost, for whatever reason.

However, it is also conceivable – and here the second possibility comes into play – that Jacob Freud only acquired deliveries of the successively published *individual* biblical books and had them bound in one volume (for the first time) on Freud's 35th birthday. In an attempt to further clarify this question, perhaps the following consideration may help: Freud mentions in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a, p. 582; in Chapter 4 this dream will be interpreted in more detail) a dream in which people with bird beaks appear, which he says he “took from the illustrations of Philippon's Bible.” According to an educated guess by Eva Rosenfeld (1956, p. 101; cf. also Rizzuto, 1998, p. 108), these refer to two particular woodcuts taken from the second volume of the Bible work, namely from the *2nd Book of Samuel* (PB, vol. 2, pp. 394 and 459). The first of the two woodcuts is included in the third chapter of that book, and that chapter was not included in the gift volume, so it may well be that Jacob Freud made a compilation from the first two volumes. However, it is equally possible that he made a selection from the existing individual deliveries or, finally, even that individual books were lost in the course of time. This question cannot be clarified further, let alone conclusively, at this point; however, we will return later to the special significance of the year [1]848 for Jacob Freud's life, as indicated in the “Gedenkblatt” (see Fig. 1 in the appendix), which also allows further conclusions about the time of the acquisition of the *Philippon Bible*.

But this is not the last unusual feature of this compilation in the birthday edition: if we look at the gift volume even more closely, we notice the altered and actually “wrong” arrangement of the biblical books, which is the result of the new binding and, so *one* assumption goes, was caused by an apparently unknowledgeable bookbinder: Like the exclusively Hebrew-language books, the bilingual *Philippon Bible* in its published versions is read from right to left (implying a prioritization of the Hebrew text, which accordingly is also always on the right side of the printed pages), and it is precisely this order that is reversed in the gift volume (cf. also Rice, 1990, p. 38). But we can also ask ourselves whether this “wrong” arrangement is really only due to the

bookbinder's ignorance, or whether an ambivalence towards Jewish tradition is not also expressed here. Did Jacob Freud, who, as not least the dedicatory text shows, knew of Sigmund Freud's then still existing massive reservations towards this tradition, at least want to accommodate him in the usual reading habits? To answer this question, a more detailed analysis of the entire entries is needed.

But before we turn to the other entries, we should first point out a special feature of the date entry that should not be overlooked: the fact that Jacob Freud omitted the millennial number (1) from the date is not an oversight or a coincidence and does not occur only at this point. In the Hebrew-language second early entry from 1856 (see below) about Freud's birth and his circumcision, he also omits the millennial number 1 twice when stating the year. Jacob Freud thus conformed to a customary procedure for Jews, who in this way wanted to document their reservation against the Christian or Christocentric chronology – even more precisely against the prospective reckoning of time from the birth of Jesus (cf. on this Maier, 2013 and Hegener, 2017, pp. 156-160). A reciprocal confirmation, so to speak, of this assumption is found in Jacob Freud's German-language entry on the death of his father, which we will examine at the very beginning of the next section. Here he speaks of the day of death having been February 21 “according to Christian chronology” and at this point writes out the date with the millennial number (“1856”) (cited in Davies & Fichtner, 2006, CD-Rom, Appendix 6, p. 565). And it seems to have been quite natural for Jacob Freud to use the classical Jewish calendar in the Hebrew-language entries. Such contextually different uses of the two time chronologies can be understood as an indication of his strong Jewish and rather Orthodox identification (cf. on this Rice, 1990, p. 61) and already indicate the field of tension between Christian dominance culture and pressure to assimilate on the one hand and Jewish and rather Orthodox culture and self-assertion on the other, in which both Jacob and Sigmund Freud stood in each case in their own way.

At this point, there is something further to be noted: Both Trosman & Simmons (1973, p. 660, no. 170) early work on Freud's library and Davies and Fichtner's (2006, entry L1845 and Appendix 6) *Complete Catalogue* note that Freud owned *two* editions of the *Philippson Bible*. The second edition is a complete copy of the 1858 second edition in three volumes, but now divided into eight part-volumes, and according to the stamp in the first five part-volumes (they include the first and second volumes of the *Philippson Bible*) belonged to “Dr. Rabbi Altmann”.²² Adolf Altmann (1879-

²² The Book of *Esther* in this edition has extensive underlining and annotations. Davies & Fichtner (2006, CD Rom, Appendix 6, p. 566) note: “The ownership stamp and the annotations are those of Dr Rabbi Adolf Altmann. This was established by comparison with ownership stamps in volumes originally from his library, and with his handwriting in correspondence now in the personal archive of his son, Dr Manfred Altman, London. The annotations in the Book of Esther were made by Dr Rabbi Altmann, probably during the preparation of a study of the festival of Purim, which was first published in 1911, (Altmann, Adolf, 1911). (Dr Manfred Altman, personal

1944), a renowned Jewish historian and researcher, after a stint in Salzburg, where he was a member of the *B’Nai B’Rith* Lodge (to which Freud also belonged – see Chapter 4), was the last Chief Rabbi of Trier from 1920 to 1938 and, after fleeing to Holland, was deported to Auschwitz in June 1944 and murdered there (for Altmann’s biography see Steinacher, 2012).²³

Rice (1990, p. 38), who also mentions this second edition, still assumed that Jacob Freud acquired this edition. However, this can be ruled out, since Adolf Altmann was only 17 years old at the time of Jacob Freud’s death in 1896 and consequently would have had to acquire the Bible at a very early age. Based on the stamp, however, Altmann was already ordained and holding a doctorate when he acquired the *Philippson Bible* (he earned his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Bern in 1912). It is therefore much more likely that Freud himself acquired this second edition some time after his father’s death. It is unclear and probably impossible to reconstruct exactly when and how this happened, but it is remarkable in any case that Freud still possessed this further version of the *Philippson Bible*. It can be assumed that the acquisition of this second copy became necessary because the paternal edition consisted of heavily dusty or damaged and used pages (which, however, were partially repaired in the course of the new binding) and therefore had to be spared. Such an incomplete and also damaged edition was only conditionally available for further use. To put it the other way round: it was obviously important for Freud to have a complete and usable edition available in his library, with which he could continue or resume and further deepen the studies he had begun so early. And it is precisely a *Philippson Bible* that he acquired, and not one of the many other editions of *Jewish Bibles* that were quite numerous at the time (cf. on this Bechtoldt, 2005 and Gillman, 2018; see chapter 2).

To sum up, let us note that in Freud’s library there was a first old, battered, damaged and, moreover, “wrongly” bound edition, and a second new, ›correctly‹ printed complete edition with which Freud could work. It may sound speculative, but here a certain analogy suggests itself in my understanding. Is this not reminiscent of the biblical account of the two pairs of tablets Moses received from God? According to the biblical account in the Book of *Exodus* (24, 12-18), before the

communication).”

²³ It should be noted at this point that Freud owned another edition of the Bible in addition to the two editions of the *Philippson Bible* mentioned above, namely a *Luther Bible* in the 1904 version, which is noted in the *Complete Catalogue of Freud’s library* with the following entry: “Die Bibel oder die ganze heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Tr. *Martin Luther*, pref. *O[tto] Frick*. Im Auftrage der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenkonferenz durchgesehene Ausgabe, 7th ed. Halle: Verlag der von Cansteinschen Bibelanstalt 1904” (Davies & Fichter, 2006, CD Rom, p. 44, entry 236). Freud also quoted from the *Luther Bible*, as we can see, for example, from a passage in his writing “The Moses of Michelangelo” where he writes apologetically in a parenthesis, “I beg your pardon for using Luther’s translation in an anachronistic manner” (Freud, 1914b, p. 195 (GW, own translation); this sentence is not included in the *Standard Edition*; there it is only a footnote: “[In the original, Freud apologizes for his ‚anachronistic use of Luther’s translation’. What follows is from the Authorized Version.]“, p. 229). We can see from this that Freud was well aware of how problematic the *Luther Bible* was, especially for a Jew (cf. Chapter 2 and 4).

people of Israel set out for the Promised Land, Moses is told by God to come to the holy Mount Sinai and receive from Him two tablets of stone on which are written God's teaching and commandment. This is done, and when Moses is about to return to the camp after forty days and nights, God informs him that the people have fallen away and that He intends to kill them. Moses asks for leniency, which God grants him. When he arrives at the camp and finds God's communication confirmed, he smashes the tablets in anger, destroys the Golden Calf, and gives orders to slay the male apostate relatives with the sword. According to this account – and we will see later that the Jewish tradents and Talmudic teachers interpret it exactly this way – the destroyed tablets are not so much the result of Moses' anger, but an expression of the apostasy of the Israelite people. Moses then goes to Mount Sinai again to seek God's mercy. God grants forgiveness, and Moses receives from him a second pair of tablets, a renewed promise, and further commandments and regulations for the people of Israel (*Exodus*, 32-34).

Freud, like the apostate Israelite people, has the teachings and commandments of the Jewish religion, which his father insistently pointed out to him in his dedicatory letter (see below). And what is true for Sigmund is equally true for Jacob Freud, who, as we will see later, also attacked this tradition. It almost seems as if these attacks were reflected in the condition of the Freudian family Bible, which seems to be quite damaged. Freud, however, later acquires another complete and preserved edition of his *own*, returns to biblical study, and thus, in his own very particular way, continues his Judaism by finally writing a new, this time a psychoanalytic biblical commentary, i.e., in a certain sense a secular midrash (cf. on this Blumenberg, 2012 and Hegener, 2017; see also chapters 4 and 5), with his testamentary late work *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a). The dynamics of betrayal and fidelity, of the destruction of the parental-fatherly tradition and its renewal, as well as the associated “Zweizeitigkeit [bi-temporality]” of the appropriation of Jewish tradition, which are alluded to here, will be encountered by us in a moment, especially in the interpretation of the “Widmungsschreiben”, and will be an enduring theme of this book. It is precisely in the destructive attacks on Jewish tradition that, in a certain and paradoxical way, its preservation and renewal are revealed, and it is thus this tension that prevents the formation of tradition from solidifying and, at the same time, from falling into self-dissolution, complete assimilation, and a final break with Jewish tradition. This assumption simultaneously contradicts a widespread tendency and double one-sidedness in the Freud literature: There are, on the one hand, authors (they are, in my impression, in the majority) who assume, without taking into account such a tension, a smooth and almost total “break with tradition” in the case of both Jacob and Sigmund Freud (thus the homonymous subtitles in Krüll, 1986, pp. 91-99, Gay 1987 and Whitebook, 2017,

pp. 17-24), and, on the other hand, those who, conversely, want to locate Jacob Freud entirely within the Orthodox tradition (so tending in Rice, 1990).

This tension between conservatism and innovation, which is virtually constitutive of Judaism, is particularly aptly expressed in a story Scholem (1961, p. 348) tells, commenting:

“Thus when a great Zaddik was asked why he did not follow the example of his teacher in living as he did, he replied: ‘On the contrary, I do follow his example, for I leave him as he left his teacher.’ The tradition of breaking away from tradition produced such curious paradoxes.”

This conflict between faithfulness and betrayal, as Klaus Heinrich (1982a, pp. 19-22 and 1982b, pp. 61-128, especially pp. 114-122) has shown, is deeply rooted in the covenantal thinking of the *Jewish Bible*. Many of its stories can be understood as a struggle against betrayal, and any idolatry is, as it were, already a betrayal of the Word of God and of the life-giving Being. But there is also an idolatrous faithfulness that distorts and betrays faithfulness. The idea of the covenant reckons with betrayal and responds to it with the promise of reconciliation and the possibility of repentance, and the claim to belong to the covenant does not end with the betrayal of that covenant. “Not a being untouched by betrayal (...), but a being that gives the courage to fight the battle against betrayal in spite of it, answers the question of reality in the Old Testament” (Heinrich, 1982b, p. 117; own translation). We can even say, moreover, that only betrayal and the break with tradition prevents tradition from solidifying into traditionalism or even into fundamentalism or fanaticism. Betrayal thus becomes, as it were, the condition of possibility for the renewal of tradition and the precondition of its vitality.²⁴

²⁴ The tension between faithfulness and betrayal not only appears in biblical covenantal thinking, but is also reflected in the rabbinic understanding of the relationship between the “evil instinct” (*Jezer ha-Ra*) and the “good instinct” (*Jezer ha-Tov*) (see in general Grözinger, 2004, pp. 273-280). In the Talmudic tractate *Baba Bathra* (16a) we can read: “True, the Holy One, Blessed be He, created the evil inclination, but He also created the Torah as an antidote to counter its effects and prevent it from gaining control of a person”. Man has the option of choosing to be bound by the ethical commandment, i.e. to follow the call for justice that emanates from the Torah, but can also turn against it. The “evil instinct” is therefore not demonised in the rabbinic texts, but it is true that it is only in the struggle between the two sides that man proves himself to be a human being and a counterpart of God. The rabbinic tradition, however, goes one step further and understands the “evil instinct” as the driving factor of development. Without it, nothing new could come into being, since the old always has to be displaced and eliminated; it is thus an indispensable organiser in the process of creation and culture (referring to the 2nd creation narrative: without eating from the forbidden tree of the knowledge of good and evil and the subsequent expulsion from paradise, culture could not have come into being at all and the becoming a subject of man would not have been possible)..

II. Entries from 1856: death, birth, circumcision and first teeth

Under the indication mentioned in the last section about the time of the possible acquisition of *Phillipson's Bible* are two further entries, this time written in Hebrew and German respectively (see fig 1 in the appendix) – and the structure of this bilingualism thus corresponds strikingly exactly to that of the *Phillipson Bible*: the first concerns the death and burial of Jacob's father, Rabbi Schlomo Freud, on 21 and 23 February 1856. It is after this paternal grandfather that Sigmund Freud received his second and third, respectively, his distinctly Jewish first name (see below). The full entry, written in German, reads:

“My father blessed Rabbi Schlomo son of Rabbi Ephraim Freud went to his heavenly home on the 6th day of the week, Friday 4 o'clock in the afternoon, on the [1]6th²⁵ of Adar [5]616²⁶ and was buried on the 18th of the same month in [sic] my native town Tismenitz. The day of death of the father according to Christian reckoning is February 21, & the funeral took place on February 23, 1856” (quoted from Davies & Fichtner, 2006, p. 41 and CD-Rom, Appendix 6, p. 565; own translation).²⁷

In this text, Jacob Freud emphatically emphasizes that his father and he are connected through the town of Tysmenitz, the birthplace of the one and the death town of the other. For Jacob, this was probably so important and downright urgent because he had long since left his home town and had gone his own ways beyond his father's world and ties, and therefore very likely could not be with him at the moment of his death and fulfil his son's duty to say the Jewish sanctification prayer, the *Kaddish* at his father's grave (*jitkale harba*) (see also Krüll, 1986, p. 40-43 and 99). In the face of his father's death he connects with him again and across the break in the memory of his birth and origin.

According to my research, there are no direct biblical sources for the phrase entered “his heavenly home”, but there are certainly echoes of this phrase in the *Psalter*. In the Psalms 27, 13, 52, 7 and 116. 9 there is talk of the “land of the living”, which in biblical cosmology is opposed to the underworld (*sheol*) and equated with the “heavenly home” or the “house of eternity” (*bet olam*) (cf.

²⁵ The Hebrew-language entry speaks of the 16th of Adar, which is much more likely, because otherwise there would have been 12 days between Schlomo Freud's death and his burial (a period that is not compatible with Jewish burial regulations and would certainly have been associated with massive hygienic problems).

²⁶ Jacob Freud writes here and in all entries on the *Gedenkblatt* as well as in *Widmungsschreiben* the year “after the small count” (א"פ) only in three digits and presupposes the millennium number (5).

²⁷ In the original the text reads: „Mein Vater seelig Rabbi Schlomo Sohn des Rabbi Ephraim Freud ist in sein himmlisches Heim eingegangen am 6. Tag der Woche, Freitag 4 Uhr Nachmittag, am 6. Adar 616 u. ist am 18. desselben Monats im [sic] meiner Geburtsstadt Tismenitz beerdigt worden. Der Sterbetag des Vaters nach christlicher Rechnung ist der 21. Februar, u. die Beerdigung fand statt am 23. Februar 1856“.

also Rice, 1990, p. 58). The phrase used by Jacob Freud, however, is possibly also a distant echo of the Kabbalistic notion that the soul of the dead ascends to heaven (transmigration or *gilgul*) – a notion that was developed in particular in the Lurianic Kabbalah (cf. on this, for example, Scholem, 1961) – and thus a first possible indication of Jacob Freud’s comprehensive knowledge not only of the Bible, but of Jewish literature in general.

Another detail should be noted: Jacob Freud begins the entry by calling his father “*Rabbi Schlomo Freud*”, and he refers to himself, with altogether very traditional turns of phrase, in the dedication (see below) as “Jacob, son of *R. [Reb] Shelomo Freid*” as well as in the Hebrew-language text as “BR’Sh” which stands for *Ben Reb Schlomo*. However, this does not mean that Schlomo Freud was a rabbi (which is sometimes claimed). *Rabbi* or *Reb* were 19th century terms for all Jewish men who had completed some degree of Biblical and Talmudic study; the Hebrew word for Rabbis (i.e., Jewish Torah teacher), however, is *Rav*. If Schlomo Freud had actually been a rabbi (in the sense of teacher), then the spelling would have been *HaRaV Schlomo Freud* (cf. also Ostow, 1989, p. 485). It can be noted, however, that although Schlomo Freud was not in this sense a rabbi, he is mentioned several times in the texts as someone who knew the Scriptures.

Significantly, however, the Hebrew version of this entry is much more revealing and allusive than the German text. Until now, it has been quite obviously assumed that the German text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew text, and accordingly no German translation has yet been found necessary and produced.²⁸ In fact, however, the German text is only a paraphrase of the Hebrew text, and a passage replete with biblical and extra-biblical references and allusions is omitted entirely. The English translation of the translation from Hebrew into German is:²⁹

“My father blessed Rabbi Schlomo, son of Rabbi Ephraim Freid, entered the heavenly home on the 6th day of the week, 4 o’clock in the afternoon, on the 16th of Adar A [5]616 u. came to his rest [*Isaiah*, 11, 10] in his place of encampment on the 18th of the same month in my birthplace Tysmenitz [from the prayer: *El Malej Rachamim* – God full of mercy]. He that went straight ways shall rest in his place of encampment [*Isaiah*, 57, 2] until the time of the end [*Daniel*, 11, 35 and 12, 4], until the day it is said to those who sleep in the dust of the earth, wake up [*Daniel*, 12, 2] in peace, Amen. The day of death according to her account is February 21, and the funeral took place on February 23, 856.”³⁰

²⁸ Other English translation of the Hebrew entry are found in both Roback, 1957, p. 88 and Rice, 1990, p. 34.

²⁹ This and all other translations in this book from Hebrew into German were provided by Gadi Goldberg, who helped me greatly in identifying the references from the Jewish scriptural tradition.

³⁰ Here is the first German translation of the Hebrew original by Gadi Goldberg: „Mein Vater selig Rabbi Schlomo, Sohn des Rabbi Ephraim Freid selig, ist ins himmlische Heim eingegangen am 6. Tag der Woche, 4 Uhr Nachmittag, am 16. Adar A 616 u. ist am 18. desselben Monats in meiner Geburtsstadt Tysmenitz zu seiner Ruhe [*Jesaja*, 11, 10] auf seiner Lagerstätte gekommen [aus dem Gebet: *El Malej Rachamim* – Gott voller Erbarmen]. Der, der gerade Wege ging, soll ruhen auf seiner Lagerstätte [*Jesaja*, 57, 2] bis zur Zeit des Endes [*Daniel*, 11, 35

In this text as well as in the following entry on Freud's birth and his circumcision, and especially in the dedicatory letter for Freud's 35th birthday, an attempt will be made to grasp as fully as possible the various references to the Jewish scriptures and, where it seems possible and appropriate, to give them an interpretation.

First of all, however, we should point out a general feature as well as a specific detail of the entry, both of which document Jacob Freud's attachment to the Jewish tradition:

1. The Hebrew entries in both the "Gedenkblatt" and the "Widmungsschreiben" (see below) are to be assigned linguistically to Middle Hebrew,³¹ the language of the late biblical texts as well as the Hebrew parts of rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature, and not to New Hebrew, which had developed in the course of the Jewish Enlightenment (neither is to be confused with modern Hebrew or *Ivrit*). Jacob Freud's deep roots in the traditional milieu of his Galician-Eastern Jewish homeland, shaped by rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism, are thus already evident in his linguistic style.

2. In the first Hebrew-language entry, Jacob Freud not only uses the Jewish yearly and monthly calendar as a matter of course, but when he notes that his father died "on the 6th day of the week" and in the German-language entry this day is named Friday, he assumes a Jewish counting and naming of the days of the week. According to this counting, the week begins with the day following the Sabbath, i.e. Sunday (*Yom Rishon* = First Day), and the 6th day (*Yom Shishi*) is consequently Friday..

But now to the biblical references:

- The first reference in the entry to a Jewish text is found in the third line: When Jacob writes that his father has come "to his rest", he is probably alluding to the Book of *Isaiah*, 11, 10. There it says: "That the root of Jesse, that standeth for an ensign of the peoples, Unto him shall the nations seek; And his *resting-place* shall be glorious".
- When immediately after this the first mention is made of a "Lagerstätte [place of encampment]", this phrase is probably taken from the well-known Jewish prayer *El Malej Rachamim* – *God full of mercy*, which is said during funerals, on the anniversary of the death of the deceased, as well as when visiting the graves of relatives (in the Middle Ages for the victims of the Crusades, uprisings and pogroms, and in the meantime in an expanded version also on *Jam HaScho'a*, the day of remembrance for the victims of the shoah). It states:

"Compassionate source of all that is,
who is present in the heavens,

und 12, 4], bis zu dem Tag, an dem denen, die im Erdstaube schlafen, gesagt wird, wacht auf [*Daniel*, 12, 2] in Frieden, Amen. Der Sterbetag nach ihrer Rechnung ist der 21. Februar, u. die Beerdigung fand statt am 23. Februar 856".

³¹ Gadi Goldberg has thankfully pointed this out to me.

take our loved one [name] under your holy, pure and glorious wings
that shine like the sky,
as we provide charity
in the name of the soul of our loved one.

[Please] Compassionate one,
provide rest for the soul of our loved one in Ga'an Eden
and never withdraw your protective wings and take [bundle]
this soul into the bond of life. Hashem is this soul's
everlasting inheritance and peaceful *resting place*,
and let us say: *Amen*" (<https://opensiddur.org/prayers/life-cycle/death/mourning/el-male-rahamim-prayer-for-the-departed-translated-and-sung-by-effron-esseiva/>; emphasis W.H.).

- The second reference to a “place of encampment [Lagerstätte]” in the next sentence could allude to *Isaiah 57, 2*. There it says: “He entereth into peace, They *rest in their beds*, Each one that walketh in his uprightness.”³²

- Finally, three references to verses in the book of *Daniel* follow in the same sentence. When Jacob speaks of the “time of the end”, we find this phrase once in *Daniel*, 11, 35, where it says, “And some of them that are wise shall stumble, to refine among them, and to purify, and to make white, even to the *time of the end*; for it is yet for the time appointed”. But it is also found in *Daniel* 12:4, “But thou, Daniel, recover the words, and seal the book until the *time of the end*. Many shall wander, but knowledge shall increase.” And with the word “earth dove” a third time is quoted from *Daniel*. In *Daniel* 12, 2 we can read: “But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the *time of the end*; many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.”

Besides the prayer text, which also contains the motif of the transmigration of souls (see above), the passages included are taken from the books of *Daniel* and *Isaiah*. The former book is about the Judean Daniel (“my judge is God”), who is considered a wise man and, along with Joseph, one of the two most important dream interpreters of the *Jewish Bible* (see chapter 5). The book, which took its final shape during the Hellenization attempt in the 2nd century BCE, i.e. the time of Seleucid persecution and foreign rule (after several revision steps), and which contains in its second part the most pronounced apocalyptic passages of the whole *Jewish Bible*, is set some centuries earlier during the Babylonian Exile: Daniel and three of his friends were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar's troops in 597 BCE. Through his ability to interpret dreams, he attains a

³² In the Philippon Bible version, this line reads like this: „Er geht zum Frieden ein; sie ruhen auf ihrem *Lager*, die gewandelt in Gradheit.“

prominent position in the Babylonian royal court, and eschatological history is revealed to him in several visions: these visions announce the fall of the great empires and, with the beginning of the end times, the resurrection of righteous, Torah-abiding Judaism. Thus Daniel became a fictional model for many afflicted Jews.³³ *Isaiah* belongs to the great scripture prophets of the *Jewish Bible*, and he also announced to the Israelites in the situation of acute threat by another great empire (Assyria) an eschatological turn to salvation and promised messianic hope for the oppressed Israelites.

The books and passages selected by Jacob Freud are, on the one hand, intended to give consolation and hope for the heavenly reception of his father's dead soul, but on the other hand they are also texts of Jewish self-assertion in extremely difficult situations, namely in exile, during a time of persecution and under extreme pressure to assimilate, which extended to the demand for self-abandonment. Moreover, the prophets convey that despite all the anger about the lack of steadfastness and faithfulness of his people, God holds on to them in love and solidarity.

It is still instructive now to consider how Ludwig Philippson in his "Introduction to the Book of Daniel" in the *Philippson Bible* (PB, Vol. 3, pp. 877-887) concludes by commenting on the main tendency of the book and its meaning:

"Thus this book nevertheless stands in great significance; in its older part it testifies to the victorious power of the religion of Israel even without Israel as a people, in its younger part to the secure preservation of this Jewish people in every distress, on the edge of *every* abyss. It stands there with one face looking into the past, with the other into the future; and even to its doctrinal content a time soon to come attached the development of entirely new religious dogmas" (ibid., p. 887).

To better understand these references, let us consider Jacob Freud's situation at the time. Freud describes it aptly, I think, in a letter to Abraham Aaron Roback of February 20, 1930: "It may interest you to hear that my father did indeed come from a Chassidic background. He was forty-one when I was born and had *been estranged from his native environment for almost twenty years* [seinen heimatlichen Beziehungen seit fast 20 Jahren entfremdet]" (Freud, 1960a, p. 395; emphasis W.H.; see also the original version Freud, 1957e, p. 227). Jacob, himself thus detached from the still largely unbroken Hassidic-Talmudic world (for the distinction between Hassidic, "Orthodox" and enlightened, see below) of his father and beyond his hometown, was presumably filled with guilt over this "Entfremdung [alienation]" and, when his father died, assured himself of his connection to

³³ The Book of *Daniel* is the only apocalyptic book in the *Jewish Bible*, is therefore not counted among the prophetic books and is consequently found in its last part, the Writings (*Ketuvim*).

his father's Judaism and his unbreakable loyalty to it and to Jewish tradition. We will see later that Sigmund also reacted to his father's death with strong feelings of guilt about his "estrangement" from the paternal Jewish tradition, and that for him, too, the recollection of scriptural words in crisis situations represented a crucial form of consoling self-assurance.

The second entry, which immediately follows, acts as a continuation of the first and contains the details of Sig(is)mund's birth and circumcision on 6 and 13 May 1856 respectively. The German version of the text reads:

"My son Schlome Sigmund was born Tuesday the 1st day of the month Jar [5]616, 6 1/2 o'clock in the afternoon = 6 May 1856. Entered the Jewish Covenant Tuesday the 8th day in the month Jar = on 13 May 1856. The Moel was Mr. Samson Frankl from [crossed out: his] Ostrau, the godparents were Mr. Lippa Horowitz & his sister Mirl children of the Rabbi from Czernowitz. The Sandykat was represented by Mr. Samuel Samudi in Freiberg in Moravia" (cited in Davies & Fichtner 2006, p. 41 and CD-Rom, Appendix 6; own translation).

The death of his father is immediately followed by the entry about the birth of his son, joy replaces mourning, the two feelings intermingle, and an exclusive line of connection stretches from the deceased Schlomo via the writing Jacob to the just born Sig(is)mund Freud. This familial and paternal line of descent is tied into the Jewish covenantal tradition of circumcision (cf. especially *Genesis*, 17, 10), which is described in Jacob Freud's entry in its ritual of *Brit Mila*, following traditional guidelines (cf. on this Gilman, 1993 p. 70, who even assumes a completely orthodox ritual, a *Metzitzah B'peh*, i.e. an additional testimony of the baby's wound after completed circumcision), to which belongs above all the division of the individual acts to different persons: besides the *mohel*, who performs the circumcision ceremony under blessings in its three components (circumcision, pushing back and cupping), here it is above all the two godparents. The following should be noted in this regard: Usually and preferably, the office of the godfather (*sandak*) is performed by a grandfather who symbolically places the infant on the Prophet Elijah's chair, which is located in the circumcision room. If a grandfather is not available, as for obvious reasons in Freud's case (Freud's paternal grandfather had just died and his maternal grandfather, who was still alive, was far away in Vienna), this office is additionally assumed by the godparents or "Gevattern" (usually a married couple, a young couple about to be married, or, as in Freud's case, a pair of siblings), who receive the infant from the mother and hand it back to her after the ceremony is completed. Sig(is)mund, through this process, provided with precise details, was at the same time bound, before any possible subjective appropriation, into familial and religious obligations that were to determine him deeply. Jacob's desire, discussed last, to remain connected in

fidelity to the paternal tradition is fulfilled for him not least in Freud's introduction to the unbreakable covenant with God in the sign of circumcision.

It seems to me quite remarkable that Jacob did not dedicate a separate entry to either of the two sons from his first marriage, Emanuel and Philipp, or to any of his other children, i.e. neither to Freud's brother Julius, who died at an early age, nor to any of his five sisters (Anna, Regina Debora, Marie, Esther Adolfine and Pauline Regine), nor to his younger brother Alexander³⁴ Gotthold Ephraim (and other leaves that would record such entries are not known). Here we see a highly exclusive relationship between Jacob and Sigmund Freud, which began with and through the latter's birth and can probably only be adequately understood against the background of the recent death of Schlomo Freud, which will have triggered heavy feelings of guilt in Jacob as well as the desire to make amends in the form of a resumption and continuation of the paternal tradition. Sig(is)mund Freud is thus the child of Jacob who alone after the death of Schlomo receives an entry and his first name – he receives it, however, only as a middle name, which was later omitted by Freud (see below). Thus Jacob's great effort to keep the Jewish genealogical chain intact despite his assimilation and partial departure from his father's Orthodox tradition becomes understandable. The pledge of this effort is Sigmund Freud, who is charged with continuing this tradition.³⁵

In comparison with the German entry, the Hebrew entry contains three or four changes and peculiarities. Firstly, as has already been pointed out above, the years have twice been written out according to the Christian calendar without the millennium number 1. Secondly, Freud's father follows the mention of his son's name in Hebrew with a small blessing, which literally translates as "may he live". In German, this is roughly equivalent to saying "May he be granted a long life!" or "God keep him!". Translated fully, the beginning of the first sentence would have to read:

"My son Schlomo Sigismund, may he live / may he be granted a long life / God keep him, was born Tuesday [...]"³⁶

What is important, and this is the third difference, is that in the Hebrew sentence Freud's first name is spelled differently. In the German version of the "Gedenkblatt" the name *Sigmund* is clearly noted, in the Hebrew version no less clearly the name *Sigismund* (cf. also E. Freud et al., 1978, p. 325, FN 12). The name Sigismund does not appear in the Hebrew text by chance, since, along with Schlomo, it is Freud's first name with Jewish connotations, which he used in the first years of his

³⁴ One can also understand the first name Alexander, which Freud himself chose for his brother (cf. on this Freud-Bernays, 1940, p. 337 or 2006, p. 213f.), in this way: Alexander (the Great) was the son of Philip, so as it were a Philip-son (cf. on this also Rice, 1990, pp. 17f.).

³⁵ Joseph H. Berke (2015, pp. 77-97) accordingly assumes that Freud was a „replacement child“ („Ersatzkind“).

³⁶ The German translation is: „Mein Sohn Schlomo Sigismund, soll er leben / möge ihm ein langes Leben beschert sein / Gott behüte ihn, ist geboren Dienstag [...]"

life; Sigmund, on the other hand, is his German or “Germanic” first name. The following can be stated in this regard: Sigismund was a thoroughly popular given name among Eastern European Jews and a reminder of the Polish-Lithuanian king Sigismund III. Wasa (1566-1632), who was also known and appreciated by Jacob Freud for his tolerant attitude towards Jews (cf. D. Klein, 1985, p. 46). Compared to other European countries, Jews during his reign lived in what was surely an exaggeration, a “golden age”. In the 16th century the saying even arose: “The Republic of Poland is hell for the peasant, purgatory for the town-dweller, heaven for the nobleman, and paradise for the Jew” (quoted in Haumann 2002, p. 30). Later, however, especially in Vienna, the name Sigismund, which was widespread among Jews and identified with Judaism, became the occasion for anti-Semitic jokes (cf. Heer, 1972).

Not alone, but presumably also for this reason, Freud officially changed his first name, Sigismund, which he had used until then, to Sigmund at the Gymnasium in 1869 or 1870, when he was 13 or 14 years old. This can be plausibly understood from the annual reports of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium, which Freud attended (see Chapter 3). In the *Siebten Jahresbericht des Leopoldstädter Cummunal-Real- und Obergymnsasium in Wien* for the school year 1871, Freud’s first name is given for the first time as Sigmund – he was then attending the VIth grade (name given in Pokorny, 1871, p. 78). In the reports before that, in the lists of classes I to V, on the other hand, Freud is still registered with the first name Sigismund.³⁷ In private use, the change of name demonstrably took place somewhat later: in the correspondence with his childhood friend Emil Fluß (1856-1933), for example, Freud only began to sign not with Sigismund but only with Sigmund between September 1872 and June 1873 (the last signature with Sigismund dates from September 28, 1872, the first with Sigmund from June 16, 1873, and in between he signs neutrally, as it were, with “Ihr Sigm. Freud [Your Sigm. Freud]”; Freud 1969a, pp. 111, 121, and 118). It seems that after 1872 Freud changed his name definitively and in every context, whether it was a public or private one.³⁸

The age at which Freud changed his name has a specific religious context: In the socialisation process of Jewish boys, the attainment of religious maturity or maturity falls in the period of the 13th or 14th year of life (*Bar Mitzvah* – “Son of the Law”) – and since the beginning of the 1920s, especially in liberal or Reform Judaism, in the age of 12 for girls (*Bat Mitzvah* – “Daughter of the

³⁷ Corresponding entries are found in the Sigmund Freud Papers of the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss39990.04919/?sp=1&st=list>, Pages 2, 5, 7, and 9, or on pp. 26, 50, 64, and 84 of the annual reports reproduced without title or further details. The name Sigismund is also given in the extract from the undated staff sheet of the school printed in the illustrated book on Freud edited by Ernst Freud et al. (E. Freud et al., 1978, p. 61). And likewise, Freud’s first surviving (children’s) letter, which probably dates from 1863 and is addressed to his half-brother Emanuel, is signed Sigismund (ibid., pp. 56f. and 325).

³⁸ It is interesting to note, however, that even some time after 1871 Freud occasionally signed his name with Sigismund, apparently by mistake: For example, the entry “Sigismund Freud stud. med. 1875” is found in Charles Darwin’s book, *Der Ausdruck der Gemütsbewegungen bei dem Menschen und den Tieren* [*The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*] from 1872 (Davies & Fichtner, 2006, p0560).

Law”). Although Freud’s *Bar Mitzvah* celebration is not documented and we accordingly know nothing more specific, there is a possible indication that it may have taken place. Ernst Simon (1957, pp. 291f. and 1975, pp. 200-201) assumes that Freud received the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Ludwig Börne (1786-1837) as a gift for the occasion. Freud (1920b, p. 265; emphasis W.H.) reports in his essay “A Note on the Prehistory of the Technique of Analysis”, without mentioning the reason for it, that “when he was *fourteen* he had been given Börne’s works as a present”. According to this statement, Freud did not receive the book for his birthday, but for another, perhaps special occasion – a possible one could indeed have been Freud’s *Bar Mitzvah*, and Freud’s essay would thus have appeared pretty much exactly 50 years after it.

It is also important to emphasise that Freud states that he can remember some of the texts from Börne’s writings, but not the short essay “Die Kunst, in drei Tagen ein Originalschriftsteller zu werden” (The Art of Becoming an Original Writer in Three Days). In retrospect, however, Freud recognises precisely in the thoughts of this text, in which Börne (albeit ironically) urges those who want to become original writers to write down everything that spontaneously occurs to them, a piece of prehistory of his own psychoanalytical technique – and he thinks that it is probably no coincidence but a piece of “cryptomnesia” that he has forgotten this essay in particular. Nor would it have been a coincidence, however, if it were true that his parents had given him Börne’s works as a present for his *Bar Mitzvah*: Juda Löb Baruch was born in Ghetto in Frankfurt am Main, received a profound Jewish education and was a well-known Jewish author. Even if Börne’s explanations in the aforementioned text are meant ironically, they testify to that rabbinic-Talmudic approach to texts and the world that also became decisive for Freud and enabled him to speak and write in a non-dogmatic way (see chap. 5). In this respect, the fact that Freud forgot this very text also speaks for the anticathexis of his Jewishness that was effective in his adolescence.

If we assume that the *Bar Mitzvah* celebration did take place, then we can further assume from our knowledge of the general course of events that Freud had to recite a previously established and memorized passage of the Torah before the congregation (a reading of the non-vocalized consonant script is extremely difficult and requires a great deal of practice), recite some comments on this passage before the usually invited guests of the family, and finally receive a blessing from his father in addition to gifts. Perhaps, however, because Freud had presumably already developed considerable reservations during these years not only about religious rituals and therefore also about this procedure, but about religious belief in general (see Chapter 4), he rejected this customary procedure or even knew how to prevent it. In any case, he probably immediately used the occasion of the *bar mitzvah* to discard his name Sigismund in an act of rebellion, and began to use the name Sigmund. According to Arlow (1951), the moment of the *Bar Mitzvah* traditionally represents for

the son the opportunity for rebellion against his parents and especially against his father, which Freud may also have seized – in his case, however, it had a specific and highly complex background.

It is extremely interesting to see that the double entry one in the Jewish and the other in the German name register, is already found in the Family Bible. Freud thus received a first name with Jewish connotations, which was also (and exclusively) entered in his birth certificate and which he used in the first 13 or 14 years of his life (see fig 2 with the birth certificate on which only the first name Sigismund is noted), and yet was able to change his name and thereby fall back on the German first name also contained in the German-language birth entry. To put it another way, if Jacob Freud also named his son Sigmund at this early date beyond the publicly recorded designation, then his son could presumably adopt that name in the period of adolescence with a sense of some agreement with him. Jacob Freud himself had already made a break with the Jewish-fatherly tradition – this even, as we will see in a moment on the basis of another detail of the “Gedenkblatt”, also by means of a change of name – and wanted to make the step of a further assimilation possible for his son from the very beginning.³⁹

At this point it is important to point out a special feature of the Jewish tradition of naming, which was particularly widespread in Galicia and is of particular relevance to our context: it was customary there for Jewish boys to receive both a biblical and a secular name. The biblical name was given at circumcision and was usually the name of a recently deceased relative, such as the grandfather (Czernak, 2022, p. 82). If we look more closely at the names of Jakob Kollomon and of Sig(is)mund Schlomo Freud, we can discover both a biblical name (Jakob, Schlomo) and a secular name (Kollomon, Sig(is)mund) in this sense. Whereas in Jakob Freud's case, however, the biblical name was the first one he used throughout his life, this weighting is shifted in Sig(is)mund Freud's case. In his case, the biblical name is a second name that he discarded during his adolescence. This reflects the paths of assimilation that Jacob and Sig(is)mund Freud took and, at the same time, once again the tension between loyalty and betrayal, for despite the rebalancing, the biblical name remains of definitive importance for Freud.

Perhaps the double entry of the name on the “Gedenkblatt”, as we can now understand more precisely, is to be understood as the expression of a difficult double message and commission: Freud, as *Sigmund*, was to continue his father's assimilation steps and complete what the latter had

³⁹ Thus it is revealing to see that Amalia Freud presumably gave the name of her son as “Sigmund” during her stay at the spa in Roznau in 1857; after all, the spa journal of that year reads: “Fr. Amalia Freud, Wollhändlersgattin mit dem Kinde Sigmund [sic!] und dem Dienstmädchen Resi Wittek v. Freiberg, Nr. 180 [Mrs. Amalia Freud, wool merchant's wife with the child Sigmund (sic!) and the maid Resi Wittek v. Freiberg, No. 180]” (quoted in Sajner, 1981, p. 142). Perhaps it was the case that, depending on whether the context was Jewish or non-Jewish, Freud's name was or could be given as Sigismund on one occasion and Sigmund on another.

failed to achieve, namely, complete bourgeois improvement; at the same time, however, as *Sigismund* (and even more so as Schlomo), he was to maintain fidelity to Jewish tradition and, in so doing, help compensate for his father's perceived guilt (on this point, see also the quotation from Kafka that precedes this chapter). That the break with the paternal naming was sharp, however, despite this secret agreement, is evident from the fact that Freud's first name Schlomo, which is most recognizably Jewish, to all appearances never appears or was never used or mentioned by him – but it is precisely this that Jacob will remind and admonish his son of in the very first line of his birthday dedication (see below).⁴⁰

We cannot at this point trace exactly how the change of name is to be integrated and understood in Freud's development and in his relationship to his father and parents (this is the task in Chapter 4). However, it is already possible to establish a tension between German culture and Jewish tradition into which Freud was born, for which he was to seek and find various forms of expression in the course of his life and for which he was to seek and find specific attempts at a solution – in the period of his adolescence, so much is already indicated, he carries out a thoroughly sharp demarcation. To describe this fundamental tension, Gresser (1994) has found the appropriate expression of “dual allegiance”, i.e. the feeling of a double belonging – this feeling of belonging both to the biblical and Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition of Judaism and to the liberal German culture of humanism was quite changeable in the course of Freud's biography, but at the end, after sharp breaks, stood the ever stronger confession of belonging to his (Eastern) Jewish origin (see also here the 4th chapter).

It has already been indicated that in the entries of the Family Bible yet another name change of the same sense is documented. First of all it is to be recalled here Jacob's spelling of his father's name in the Hebrew-language (sic!) death entry. There it reads “My father blessed Rabbi Schlomo, son of Rabbi Ephraim Freid [sic!] [...]” (see above). And it should be said in advance that Jacob Freud signed his dedication letter of 1891, also written in Hebrew, with “Jacob, son of R. Schelomo Freid [sic!]” (see below). If he gives the surname of his grandfather and father twice as *Freid*, this is by no means an oversight or a spelling mistake, but *Freid* (resp. *Freide*) or *Freit* was the former Yiddish surname of the family that lived for a long time – until Schlomo Freud moved with his family to Tysmenitz, 35 km away – in Buczaz in today's Ukraine, and probably goes back to Schlomo Freud's great-grandmother, who bore the name “Freide” (cf. on this information Klingsberg, 1973, p. V as well as Krüll, 1986, p. 89). Jones (1960, p. 18) suggests (in the German

⁴⁰ Whether Schlomo is the Jewish name equivalent for Sigismund, as is sometimes claimed (see for example Ostow, 1989, p. 483), has not been clarified with certainty and must accordingly remain open. Schlomo goes back to the Aramaic *shalom* (peace), means integrity, peace or friendship in Hebrew and is also used synonymously for Salomon or Solomon in Jewish.

version of his Freud biography) that the family originally bore the Hebrew name *Simcha*, which translates as Joy, and is significantly a pious allusion to the feast day *Simchath Torah*, the *Day of the Joy of the Torah*, the last of the Jewish holidays, which arose in the Middle Ages when an annual cycle for the reading of the Torah became established. Presumably this name was changed to Freide when the Jewish population of Galicia was forced to give up their Hebrew surnames after the beginning of Habsburg rule in 1771 by drastic name decrees that came into force between 1785 and 1787 (see the recently published study by Czakai, 2022, especially p. 83).⁴¹ Freud's Hebrew or Jewish name is thus fully (*Sigismund*) *Schlomo Simcha*. And perhaps there is an echo of this meaning of his family's former Hebrew name in Freud's remark to his bride Martha Bernays on July 23, 1882, about the Jewish holidays: "But then comes Succoth [the Feast of Tabernacles], of which it is written: 'The Jew shall only be joyful on these days, and one day is called the Joy of the Law. It is the feast of the joy of God'" (Freud & Bernays, 20011, p. 218; translation and emphasis W.H.; on this letter, the "Nathan-Letter", cf. also the remarks in chapter 4).

In the course of his life, Jacob Freud finally abandoned his Yiddish name Freid and changed it to the German name Freud, and it is quite possible that he made this change in 1848, the year in which he, along with all other Jews in Moravia, received full civil rights *and* presumably acquired the *Philippson Bible* (in connection with the dedicatory letters, we will come back to this date later).⁴² It was not Sig(is)mund Freud, then, who made a break with the Jewish-Yiddish paternal tradition by name, but already Jacob Fre(i)ud. Yet it was precisely in the Hebrew-language entries in the Family Bible, in connection with his father's death and when he remembered his own father as a son on the occasion of the gift for his son Sigmund, that he resorted to the Yiddish name of his paternal ancestors.

Both the change of Sigmund Freud's first name and the change of his surname, which Jacob Freud had made earlier, stand in the broader historical context of a form of "upward assimilation" that

⁴¹ In his study, Czakai meticulously traces how the introduction and regulation of names was an important part of Austrian policy in dealing with Jews in Galicia. This policy pursued educational or socially disciplining functions and forced the Jewish population, which previously had rather fluid (mostly also Hebrew and Yiddish) names, to adopt fixed German first and family names. This resulted in many artificial names, which were invented by Austrian officials. It was an essential goal of Habsburg policy to undermine Jewish community autonomy by this means as well and to make the Jewish population more "legible" and thus more controllable. The Jews concerned reacted to this with a mixture of adaptation and resistance.

⁴² Still in 1844 Jacob appears in a document with the surname "Freit". In a declaration by Süsskind Hoffman (the father-in-law of Freud's grandfather Schlomo), which is contained in the "Verzeichnis über die in der Stadt Freiberg sich aufhaltenden fremden Juden, nebst Darstellung, die mit dieser Aufenthalt in Beziehung kommende Umstände" [Directory of the foreign Jews staying in the city of Freiberg, along with a description of the circumstances relating to this stay] of April 30, 1844, it is stated: "I have been staying here on and off for the purposes of trade for the last forty years. At the beginning my visits alternated with those of my associate, Salomo Bretwitz, but for the last six years I have been accompanied by my son-in-law Salomon *Freit*, whose place is often taken by his son Kallamon Jacob *Freit*" (quoted in Krüll, 1986, p. 92; emphasis W.H.). This is the earliest document available in which Jacob Freud is mentioned, and was found and transcribed by Josef Sajner and Renée Gicklhorn in the district archives of Nový Jičín.

many Jews in the Austrian Dual Monarchy of the 19th century strove for. In the case of the Freud's, it was directed primarily against their own Eastern European origins and the Yiddish language inextricably linked to them. The extent of the pressure to assimilate can be seen, for example, in the fact that, according to the research of Anna Lea Staudacher (2002), between 1748 and 1868 about 3,300 Jews in Vienna converted to Christianity and, from 1784 onwards, about as many adults accepted baptism as Jewish children were forcibly baptized for admission to the Foundling Hospital. The conversion accomplished with baptism found its outward sign in the change of first and/or last name. As far as we know, neither Jacob nor Sigmund Freud ever seriously considered the radical step of conversion, but they wanted to overcome the stigma of their Eastern European origins, which were associated with poverty and backwardness, and to become bourgeois while retaining their affiliation with Judaism. It seems that Sigmund Freud's rejection of this origin in particular was so strong during the period of his adolescence that he strictly anticathed and downright forgot everything associated with it (knowledge of Hebrew, Yiddish, Orthodox ritual) – we will also discuss this in detail in chapter four.

A fourth peculiarity of the Hebrew language birth entry should be noted. Jacob Freud writes in the Hebrew text in the first line *sheyihye* without the actually usual *heh* at the end and replaces its absence by an apostrophe after the Hebrew letter *yod*. The same happens in the third line with the word *hayah* with the last letter *heh* also replaced by an apostrophe. *Yed* and *heh* represent the first two letters of the *tetragrammaton* יהוה (JHWH), by far the most common (unvocalized) proper name of God in the *Jewish Bible* (it appears in it far more than 6000 times), and may not be written together at the end of a word according to Orthodox tradition. This is to prevent the name of God from being spelled out, which traditionally may only be done on the Torah scroll – this precaution, as is readily apparent, is closely related to the biblical prohibition on (cult) images and pronunciation of God. Rice (1990, p. 62) notes in this regard that this is a tradition more than 2,000 years old, to which Jacob Freud here refers as a matter of course. This is a very strong indication of how deeply Jacob Freud was rooted in the tradition of Orthodox Judaism even at this time, for without this attachment and knowledgeable familiarity he would not have adhered to this writing rule.⁴³

From this use of the apostrophe (but also from other elements that have emerged so far, such as the spelling of the dates, which speaks for a lasting attachment of Jacob to the Orthodox tradition) arises the possibility of critically examining certain assertions about Jacob Freud that are repeatedly found in the literature. Members of the Freud family and prominent biographers have assumed that

⁴³ Gadi Goldberg, the translator of the Hebrew texts into German, has also confirmed this use of the apostrophe, even though the writing is not entirely easy to read in these places.

Jacob Freud was not an Orthodox Jew long before Freud's birth, but a man of "liberalism and free-thinking" (Jones, 1972, p. 3) belonging to liberal Judaism,⁴⁴ or that he had turned away from all religious practices, especially Hassidic and Orthodox practices, when he left his home town, presumably in the mid-1830s, or at the latest and definitively since his marriage to Amalia Malka Nathanson (1835-1930), i.e. even before Freud's birth (Gay, 1998, p. 6; this assumption is also found already in Aron, 1957). In this context, it is often claimed that the wedding of Jacob and Amalia Freud, which took place on 29 July 1855 in Vienna (where Amalia was living with her parents at the time), was performed as a purely Reform ceremony by the liberal Rabbi Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793-1865). But as Goodnick (1988-1992) was able to show, there is no clear evidence for this (cf. also Rice, 1990, pp. 55-57 and Yerushalmi, 1991, p. 93; on Mannheimer's biography see Menges, 1990). The rationale for the hypothesis that Jacob consciously chose a Reform ceremony is related in no small part to the assumption that Mannheimer was clearly a Reform rabbi. At the time of Jacob and Amalia Freud's marriage, however, Mannheimer was precisely no longer such a clear representative of liberal or Reform Judaism, but had firmly criticized some of its consequences: for example, he considered the retention of Hebrew as a cult language to be indispensable and also rejected the break with traditional Judaism on other points. Mannheimer, who was at the same time anti-orthodox *and* anti-liberal, stood rather, as Jacob Freud also did, between the currents and lines of tradition of Judaism.

A similar pattern is also evident with regard to Ludwig Philippson and his biblical work, which is not infrequently attributed entirely to Reform Judaism, which is equally wrong (cf. chapter 2). As proof of Jacob Freud's radical and final turning away from the Orthodox faith of his childhood, Martin Bergmann (1976) even refers to his dedicatory letter in the *Philippson Bible*: no Orthodox, indeed no religious Jew could have written such a text; it was rather an expression of an affiliation with secular and enlightened Judaism. Only later will we be able to show how false and tendentious these claims are (for a detailed critique of Bergmann see also Goodnick, 1992, p. 333), but already now we can state that all these positions, which clearly and one-sidedly locate Jacob Freud in Reform Judaism and want to see him as a liberal "freethinker", cannot recognize and take into account the fundamental ambivalence and contradictoriness that constituted his attitude toward Judaism, and, moreover, they use problematic categories to place "Orthodox" or traditional Talmudic Judaism in a false opposition to the Enlightenment and liberal Judaism. Jacob Freud, on

⁴⁴ In a letter to the British psychoanalyst Masud R. Khan, Anna Freud, who was angered by the portrayal of Jacob Freud in the book by Marthe Robert *D'Oedipe A Moïse – Freud et la conscience juive* (Robert, 1974), wrote on 23 June 1975: "[...] she [Marthe Robert – W.H.] describes my father's father as an authoritarian figure, Orthodox Jewish and in every respect the kind of father against whom a son revolts. The true facts are that he was a *freethinker*, a mild, indulgent and rather passive man, just the opposite. Etc." (quoted in Young-Bruehl, 1988, p. 431; emphasis W.H.).

the one hand, turned away from the Judaism of his ancestors and yet at the same time remained faithfully attached to it (even after his marriage to Amalia and the birth of Sigismund), and his freethinking is rooted precisely in his early biblical and Talmudic studies, which he continued throughout his life (see below). Only in this , which runs through the whole entries in the *Philippson Bible*, can the relationship between Jacob and his son and Freud's relationship to Judaism be adequately understood.

In this context, let us recall a famous and often quoted memory of Sigmund Freud's about his father from *The Interpretation of Dreams*:

“I may have been ten or twelve years old, when my father began to take me with him on his walks and reveal to me in his talk his views upon things in the world we live in. Thus it was, on one such occasion, that he told me a story to show me how much better things were now than they had been in his days. ‘When I was a young man’, he said, ‘I went for a walk one Saturday in the streets of your birthplace; I was well dressed, and had a *new fur cap* on my head. A Christian came up to me and with a single blow knocked off my cap into the mud and shouted: ‘Jew! get off the pavement!’ ‘And what did you do?’ I asked. ‘I went into the roadway and picked up my cap,’ was his quiet reply. This struck me as unheroic conduct on the part of the big, strong man who was holding the little boy by the hand” (Freud 1900a, p. 197; emphasis W.H.).

What matters to me here is a certain detail (a classification of the entire passage follows in the 4th chapter): When a “new fur cap” is mentioned, then in all probability a *strejmel* is meant (see also Simon, 1957, p. 271), which besides the caftan was traditionally a characteristic garment of Hassidic Eastern Jewish men (especially those from Galicia), which they wore during religious celebrations and feast days. Jacob, of whom only pictures in bourgeois dress are known, presumably continued to wear the East Jewish costume long *after* he left Tysmenitz in the mid-1830s and even *after* he moved to Freiberg in the mid-1840s on “Saturday”, i.e., on the Sabbath on his way to synagogue, which immediately made him recognizable as a (Hassidic) Jew to the Christians in the village and testified to his continuing attachment to his religious origins. Jacob Freud even acquired a “new” fur cap at a certain point in time, i.e. renewed his religious clothing for some time after leaving his homeland, which he would certainly never have done without an enduring religious attachment.

In this context, it is also helpful to further differentiate the all too general terms used so far (Orthodoxy, Reform Judaism, Haskalah) and to take into account that they meant something different in the context of Eastern Judaism than in Western Judaism, which many authors

unquestioningly assume. For Eastern Judaism, since the 18th century, three main groups can be roughly identified: the *Hassidim*, the *Mitnagdim*, and the *Maskilim*. The group of *Hassidim* included followers of Hasidism, who had their roots in the mystical tradition of the (Lurianic) Kabbalah and to whom the strict observance of religious rules as well as the special, mostly mystical closeness to God were important (cf. Grözinger, 2005). In this direction, piety and its emotional expression were more highly valued than the extensive study of the Talmud. Against this, in the 18th century, increasing resistance arose in the ranks of the *Mitnagdim* (literally: opponents), who were extensively trained in the Talmud and, in view of the emphasis on piety and expressive *joie de vivre* in Hasidism, were concerned about the observance and fulfilment of the *mitzvot*. A third group that also developed in the 18th century were those of the *Maskilim*, who were followers of the Jewish Enlightenment movement *Haskala*. It is erroneously assumed that members of this last group renounced the practice of the Jewish religion almost completely and in an act of complete assimilation. However, this is precisely not true for the Eastern Jewish *Haskilim* and is rather to be understood as a projection of Western European developments; in any case, the Eastern Jewish Enlightenment movement is not to be confused with a “liberal” Reform Judaism⁴⁵: The Galician *Maskilim* in particular continued to adhere to religious rules and, as Yerushalmi (1991, p. 62) points out, “always to Hebrew and to traditional values of the Jewish people”.

Freud has emphasized that his father came from a Hassidic milieu and later became estranged from it (Freud, 1960a, p. 395 and 1957e, p. 227; on Hassidic roots, see also more recently Berke, 2015). Whether Jacob Freud was influenced, as Bakan (1958) assumes, even by more strongly mystical-Messianic movements, such as Sabbatianism or Frankism, is highly unclear and actually impossible to trace. It must also be said, by way of qualification, that in Jacob Freud’s native town of Tysemenitz, and in Galicia in general, the influence of Rabbinism was very strong, and Hasidism did not become widely accepted there until the 1840s, well after Jacob’s childhood (Krüll, 1986, pp. 88-91). It seems clearer, on the other hand, that he gradually turned away from the Hassidic ties of his parents and grandparents and toward the Jewish Enlightenment movement that took hold early on in Tysmenitz (the wearing of the *strejmel* and Hassidic costume still in Freiberg, however, shows that this did not happen abruptly). This movement, however, maintained fidelity to the Hebrew language, and Jacob Freud, though increasingly in a distinctly less observant manner, remained religious and idiosyncratically devoted to the study of the Talmud, rather the hallmark of “Orthodox” Judaism, throughout his life (see below).

⁴⁵ In Meyer’s (1988, pp. 143-164 and 191-200) authoritative and comprehensive history of the liberal Reform movement in Judaism, which takes into account worldwide developments, Eastern Judaism characteristically appears only in passing.

Now a short word about the term Jewish “Orthodoxy”: The label “Orthodox” and “Orthodoxy” was used as a self-designation especially in the German-speaking area by a certain direction of Judaism only then when one wanted to distinguish oneself critically from the Haskalah and vice versa representatives of this movement had brought the term into play in order to be able to contrast one’s own demand for reform of Jewry. It is often forgotten that the word “Orthodox” is rather of Christian origin; it was used to speak for instance of the “Orthodox Eastern Churches” or also of the “Lutheran Orthodoxy”. On the other hand, it has never been applied to Judaism before the end of the 18th century (cf. Schulte, 2002, pp. 184-198). This term implies an understanding of orthodoxy that was completely unknown for Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism and still is today, since this simply does not know obligatory articles of faith or even a creed. Correctly, therefore, one should rather speak of an *orthopraxy* in relation to “Classical Judaism”, which Mendelssohn also emphasizes when he writes: “Among all the precepts and ordinances of the Mosaic Law, not a single one reads: *Thou shalt believe! or not believe*; but all are called: *Thou shalt do, or not do!*” (Mendelssohn, 1783, p. 100; own translation).⁴⁶ One could even say, conversely, that liberal Judaism in Germany since the end of the 18th century, with its orientation towards codified doctrines and catechisms, became much more dogmatic than traditional Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism ever was (cf. also chapter 3). Finally, the term “Orthodox” is defamatory because it suggests that Talmudic Judaism has resisted all reform and is hostile to change. In fact, however, Talmudic Judaism itself, despite all the hardening in the individual groupings, is characterized by a lively culture of discussion, by an openness of interpretation, and by a mode of hermeneutics or approach to Scripture that functions without a dogmatic magisterium and has contributed significantly to ensuring survival in the ever-changing circumstances of exile and diaspora (cf. on this Hegener, 2017 and chapter 4). These brief remarks should also make it easier to understand that the frequently asked question of whether Jacob Freud was a “liberal” or “Orthodox” Jew is based on false premises and consequently cannot lead to any conclusive answers.

But let us now return to Jacob Freud’s entries in the *Philippson Bible*. The small sheet contains a lot more: In the middle there is a seal with Jacob Freud’s initials, in a spelling in which Latin letters and their Hebrew setting (from right to left) are combined in a characteristic way. But on it can also be discovered a long unnoticed entry written in *Yiddish* with Hebrew sprinklings, in which Jacob proudly and joyfully records the eruption of Sigmund’s first teeth:

⁴⁶ The well-known Rabbi Leo Baeck (1958, p. 12) succinctly formulated this basic trait of Judaism some 200 years later, “If one does not take this word too broadly, it can even be said that Judaism has no dogmas at all, and as a result, indeed, does not actually have an Orthodoxy.”

“On 4 Feber 1856 [sic!] my son (long shall he live) got 3 teeth” (quoted in Fichtner’s rendering, 2006, p. 117).⁴⁷

Jacob’s pride in his son’s early teething thus went so far as to backdate it by a year, for Freud was not yet born on February 4, 1856. Is this a Freudian slip, and does Jacob Freud’s wish that his father should have witnessed this early development of his grandson peek through here? The most significant fact about this entry, and one that is entirely consistent with this supposition, is that Jacob Freud, perhaps in exuberance or under the impact of his feelings, wrote it partly in Yiddish, the characteristic language form of his everyday life and for centuries of Eastern European Jewry, in which he was deeply rooted. With this additional entry, the “Gedenkblatt” expands and completes itself into a trilingual signature that points to a hitherto missing moment of cultural origin. The importance of this background is also evident from the fact that Freud’s mother, Amalia Malka (Nathanson) Freud, who was born in Brody/Galicia and also descended from an “Orthodox” Jewish family tradition with numerous rabbis and scholars (cf. Margolis, 1996 and Rizzuto, 1998, pp. 186-204), spoke primarily a Galician Yiddish and had little or no command of High German – this, at any rate, and the implication that Amalia spoke Yiddish with her son Sigmund, is reported to us by Theodor Reik, who visited her in Vienna in her later years (cf. Freeman, 1971, p. 80). Yiddish was thus the mother tongue (*Mamaloshen*) of both Jacob Freud and his wife Amalia, and of Sig(is)mund Freud.⁴⁸

Already the “Gedenkblatt” with the date note and the three entries reveals how Jacob, by mentioning the death of his father as well as the birth, circumcision, and first teething of his son, was concerned with establishing an intergenerational or genealogical bond. The life of Sigismund, after the death of his grandfather, was to be connected with that of his ancestors and inscribed in the Jewish covenantal tradition. Moreover, the trilingual nature of the entries makes visible the field of tension, the *cultural matrix*, as it were, in which Freud grew up and in which, in a certain respect,

⁴⁷ The German text reads: „Am 4. Feber 1856 [sic!] bekam mein Sohn (lang soll er leben) 3 Zähne.“ Gadi Goldberg, whom I asked to verify it, has commented on this text and the translation: “In fact, there is a sentence in Yiddish with 3 words in Hebrew. However, it is very difficult to decipher the handwriting, so I am not 100% sure that it really says the month of Feber” (email of 30 March 2020).

⁴⁸ Yerushalmi (1991, p. 69) notes on this topic, “I have casually counted thirteen Yiddish in the portions of Freud’s correspondence published to date. Significantly, perhaps, most of them crop up in the letters to Fliess, where Freud is at his most uninhibited. True, some of the words, such as *Schammes*, *Schnorrer*, *Meschugge*, even *Parnosse*, were common coinage even for those who didn’t know the language (like *Chutzpah* in current American idiom). But was that the case with words like *Knetcher* (wrinkles), *Stuss* (nonsense), *Dalles* (poverty), or *tomer dokh* (perhaps, after all?)” Marsha Rozenblit (2010, p. 24) writes in her essay “Assimilation and Affirmation. The Jews of Freud’s Vienna” about the widespread use of Yiddish among the Jews of Vienna who came from Galicia: “Other Jewish immigrants, however, in particular the Jews of Galicia, spoke Yiddish (having successfully resisted Joseph’s attempts to Germanize them)”.

the *Philippson Bible* also stands (even if in it the Yiddish-Eastern European tradition is not directly present),⁴⁹ into which this leaf was inserted.

III. Jacob Freud's "Widmungsschreiben"

Even more ambitious and allusive than the entries on the "Gedenkblatt" is Jacob Freud's dedication to his son on his 35th birthday, which is on the reverse side of the pasted leaf and reads like his testamentary bequest (fig 3 in the appendix). This leaf was mounted on a larger double leaf and placed on the third page of the Family Bible, inside. Sigmund Freud, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, received the newly bound and compiled Family Bible with the early entries and this dedication as a gift on his 35th birthday, the year Freud succeeded with his first book, *Zur Auffassung der Aphasien* (Freud, 1891b), written alone.⁵⁰ It is believed that Jacob Freud chose this birthday because, in the widespread understanding throughout Central Europe, reaching the age of 35 marked the point at which young age was replaced by middle age (Roback, 1957, pp. 95f.). Gresser (1994, p. 258, fn. 14), however, has drawn attention to another, more specifically Jewish meaning of this year number: Accordingly, the number 35 was attributed a special meaning in Eastern European Judaism and its folklore, since it was regarded as the number of good fortune and was understood as the sum of 5 x 7. Seven is an important biblical number, which above all stands for *fulfilment* – that is, for example, the fulfilment of the work of creation on the seventh day.⁵¹ And perhaps this can be linked to the fact that in 1891 Jacob Freud actually handed the Bible to his son for the second time after his childhood – once again, therefore, the motif of the twofold or two-sided acquisition appears here (see above) – and asked him not to forget the original order after his apostasy, and to give him another chance, i.e. to fulfil it (cf. on this also Yerushalmi, 1991, p. 108). It may have been important for Jacob Freud's choice of his son's 35th birthday for the presentation of the gift ribbon that an important event also occurred in his own life at that age. This requires a little further elaboration: For the Jews of the Habsburg monarchy, the year 1848 marked a decisive turning point (cf. Krüll, 1986, pp. 91-95; see above), as they were now finally granted full civil and political freedoms and no longer had to suffer from the restrictions on the right of residence and

⁴⁹ Regarding the family background of Ludwig Philippson, it can be mentioned here that his grandfather was a peddler who spoke only *Yiddish*. He wanted his son, Moses Philippson (1775-1814) (the father of Ludwig and Phöbus Philippson), to become a rabbi. Moses Philippson later became a Hebrew teacher in Frankfurt/Main, and already he translated biblical texts (I take this information from J. Philippson 1962, p. 98 and Rizzuto, 1998, p. 105; also see Chapter 2).

⁵⁰ In 1891 Sigmund Freud's study *Klinische Studie über die halbseitige Cerebrallähmung der Kinder* (Freud, 1891a), written together with Oskar Rie, was also published – Johann Georg Reicheneder pointed this out to me.

⁵¹ Freud speculated on the number 7 in a letter to Karl Abraham dated August 23, 1924 (Freud & Abraham, 2009b, p. 511) and provided his thoughts to Abraham for further use. In it, the reference to the Bible is missing, but Abraham then briefly pointed it out to Freud in its enclosed letter of 25 August (*ibid.*).

marriage. They were now faced with the choice of remaining in the hitherto largely traditionally shaped world of their fathers or assimilating into mainstream society. Jacob Freud had already left his home town of Tysmenitz and thus Galicia, which was a centre of Eastern Jewry and influenced by Rabbinism and later also by Hasidism, some years earlier (probably in the mid-1830s) and, after a period as an “Wanderjude [itinerant Jew]”, had moved to Freiberg in Moravia in the mid-1840s.⁵² He thus belonged to the group of pro-German and assimilationist Jews who sought their fortune in Bohemia and Moravia (and thus in closer geographical proximity to the Viennese centre of the Habsburg Empire), where assimilation progressed much more rapidly (see Haumann, 2002, pp. 191-192). There, however, he was accepted only as a “tolerated” Jew until 1848 and had to make constant humiliating requests to extend his right of residence in Moravia (cf. the collected documents in Sajner, 1968 and Gicklhorn, 1969). The political events of 1848 thus marked a turning point for him that cannot be overestimated: now he was able to finally discard his traditional Jewish costume and the last external restrictions associated with his origins (which, however, he did only gradually as far as the Jewish costume was concerned). It could well be that at this very time he changed his name from Freit or Freid to Freud – this as probably the clearest sign of his turning away from the paternal Yiddish tradition. According to the information on the “Gedenkblatt”, 1848 is now also the year in which Jacob Freud presumably acquired the Philippon Bible (see above)⁵³ and, by choosing this bilingual edition of the Bible, also decided on another major step away from the world of his fathers, which had been so strongly influenced by Yiddish and Hebrew. Yet, in the sense of the already repeatedly emphasized tension between turning away and loyalty, with the entries found in the “Gedenkblatt” not only in German, but also in Hebrew and Yiddish, he remained connected with one leg to the world of Jewish tradition despite all his turning away.⁵⁴ It is not known what happened in Jacob Freud’s life in the first years after 1848, but there is an important document from the year 1852, which comes from the “Verzeichnis der Juden, welche in der Gemeinde Freiberg wohnhaft sind” (a facsimile as well as a transcription of the information by Josef Sajner are printed in Krüll, 1986, p. 236). This register is, as it were, a document of having

⁵² In the certificate of the Freiberg clothiers’ guild from 1859, which was issued for Jacob Freud when he moved away, it is mentioned that he had already been “in our midst” for 15 years (quoted in Tögel & Schröter, 2004, p. 11). This would mean that Jacob Freud had already moved to Freiberg in 1844.

⁵³ The special significance of 1848 in Jacob Freud’s life, as described, is a weighty argument for the assumption discussed at the beginning of the chapter that he acquired the first two volumes of the *Philippon Bible* (in the first edition) in that year and not later.

⁵⁴ Whitebook’s (2017, p. 21) suggestion that Jacob Freud acquired *Philippon’s Bible* at this time in order to be able to actively participate in the “Reading and Cultural Association”, also founded in Tysmenitz in 1848 and associated with the Jewish Enlightenment, seems to me very unlikely. If we take seriously Freud’s remark that at the time of his birth his father had been “estranged from his native environment for almost twenty years.” (Freud, 1960a, p. 395 and 1957e, p. 227), then it is not plausible to assume that in 1848 he was still, or even predominantly, living in Tysmenitz (see also Krüll, 1986, p. 91-95). Between about 1835 and the end of the 1840s, when he settled in Freiberg, Jacob Freud rather lived as a „Wanderjude“ in Moravia.

arrived: herewith Jacob Freud was officially certified that he was a permanent member of the Freiberg community without the previous constant restrictions and uncertainties. In the directory, Jacob's age is erroneously given as 38 years; in fact, however, he was at most 37 years old. Jacob Freud thus reached the status of a man who had just and finally become independent one year after completing his 35th year, after he had entered the age of maturity according to the Jewish conception valid at that time, and not long before he married Amalia Nathanson and their first common son Sigismund came into the world (cf. on this also Rizzuto, 1998, pp. 34f.). But this step will at the same time have been connected for him with strong feelings of guilt, since with it the turning away from the paternal tradition was as it were sealed. He may have remembered the ambivalent significance of this break in his own life when he handed over the Family Bible to his son Sigmund on his 35th birthday.

Besides the first translation by Freud's two half-brothers (see below) several English versions of the Hebrew original of the dedication are available (e.g. Jones, 1972, p. 20-21; Goodnick 1992, p. 342; Rice, 1990, S. 37; Fichtner, 2006, p. 44). I have also had the dedicatory letter retranslated, added further scriptural references and, in order to do as much justice as possible to the original, have also checked the punctuation in the German version of the text printed below, noting that punctuation marks (full stops, commas) are missing in the original, in accordance with a widespread practice in Hebrew, and that Jacob Freud uses inverted commas only in direct scriptural quotations. Inserted into the sequence of lines chosen by Jacob Freud, the English translation of the translation from the Hebrew text into German by Gadi Goldberg reads as follows:

1. My dear son (*Jeremiah*, 31, 20) Schlomo
2. In the seventh year of your life (*Genesis*, 47, 28) the Spirit of the LORD began to move you (*Judges*, 13, 25)
3. and said to you (*Habakkuk*, 2, 1), "Go, read in my book which I have written" (*Exodus*, 32:32)
4. and springs (*Genesis*, 7, 11) of insight, knowledge and wisdom (18-prayer) will open up for you
5. Behold, it is the book of books, a fountain in which the wise have burrowed (*Numbers*, 21, 18)
6. and from whom the lawgivers learned insight/knowledge and righteousness/justice (*Isaiah*, 40, 14)
7. You saw the revelation of the Almighty (*Numbers*, 24, 4/16), you heard, and you laboured to do it
8. soaring on the wings of the Spirit (*Psalter*, 18, 11)
9. Since then the book was kept/hidden (*Deuteronomy*, 32, 34) like the broken tablets [of the law].

10. in an ark with me (*Berakhot*, 8b, *Menachot*, 99a and *Bava Batra*, 14a and b)
11. The day you turned thirty-five
12. I gave him a new leather binding (*Numbers*, 4, 10).
13. and called it, “Fountains rise up! Sing of him” (*Numbers*, 21, 17)
14. And I dedicate it to your name as a memorial (*Isaiah*, 26, 8).
15. and as a reminder of love
16. From your father, who loves you with an everlasting love (*Jeremiah*, 31:3). / Jacob, son of R. Shelomo Freid
17. In the capital Vienna, 29 Nissan 651, 6 May 891

Before we want to deal with this dedication in detail, a few things must be considered and named beforehand. First, it should be noted that on the first page of the inserted double leaf there is an English translation of the dedication in another handwriting (Davies & Fichtner, 2006, p. 42 and a photographic imprint in the digital catalogue, p1848b; see fig 4), which therefore cannot have been written by Jacob. Only the headline comes from him “My deer [sic!] son” and the date “6/5 91” in the footer, both written in an uncertain hand and afflicted with a misspelling (*deer* instead of *dear*). Presumably this translation was written at the instigation of Jacob Freud by one of Freud’s half-brothers, Emanuel Freud (1833-1914) or Philipp Freud (1834-1911), both of whom lived in Manchester, were active in the synagogue there, and still knew Hebrew.

The addition of such a translation can really only be understood as meaning that Freud was dependent on this help in order to be able to read the dedicatory text at all. The question that has often been raised as to whether Freud could speak and write Hebrew thus seems to be answered in the negative. More cautiously, however, one could take a middle position at this point and assume that Freud’s knowledge was not or no longer sufficient to be able to read a text written in Hebrew throughout. In this context, it must be taken into account that the dedication was written in *Hebrew script*, which differs considerably from Hebrew print. In the third chapter, which will deal with Freud’s religious education, it will become clear that in this context he only learned to read Hebrew print, but not to write Hebrew script. This circumstance, too, might explain why he needed translation assistance, and the existing English translation would not automatically be compelling evidence for Freud’s lack of any knowledge of Hebrew. To further clarify this question of Freud’s questionable knowledge of Hebrew would require much more elaboration; This cannot be done here, but we will develop the hypothesis in the third chapter that Freud received at least a rudimentary form of Hebrew instruction over presumably seven out of 12 school years, and that there is some evidence to suggest that he ‘forgot’ this knowledge despite his gift for the language and because of his extremely conflicted and ambivalent relationship with his parents

If we refer only to the insights into the trilingual “Gedenkblatt” developed so far in this chapter, however, it can at least already be said that the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, along with German, made up the early sound of Freud’s childhood. The entries and the bilingual *Philippson Bible* are in this respect expressions of an imprinting by a cultural-linguistic matrix that was effective before and beyond a complete acquisition of language. Let us add to this point the insight Freud formulated in *Moses and Monotheism* (1939a, esp. pp. 65-71), that the cultural transmission of central content and themes does not occur primarily by way of conscious (linguistic) transmission, but is essentially transmitted unconsciously and preconsciously, then we can no longer have anything other, than to assume an “enduring” influence on Freud by this Jewish tradition, also linguistically transmitted, on a very basic level, which inscribed itself deeply both in the core of his personal identity and, as will be made clear at least to some extent later in chapter five, in his psychoanalytic method and theory formation (cf. Hegener, 2017).

Freud’s remark from *Totem and Taboo* also fits with this insight that

“no generation is able to conceal any of its more important mental processes from its successor. For psycho-analysis has shown us that everyone possesses in his unconscious mental activity an apparatus which enables him to interpret other people’s reactions, that is, to undo the distortions which other people have imposed on the expression of their feelings” (Freud, 1912-13a, p. 158; emphasis W.H.).

There can be no serious doubt that Jacob Freud regarded his Judaism as something highly significant, and therefore certainly not that he imparted to his son the Jewish tradition together with the language forms of Hebrew and Yiddish that shaped it, together with all the inherent conflicts and fault lines. And against this background, it also makes sense that Freud was in a lifelong confrontation with this central and conflict-ridden paternal legacy, which he took up and continued in his very own way.

In this context, I would like to draw attention to two other peculiarities of the Freud’s Family Bible that have not yet been mentioned: There are underlining and some annotations in the *Hebrew* text on numerous pages, as well as colourings of the English woodcuts already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter (see Figs. 5 and 6 in the appendix).⁵⁵

The question arises as to who made the underlining and annotations. Did they come from Jacob or from Sigmund Freud (or even from other family members)? Rice (1990, p. 39) takes the position, citing unspecified and untraceable observations by the curators of the Freud Museum in London,

⁵⁵ I am grateful to Bryony Davies of the Freud Museum London for kindly providing this and the following illustration.

that similar underlining in red, blue, and green could be found in other books from Freud's library that Jacob had not been able to read. If this is true and Sigmund Freud did indeed make the underlining, then this would be strong evidence that Freud could at least read Hebrew and had studied the Masoretic text thoroughly. If, for further verification, one consults the numerous excerpts now available digitally from books in Freud's library collection, the pages of which have underlining in his hand (Fichtner & Davies, 2006, CD-Rom: p0523h-p, p1889q-v, p1960a-c, p2543a-j, p3197a-o, p3299b+e+g+i+t, p3424a+b, p3632b-m), the red, green and blue underlining mentioned above can indeed be found there. But in the 21 excerpts from the Family (Philippon) Bible available to me, I find only one- or at most two-colour underlining (perhaps done with two different pencils, but in any case no red, green or blue strokes under the lines). Even the few annotations are not clearly attributable after comparison with the handwriting of Jacob Freud (cf. for example the letter document of Jacob Freud in the Sigmund Freud Papers of the Library of Congress; <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss39990.01250/?sp=7+8>). After these considerations, the question of who made the entries cannot be answered and must remain open. Either way, however, the biblical work was the object of intensive study, was not simply read, but literally worked through.

In the case of the paintings of the English woodcuts, on the other hand, it is quite plausible to assume that little Sigismund, as many children of his age like to do, painted the pictures – perhaps while reading the Bible with his father, but also on his own and independently of this and even before he learned to read and write. This would make it even more understandable why Freud was very familiar with these illustrations, why they accompanied him even into his dreams, and why they also influenced him later in his choice of pieces for his collection of antiquities (for more on this, see Chapter 4). It is, however, also possible and conceivable that other children of Jacob and Amalia Freud have coloured in these or some of the pictures in the Bible – although, as we have been able to show sufficiently, a special and quite exclusive relationship between Jacob and Sigismund is connected with the *Philippon Bible*.

Before we can finally come directly to the dedication and its message after these preliminary considerations and intermediary steps, we must first take into account the stylistic form that determines it, which also already partly characterizes the entries on the "Gedenkblatt". It has already been noticed several times that Jacob's dedication, which he stylized as a letter to his son, was written in *melitzah*, a particular literary form known in Judaism. Melitzah can be broadly defined as a "mosaic of fragments and phrases from the Hebrew Bible, rabbinic literature, and liturgy" (Yerushalmi, 1991, p. 71; cf. also Roback, 1957, p. 94, who first called attention to this connection). Beyond this general observation, however, it is worth taking a closer look at this

particular form of writing: As Moshe Pelli (1993) has pointed out, *melitzah* belonged precisely to the literary inventory of the writers and poets of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. With the help of this stylistic form, they used biblical and literary sources quite freely and were at least initially sharply criticized for this. *Melitzah* was considered overloaded, long-winded, imprecise, bombastic, empty and extreme in the abundance of words used. The extent of associations and the almost abusive handling of the biblical texts were complained of, and it was thought that they were handled far too arbitrarily. However, if one turns this criticism into a positive one, one can claim that *melitzah* has the charm of the unexpected, depends heavily on the individuality of the writer, and that in this way highly creative and unconventional new creations can emerge. *Melitzah*, in its associative form, is thus reminiscent of the dream and its interpretation or, more generally, of formations in which space is given to primary-process thinking. And furthermore, we encounter here once again the tension between aversion and fidelity, for the enlightened will to escape the rabbinic Talmudic idiom happened with its resources and means. *Melitzah* is thus an enlightened form of rhetoric, but one that draws on quite traditional holdings of the Jewish scriptural tradition; it itself formulates an exegetical biblical commentary in the form of a midrash. The protest against outmoded forms of Judaism thus occurs on its own ground. Applied to Jacob Freud, this means that his dedicatory letter, written in *Melitzah*, represents a Talmudically inspired biblical commentary related to his immediate purpose, in which he could orchestrate all his knowledge.

This also applies to Jacob Freud, who made idiosyncratic use of this stylistic form and yet, or rather, precisely because of this, reveals his deep familiarity and attachment to the diverse Jewish textual tradition (on this, see also Blumenberg, 2012, pp. 275ff.). In particular, the Freudian approach to the tradition and its texts, schooled in Talmudic analyses, I suggest, became “enduringly” effective in his relationship with his son Sigmund. Freud may even have found in this treatment of texts a model for the psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams, in which their respective associative elements are traced *en detail* (see Chapter 5). All this makes it abundantly clear that Jacob has imparted to his son far more than “snatches of folklore seasoned with humiliating memories” or a “dead past” (Robert, 1976, p. 21), and that the Family Bible, together with its entries, is something quite different from a “family relic” (ibid., p. 22). Therefore, the assessment of Hessing (1993, p. 107; own translation), who declares about Jacob’s dedication: “On the borderline of the old and the new, the father has nothing to give his son but the sound of phrases that invoke tradition, but no longer make it effective”, seems to me completely wrong.

It can be assumed with some plausibility that Jacob acquired his comprehensive knowledge of the Jewish scriptural tradition at an early age, when he was quite naturally sent by his father Schlomo first to a traditional Jewish religious school (*cheder*) and presumably later to a *yeshiva* (Talmud

high school) for further, more in-depth studies (cf. on this Krüll, 1986, p. 90). It is important to note that scholarship in Eastern European Jewry was not limited to a small upper class, but since the 16th century Jews had the obligation to send their sons to school from the age of four to eight, where they learned Hebrew and read the Bible, in addition to the four basic arithmetic operations and the principles of morality. In the schools of the second stage, between the ages of eight and thirteen, intensive instruction in the Talmud and its commentaries was then added (see Haumann, 2002, pp. 25-26). However, it must be added at this point (see Chapter 3 for more details) that the *Jewish Bible* was rather neglected in Eastern Europe in the eighteenth and also nineteenth centuries in comparison to the Talmud in the classroom: While the Talmud was studied daily, Bible study was limited to the weekly Torah portion with the Rashi commentary on Friday mornings. The reading of biblical scriptures beyond the purely legal passages in the books of *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, and outside the five *megillot* set aside for the feast days, did not in fact take place (Liss, 2020, p. 245). Jacob Freud in all probability passed through both strands of education: He was able to learn about the Talmud in a still traditional class, in which he then probably read daily in his later life, and at the same time he was familiar with all biblical writings through the “rebirth of the Bible” (see also on this Chapter 2), which was initiated by the Enlightenment movement of the Haskalah. For confirmation and to give an impression of Jacob Freud and the atmosphere in which he was treated, here are two personal recollections of family members. Judith (Bernays) Heller (1885-1977), the daughter of Freud’s eldest sister Anna Freud-Bernays, who visited her relatives in Vienna from the United States for a while as a child, describes her impressions of her grandfather as follows:

“I cannot say who really supported this establishment. I do know that my grandfather was no longer working, but divided his time between *reading the Talmud (in the original)* at home [...]. It seems to me, as I look back now, that Freud’s father lived somewhat aloof from the others in his family, reading a great deal – German and Hebrew (not Yiddish) – and seeing his own friends away from home. He would come home for meals, but took no real part in the general talk of the others. It was not a pious household, but I do remember one Seder at which I, as the youngest at the table, had to make the responses to the reading of the song about the sacrifice of the kid, I was greatly impressed by the way my grandfather recited the ritual and the fact that he knew it by heart amazed me” (Heller, 1956, p. 419; emphasis W.H.).

Judith’s mother Anna Freud-Bernays also confirmed this impression when she wrote about her father: “My father, a self-taught scholar, was really brilliant. He would discuss with us children,

especially with Sigmund, all manner of questions and problems. We called these sessions ‘the family council’” (Freud-Bernays, 1940, p. 337).⁵⁶

At this point, it is helpful to take a closer look at Jacob Freud’s Galician origins, which can be linked to what has already been said above: he was born, we have already heard, in Tysmenitz⁵⁷ a town in Galicia that is now part of Ukraine and was widely known in the 19th century as a centre of Talmudic scholarship and Rabbinism. The movement of Jewish Enlightenment (Haskala), which was also very strong there – and it is possible that Jacob already got to know this movement in Tysmenitz and was influenced by it already there, and not only on his later travels through Moravia (see above) – did not stand in opposition to the biblical and Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition. The openness to new influences was here, as in general in Eastern European Jewry and distinctly different from Germany, combined with a fidelity to the Hebrew language and to rabbinic scholarship. It was said that there had never been so much Torah in the entire Diaspora as in Poland (Haumann, 2002, p. 30). Freud was able to experience in his encounter and confrontation with his father that Jewish Enlightenment and Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism need not be irreconcilably opposed to each other, especially since a certain, radical form of Enlightenment was already unfolding in the latter himself (cf. on this Hegener 2017, 3rd chapter as well as the 3rd chapter of this book). In the figure of his father, he was confronted with the type of the Eastern Jew as a “self-contained cultural personality” (Haumann, 2002, p. 56) that had been forming since the 18th century:

“An *Ostjude* is someone who consciously declares him/herself to be Jewish, the understanding of which has been disclosed through arduous struggle. Tradition and memory exercised a formative influence in this, although without the *Ostjude* necessarily being conservative minded. In fact, the East European Jew as a rule dressed in his own garb and lived his or her life in accordance with strictly observed religious laws, customs and rituals which have been handed down. Exceptions, of course, are common. In any case, the Yiddish language belongs to the East European Jews [*Ostjuden*], who have also produced their own literary and artistic creations, as well as legal norms in it. *Ostjuden* used Yiddish in their daily

⁵⁶ In the German typescript of the essay, this passage reads as follows: „Father was self-taught and possessed an extraordinarily high intelligence; he used to talk through many problems with us together, especially with Sigi, even when he was still a child. We always called these debates the ‚family council‘“ (Freud-Bernays, 2004, p. 213; own translation).

⁵⁷ In the Hebrew-language history of the town of Tysmenitz by Blond (1974, p. 37; English translation of Gadi Goldbergs translation of the Hebrew text into German) it says about Jacob Freud: “Jacob Freud was born in Tysmenyzja on 18.12.1815 as the son of Rabbi Schlomo, son of Rabbi Ephra’im Freud of Tysmenitz. He was one of the richest wool merchants in the town. After the death of his wife, he moved to Freiberg in Moravia, where his second wife gave birth to his son Sigmund on 6.5.1856. As reported by a grandson of Jacob, his grandfather liked to spend his free time in cafes, gardens and at home learning from the Talmud.”

dealings with one another, Hebrew remained the language of religious ritual and scholarship. In encounters with non-Jews, many Jews were in a position to use the relevant national language. Quite a few also had a command of German – not least because of its proximity to Yiddish – which was often the language of education” (ibid., p. 57).

But now we finally come directly to the dedication, which is stylistically structured like a *letter*, contains a very personal salutation and message, and “makes the entire Jewish (textual) tradition resonate” (Blumenberg, 2012, p. 275; own translation). As with the entries in the “Gedenkblatt” I will now go through the dedicatory letter line by line in every detail, analogous to the interpretation of a dream and the Rabbinic reading of Scripture, clarifying the biblical and extra-biblical references and attempting to make the text accessible to interpretation. It will prove particularly useful in this process to place the biblical passages in their wider narrative context, since this will make it easier to clarify the possible intentions and messages.

In *line 1*, it is immediately noticeable that Jacob Freud addresses his son neither as Sigmund nor as Sigismund, but with his clearly Jewish first name Schlomo, which connects him with his grandfather. In doing so, he directly follows up on the entries from 1856 in which Jacob noted the birth of his son shortly after his father’s death and linked him to the latter by naming him. Already with the first line Jacob reminds his son of his Jewish origin and strengthens this by a certain biblical reference which stands in the sign of loving and tender connection between God and son or father and son. In the book of *Jeremiah* in chapter 31, verse 20 it says: “Is Ephraim *a darling son*⁵⁸ unto Me? Is he a child that is dandled? For as often as I speak of him, I do earnestly remember him still; Therefore My heart yearneth for him, I will surely have compassion upon him, saith the LORD.” Ephraim, which is also the name of Jacob’s grandfather, stands in these verses of Scripture not only for a particular Israelite tribe of the same name, but for the entire northern kingdom, which is under massive threat from the Assyrians. This connects to a basic idea of the book, that God threatens his people Israel with the loss of the land if they fall away from him and follow other gods. In spite of the numerous complaints and words of judgment, as well as the announcement or threat of destruction and a long exile, words of salvation and comfort are spoken to the people in chapters 30 to 35 of the book, and in the 31st chapter, from which the quotation is taken, verse 31 announces a “new covenant” of God with the house of Israel and Judah. By referring to the first name of Shlomo and these biblical references, Jacob intones the theme of the entire dedicatory letter. With a prophetic, admonishing voice, he accuses Sigmund of apostasy from the Jewish faith

⁵⁸ I have italicized here and also in the other (scriptural) quotations the correspondences to the respective passages in Jacob Freud’s dedicatory letter.

of his fathers, but at the same time assures him of his love and holds out the prospect of a “new covenant”.⁵⁹

The importance of this chapter from the Book of *Jeremiah* for Jacob is also shown by the fact that he quotes from it again in the dedication, namely in *line 16*, i.e. in the last line before the conclusion of the dedication. In the verse now referred to it says: “‘From afar the LORD appeared unto me.’ Yea, *I have loved thee with an everlasting love*; Therefore with affection have I drawn thee” (*Jeremiah*, 31, 3). The two verses from *Jeremiah*, 31 (20 and 3) frame Jacob’s letter to his son and bind his reproach to him into the assurance of unbreakable and loving union and renewal – and this elevation of the promise of an irrevocable covenant between God and his people corresponds entirely to a basic feature of prophetic and, indeed, of biblical tradition.

In *line 2*, Jacob continues to address his son Sigmund directly, reminding him of the seventh year of his life, when he began to read the Bible intensively with him. He connects this memory with the special relationship story between Joseph and his father Jacob at the end of the latter’s life, as it is handed down in the biblical account:

“And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt *seventeen* years; so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were a hundred forty and *seven* years. And the time drew near that Israel must die; and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him: ‘If now I have found favour in thy sight, put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt’” (*Genesis*, 47, 28-29).

Before also examining this biblical story more closely in its broader context, it is first useful to consider the only passage in *The Interpretation of Dreams* in which Freud speaks (indirectly) about his reading of the *Philippson Bible*; here he reports a dream he had in a particular year of his childhood:

“It is dozens of years since I myself had a true anxiety-dream. But I remember one from my seventh [sic!] or eighth year, which I submitted to interpretation some thirty years later. It was a very vivid one, and in it I saw *my beloved mother, with a peculiarly peaceful, sleeping expression on her features, being carried into the room by two (or three) people with birds’ beaks and laid upon the bed*. I awoke in tears and screaming, and interrupted my parents’ sleep. The strangely draped and unnaturally tall figures with birds’ beaks were derived from the illustrations to Philippson’s Bible. I fancy they must have been gods with falcons’ heads from an ancient Egyptian funerary relief” (Freud, 1900a, p. 582).

⁵⁹ Perhaps Jacob also assumed, as Goodnick (1992, p. 343) suggests, that Sigmund knew the entire verse because it is recited on Jewish holidays.

This dream was so important to Freud and remained in his memory so clearly that he subjected it to an interpretation three decades later, i.e. at the age of about thirty-*seven*, and thus relatively soon after his thirty-fifth birthday. The initial time of reading the Bible together with his father, as is now evident, left such a lasting impression on him that the woodcuts were able to reshape the content of his dream and give it its characteristic shape. And perhaps this dream was recalled for Freud when he reread the *Philippson Bible* after his 35th birthday.

But now to the biblical story of Joseph and Jacob. In the 48th chapter that follows the quotation, we are told how Joseph, with his two sons Ephraim and Menasseh, comes before the dying Jacob so that he may bless them. Contrary to expectation and rule, Jacob intentionally blesses Ephraim with his right hand, even though he is the younger. Joseph dislikes this, and he points out to his father the binding nature of the tradition that Menasseh, as the firstborn, should be blessed with the right hand (on Freud's identification with Menasseh, see also Freud, 1900a, p. 196 and chapter 4). But Jacob sticks to his decision and tells his son that out of Ephraim will come a nation greater than that of his brother. To Joseph he then says that he will give him a piece of land more than his brothers. In the next, the 49th chapter, Jacob, in the face of his death, also calls Joseph's brothers to him, blesses them too, but at the same time speaks openly and bluntly of their problematic sides. Only Joseph receives Jacob's undivided approval, and he blesses him with moving words:

“Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee, And by the Almighty, who shall bless thee, With blessings of heaven above, Blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath, Blessings of the breasts, and of the womb. The blessings of thy father Are mighty beyond the blessings of my progenitors Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills; They shall be on the head of Joseph, And on the crown of the head of the prince among his brethren” (*Genesis*, 49, 25-26)

There is much to suggest that Freud identified with both Ephraim and, even more strongly, with Joseph – Joseph, along with Moses, was certainly the most important biblical identification figure for him. Freud receives, as it were, before his brothers and siblings from both the first and second marriages, a special blessing from his father, who alone dedicated an entry to him in the “Gedenkblatt”, only gave him the name of Freud's grandfather and only gave him the Family Bible. Jacob is sure that his son, the great dream-interpreter-to-be, will produce something important, a new great idea, and that for this reason he must give him the greatest possible freedom. How conducive and preferential Jacob Freud's relationship was to his son Sigmund is expressed by Freud in his *An Autobiographical Study*: “Although we lived in very limited circumstances, my father insisted that, in my choice of a profession, I should follow my own inclinations alone” (Freud, 1925d, p. 7).

The special relationship between Jacob Freud and his favourite son continues right up to the threshold of death at which Jacob now stands, and the biblical account provides a fitting foil for this as well: the archfather Jacob, who is set identical with Israel in the biblical account, wants his favourite son Joseph at the end of his life not to bury him in Egypt – in Jewish history and memory, Egypt is the epitome of the foreign domination and enslavement from which God liberated his people – but to lead him home (and we will see in chapter 4 that Freud takes up precisely this passage in a dream he had immediately after his father’s death). Jacob Freud wants his favorite son, Sigmund Schlomo, to reconnect with him in God and in Jewish tradition in the face of his impending death, just as he himself reconnected with his father in it after his father’s death. He hopes for Freud and gives him his special blessing with the dedication.

Freud was aware of the impact of this message and the special position it held for his father, for he notes in a footnote to *The Interpretation of Dreams*:

“It will be noticed that the name Josef plays a great part in my dreams (cf. the dream about my uncle [p. 137 ff.]). My own ego finds it very easy to hide itself behind people of that name, since Joseph was the name of a man famous in the Bible as an interpreter of dreams“ (Freud, 1900a, p. 483).

Freud was also aware of the jealousy that his special position must have aroused in his siblings. In *Moses and Monotheism*, written shortly before his own death, he recalls the story of Joseph and his privileged position with his father, along with its consequences: “If one is the declared favourite of the dreaded father, one need not be surprised at the jealousy of one’s brothers and sisters, and the Jewish legend of Joseph and his brethren shows very well where this jealousy can lead” (Freud, 1939a, p. 105).

At the end of the 2nd line there is another biblical reference, this time to the book of *Judges*. There it says in chapter 13, verse 25: “And the spirit of the LORD began to move him in Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol”. This is about the figure of Samson, who is said in the verse before to have been blessed by God and to be His “chosen one”. Samson is the hero of the tribe of Dan, and is considered the strongest man in the entire Bible, who, by his unusual strength and in spite of severe reverses, finally succeeded in defeating the Philistines, who for centuries had been engaged in bitter struggles with the Israelites and the Canaanite. By referring to this story, Jacob Freud addresses his son Sigmund as a strong, almost heroic figure who is especially blessed and chosen and who, as an Israelite or Jew, is able to defeat all his enemies.

In *line 3* there are two more scriptural references. The first comes from the book of the prophet *Habakkuk*, which belongs to the *Book of the Twelve Prophets*: “I will stand upon my watch, And set

me upon the tower, And will look out to see what *He will speak by me*, And what I shall answer when I am reproved” (*Habakuk*, 2, 1). The second reference is taken from the Book of *Exodus* and also takes up the motif of speaking to God: “Yet now, if Thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of *Thy book which Thou hast written.*” (*Exodus*, 32, 32). The fact that the motif of pleading with God is also meant here becomes clear if and only if one takes into account the wider narrative and plot context. Moses speaks these words to God after he had to realize that his people had made themselves guilty by their apostasy and the worship of the golden calf. Moses announces to his people that he will go up the mountain once again and ask God to forgive him. Arriving at God, he speaks the sentence just quoted. Once again, these references place Sigmund Freud in the role of the Israelite who has gone astray, and Jacob Freud in that of Moses, who asks for forgiveness on his behalf and for a second chance before God, and who holds himself liable for it. The remedy Jacob urges his son to overcome his apostasy is to read God’s book, the Bible. In the resumed reading of the scriptures he sees *the* means for the *restoration* of the closed covenant, and he reminds Sigmund that they both bonded early on in the reading of the book together.

The *fourth line* immediately follows the previous verse, because Jacob promises his son with a scriptural word taken from the Flood narrative that a great source of wisdom and knowledge will open up through the reading: “In the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the *fountains of the great deep broken up*, and the windows of heaven were opened” (*Genesis*, 7, 11). In this narrative, too, the motif appears that God is angry about the misdeeds of mankind and wants to punish them, and for a short time even regrets having created them in the first place. But then he overcomes his anger and makes a first covenant with man (the Noachide covenant, which will be followed by the Abrahamic covenant, the Moses covenant and finally the covenant with King David) to give him a new chance. God himself must go through a process of development here and learn to withdraw his anger. Psychoanalytically speaking, it could be said that God, who in the short term was, as it were, in danger of becoming psychotic in his excessive destructive rage, had to learn to reach the depressive position of taking back his own destructiveness and making a new life possible – in chapter 4 we will see that Freud, too, in identifying with Moses (with the “Moses of Michelangelo”) and with his Jewish father, gradually learned to restrain his rage.

In the 4th line, Jacob Freud continues to quote from the Eighteen Prayer (*Shmone Esre*), the main prayer in Jewish worship, in which the fourth petition (*Binah*) reads, “You favour mankind with *knowledge, understanding* and *insight*; blessed are You, Lord who graces us with *knowledge*” (<https://www.cce.community/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Prayer-Resource-2019.pdf>; for the German version see Bamberger, 1986, p. 42). With these lines, Jacob Freud perhaps reminds and

admonish his son that he does not owe his superior intellect to himself, but to God, and that he should not use it against him.

In *line 5* Jacob takes up the image of the spring and the well again and continues to praise the book of books. He now alludes to a passage from the 4th book of Moses: “*The well, which the princes digged, Which the nobles of the people delved, With the sceptre, and with their staves. And from the wilderness to Mattanah*” (*Numbers*, 21, 18). Here, too, an explanation is needed: In chapters 20 to 22 of *Numbers*, Moses and his brother Aaron accuse God of having led them into a desert where they cannot even find water. God is disappointed in Moses and Aaron, but indulgently allows water to gush from a stone.⁶⁰ Again, the Torah seems like an inexhaustible well, but one in which the Israelites have a flawed faith. Jacob reminds Sigmund Freud of this particular fountain or well, which he too has forgotten and disregarded, and at the same time assures him of his forbearance and patience.

Perhaps Jacob Freud was also aware that the spring or fountain is a frequently used metaphor for the Torah in Jewish literature, for example, in the Midrash literature. In the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (Friedländer, 1916, p. 6; emphasis W.H.) it says, for example:

“(R. Yochanan) said to him [R. Eliezer] I will (also) tell thee a parable. To what is the matter like? To this *fountain* which is bubbling and sending forth its water, and is able to effect a discharge more powerful than what it secretes; in like manner are thou able to speak words of the Torah in excess of what Moses received at Sinai.”

In *line 6*, Jacob Freud also picks up the thread from the preceding line and reminds his son that what is so important to him, insight and knowledge, should be drawn primarily from the Bible. This time he chooses for this purpose a verse from the book of the prophet *Isaiah*, or, more precisely, from the first chapter of *Deutero-Isaiah* (“Second Isaiah”): “With whom took He counsel, and who instructed Him, And taught Him in the *path of right*, And taught Him *knowledge*, And made Him to know the way of discernment?” (*Isaiah*, 40, 14). *Deutero-Isaiah* begins with God’s call “Comfort ye, comfort ye My people” (*Isaiah*, 40, 1), and the prophet proclaims that with the (Babylonian) exile the guilt of the people is done away with and God will come to lead them back through the wilderness to the land of Israel. The whole book speaks of the promise of the homecoming of the lost children of Israel and the restoration of Israel’s relationship with its God. This is the foil that Jacob Freud chooses and uses to exhort and plead with his son to restore his relationship with him and with

⁶⁰ In Chapter 4, we will examine the significance for Freud’s development of the story of the “water of strife”, which is soon to follow this narrative in terms of motifs, and which is reported in the 27th chapter of the Book of *Numbers*.

Jewish tradition. For him, it seems to be clear that God is, as it were, the ground of knowledge in this relationship, which makes it possible to grasp truth at all.

In *line 7* of the dedication Jacob Freud refers to the book of *Numbers* (see *line 5*), this time to two lines from chapter 24: “The saying of him who heareth the words of God, Who seeth the vision of the Almighty, Fallen down, yet with opened eyes he speaks who hears the words of God, sees the visions of the Almighty, stretched out, eyes unveiled” (*Numbers*, 24, 4) and

“The saying of him who heareth the And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High, Who seeth the vision of the Almighty, Fallen down, yet with opened eyes words of God, he speaks who hears the words of God, knows the tidings of the Most High, sees the visions of the Almighty, stretched out, eyes unveiled” (*Numbers*, 24, 16).

Here the context of the text is as follows: On their way through the desert the Israelites encounter the Moabites and Midianites. By order of the two nations Balaam is to curse Israel. But God commands him not to curse them and stops him. Balaam sacrifices to God and blesses Israel three times. When Balaam sees that it pleases God how he blesses Israel, he turns away from sorcery and toward the wilderness where he beholds Israel. As Balaam’s eyes and ears are opened, so Jacob desires his son Sigmund to see and, above all, to hear. He is to turn away, like the model Balaam, both from his struggle against Jewish tradition and from sorcery, and to turn entirely to the Word of God. And indeed, only a few years after his 35th birthday, Freud will turn away entirely from suggestion in the “secular” field of his treatments, and will listen and trust only to the Word involved in the (transference) relationship with passionate attention.

In *line 8*, the biblical reference comes from a Psalm of David that belongs to the series of so-called “Individual Songs of Thanksgiving”: “And He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; Yea, He did swoop down upon *the wings of the wind*” (*Psalter*, 18, 11). The Psalm as a whole tells of David’s rescue from the hands of all his enemies. In the deepest anguish of death, David cries out to God, and he hears his cries, floats down on the cherub, and stretches out his hand to save him. Now God becomes David’s confidence. This is also Jacob’s wish for his favourite son Sigmund: may he be carried through all hostilities by the Spirit of God and of Jewish tradition.

Lines 9 and *10* formally constitute the middle and in terms of content, as it seems to me, the centre of the entire dedicatory letter. Jacob refers in these two lines, on the one hand, to a verse from the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which says: “Is not this *laid up* in store with Me, *Sealed up* in My treasuries?” (*Deuteronomy*, 32, 34). What is sealed up, as the continuation of the line shows, are the *broken* tablets of the law. The meaning of this statement can only be understood by the reference from the next line (*10*), in which Jacob says that these are kept with him in the ark. He thus alludes

to biblical interpretations found *only* in the *Babylonian Talmud*, which he evidently knew well. More precisely, the passages referred to are found in the tractates *Berakhot* (8b), *Menahot* (99b) and *Bava batra* (14 a and b) (cf. also Yerushalmi, 1991, pp. 73-74) and are to be understood as midrashim, i.e. biblical interpretations of the 10th chapter of the Book of *Deuteronomy*. In verse 1, Moses is told to hew two new stone tablets for himself, to make a wooden ark and to place the tablets in it. It is helpful to bring to mind the wording of these three passages in order to understand exactly how this biblical verse is interpreted by Talmudic scholars and why Jacob chose it:

- In Tractate *Berakhot* (8b) it says in this regard, “*And be careful to continue to respect an elder who has forgotten his Torah knowledge due to circumstances beyond his control. Even though he is no longer a Torah scholar, he must still be respected for the Torah that he once possessed. As we say: Both the tablets of the Covenant and the broken tablets are placed in the Ark of the Covenant in the Temple. Even though the first tablets were broken, their sanctity obligates one not to treat them with contempt. An elder who forgot the Torah knowledge he once possessed is likened to these broken tablets.*”
- In Tractate *Menahot* (99b) we read, “*Reish Laqis says: Sometimes the apparent dereliction of the study of Torah is its foundation, e.g., if one breaks off his studies in order to participate in a funeral or a wedding procession. This is derived from a verse, as it is written: ‘And the Lord said to Moses: Hew for yourself two tablets of stone like the first, and I will write upon the tablets the words that were on the first tablets, which [asher] you broke’ (Exodus 34:1). The word ‘asher’ is an allusion to the fact that that the Holy One, Blessed be He, said to Moses: Your strength is true [yishar kohakha] in that you broke the tablets, as the breaking of the first tablets led to the foundation of the Torah through the giving of the second tablets.*”
- Finally, in Tractate *Bava Batra* (14a and b), referring to *Menahot*, it says: “*‘There was nothing in the Ark except the two tablets of stone which Moses put there,’ which, according to the opinion of Rabbi Meir, teaches that something else was in the Ark besides the tablets themselves? It serves to include the broken pieces of the first set of tablets, which were placed in the Ark. [...] He requires it for that which Reisch Lakish teaches, as Reisch Lakish says: What is the meaning of that which is stated: ‘The first tablets, which you broke [asher shibbarta]’? These words allude to the fact that God approved of Moses’ action, as if the Holy One, Blessed be He, said to Moses: May your strength be straight [yishar kohakha] because you broke them.*”

The Talmudic scribes interpret the biblical verse quite typically freely and assume that the *broken* tablets are to be placed in the ark and kept there for a specific reason: One should not, it is said, treat contemptuously a scribe who has forgotten his studies through misfortune, that is, not through his own fault (that is, who has broken the tablets), but should keep the way open for him to turn to

the Scriptures again. Whoever forgets his studies and the words of the Torah through misfortune, it is emphasized, they have not departed from his heart. But actually the Talmudic teachers go a step further, for they state that God even thanked Moses for breaking the (first) tablets. Then, in Tractate *Menahot* (99b), this idea is topped when it states, “*Sometimes the apparent dereliction of the study of Torah is its foundation.*” Forgetting and even (dis)disturbing the Torah and its study, symbolized in the breaking of the first tablets, are thus necessarily part of the process of learning and living, and are precisely not to be persecuted and punished, but treated with forbearance. Yes, they are even explicitly welcomed. Here we encounter again the tension between betrayal and fidelity already described several times: the attack on the laws and thus on the core of Jewish tradition is part of it; one continues it precisely by (dis)disturbing it.

A motif that has already been mentioned several times is now revealed in its full meaning: in a certain sense, it is precisely the destruction of tradition that makes its *restoration* possible. This corresponds to the idea of reversion (*teshuva*), so important for Judaism, according to which the possibility of repentance is already inherent in creation itself (this is discussed in the Talmud tractate *Nedarim*, 39b). Seen in this light, it is precisely the sinner who can become a “master” or “mistress of repentance” (“*baal teshuva*”) (cf. Berke, 2015, pp. 149-163). This, however, requires a certain attitude towards the sinner (see also the following chapter on Jacob Freud’s birthday letter to his son Alexander), which is not characterized by revenge and punishment, but allows for the possibility of forgiveness and “reparation” (M. Klein, 1935) and is therefore so eminently conducive to development.⁶¹

Jacob Freud, who himself also broke with his father’s tradition by turning to the Haskalah and leaving the traditional Jewish world (cf. Krüll, 1986, pp. 91-99; see above) and at the same time thereby continued it in his own way, lets his son know that he understands well the dynamics associated with this process. He assures Freud that he has not thrown away the tablets he broke, but has kept them safe for him so that he has the opportunity to restore them in his own way. Jacob Freud thus assumes, in a certain way, the role towards his son that Moses held before God as the intercessor of the unfaithful people: his intercession after the apostasy that occurred during the time of his first sojourn on Mount Sinai, in fact, proceeds by calling upon God to “remember” the covenant, considered “eternal”, that he made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Israel) (*Exodus*, 32,

⁶¹ From a Jewish perspective, Martin Buber has repeatedly insisted that Judaism represents a world view that is fundamentally open. According to this view, both man and God have the possibility of repentance (*teshuvah*): repentance means repentance on the part of man and forgiveness on the part of God. Only in the dialogical openness in the relationship between God and man can this principle be realized. And only a being that can choose between an alternative “is fit to be the interlocutor of history. The future is not fixed, for God wants man as one who comes to him in all freedom, who can even turn back to him from the utmost lostness and who is then really with him” (Buber, 1955, p. 58f.; own translation).

13) and to refrain from his intention to annihilate his people as punishment, goes far beyond the request for mere mercy: God, too, must abide by the covenant he has made and allow himself to be admonished by Moses to repent (“Turn from Thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against Thy people” (*Exodus*, 32, 12)).⁶² After God had repented, Moses was able to climb Mount Sinai again and to strike a second pair of tablets, so that a new beginning in the history of the relationship between God and the Israelite people or another covenant agreement became possible.

The biblically and Talmudically grounded train of thought conveyed in lines 9 and 10 of the dedicatory letter implies that Jacob accepted his son’s “patricidal” attack on Jewish tradition, even approved of it as necessary in a certain respect. In any case, he did not take revenge for it because he knew that it represented an act of creative destruction and that such an act made possible a new beginning and further development of the very tradition thus attacked. Jacob Freud thus facilitated for his son the working through of central fears necessary for a creative process that result from such an attack (fears of persecution of the paranoid-schizoid position and feelings of guilt of the depressive position) and enabled him to follow the path of reparation as well as of stubborn restoration. It was precisely this very personal attitude of his father, at the same time deeply rooted in the Jewish tradition, that enabled Sigmund Freud to permanently internalize him as a “good object” and to use him for the pending development of psychoanalysis (see the detailed explanations in chapter 4).

The next two *lines 11* and *12* continue exactly this thought: What Jacob has kept for his son, the Bible and the law respectively the broken tablets of the law, he now gives him on his 35th birthday in a new form, namely newly bound in a leather binding. Hereby he refers to a verse from the book of *Numbers*: “And they shall put it and all the vessels thereof within a covering of *sealskin*,⁶³ and shall put it upon a bar” (*Numbers*, 4, 10). In chapter 4 of this book, God tells Moses and Aaron what the Levites (that is, the group who perform the temple service) are to do with the foundation or meeting tent as well as the holy ark of the covenant in preparation for the coming migration and for his and their protection. The Levites thus become the bearers and keepers of the holy of holies, and,

⁶² This is not the first situation in the *Jewish Bible* where God has to put up with being questioned by a human being and is reminded of the demand for justice. The first is in the Book of *Genesis* (18, 16-33), when Abraham negotiates with God over God’s planned destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Abraham comes before God and asks him whether he wants to accept the destruction of the righteous along with the destruction of the wicked; he argues in a lengthy conversation that not only the presence of fifty, but already the presence of only ten righteous in the city justifies its sparing (cf. also the other scenes in *Numbers*, 14, 13-25 and 16, 22, in which Abraham negotiates with God about a threatened destructive punishment and the latter is dissuaded). It is as if both Abraham and Moses wanted to remind God that the (Oedipal) law applies not only to the children but also (or perhaps especially) to the father and the parents. God must, as it were, accept the reminder that he is not an unlimitedly powerful ruler or primordial father, but that the law he has enacted for his people and the covenant he has made with them are also valid and binding for himself.

⁶³ Philippson translates this word in his Bible as “Tachaschfell”. Tachaskin is either the skin of a porpoise or dolphin species or a badger skin or soft tanned leather. The tachaskin was considered a particularly valuable leather and was therefore used for the outermost cover of the tabernacle.

in order to devote themselves wholly to this task, are exempted from defence and warfare. One could now say, by analogy, that Jacob took over this service of the Levites for Freud and guarded the Holy Book for him and, on the threshold of middle adulthood, bound it anew for his further life's wanderings, so that it could survive the dangers ahead and remain for him as probably the most important and most sacred treasure.

In the following *line 13*, the motif of the well (or more generally, the source of water) appears for the third time. Jacob Freud mentions the following verse from the book of *Numbers*, "Then sang Israel this song: Spring up, O well – sing ye unto it" (*Numbers*, 21, 17). This was preceded by God's calling Moses to gather the thirsty people who were on their way to the land of Moab to give them water. In the context of the dedication, Jacob probably wants to convey again and again that the Bible is an inexhaustible spring from which Sigmund can drink his fill, especially when he is in need. This is coupled with a praise to God ("Sing ye unto him!") that makes this possible. And this praise slowly heralds the end of the dedicatory letter.

Also the verse from the book of *Isaiah* mentioned in *line 14* "Yea, in the way of Thy judgments, O LORD, have we waited for Thee; To Thy *name* and to Thy memorial is the desire of our soul" (*Isaiah*, 26, 8) serves the praise of God and leads over to the last two lines in which Jacob assures his son three times of his past ("reminder of love") and everlasting ("everlasting love") fatherly love. This love is placed in the sequence of father-son relationships that Jacob has already documented with entries in the "Gedenkblatt". The dedication letter ends (before the date) with the mention of "R. Schelomo Freid", as whose son Jacob signs.

Jacob's dedication appears, if we look at it as a whole, not only formally with its salutation and the greeting line like a letter. Jacob Freud, obviously a great connoisseur of Jewish literature and master of the Scriptures, i.e. a scriptural scholar, addresses his son personally with each of the references and wants to convey a certain message to him, especially with the allusion to the tablets of the law twice given to Moses, which I would like to try to clothe in conclusion in the following words:

"My beloved son Schlomo! Today, on your 35th birthday, I give you our Family Bible, the Bible of Rabbi Philippon. You know it well, for we read it together from a very early age. Yes, with its help I helped you to learn to read, namely our very special way of reading, shaped by Rabbinical and Talmudic Judaism, which I learned from scratch when I was a child in Tysmenitz. In the meantime you have turned away from our religion and from the Book of Books, but I have kept the Bible for you, which you have attacked in this way, as Moses once did for his people with the broken tablets, in order to give you a second chance. I am deeply grieved over your apostasy and at times even very angry, but I will not treat you

contemptuously and break the rod over you. Even though your turning away goes much further, I know this step from my own life as well. I too turned away from the tradition of my father, who died the year you were born and whose name I gave you for that reason, moved away from my hometown, and eventually shed my Eastern European Hassidic garb. I was very sad after my father's death and full of guilt for being so estranged from him. I was so glad and happy that you were born so soon after my father's death. Even then I wished that you would continue our tradition, so I began early, following the instructions of our tradition, to read the Bible intensively with you. Now, with the help of my daily reading in the Holy Scriptures, especially in the Talmud, I have made myself aware that I have to trust You and that I can also count on You that Your turning away is not the last word and that it is even an inevitable part of Your development. Without this turning away you could not find your own way. I also know that you will still achieve great things, that you are a scribe, educated and successful. You will go much further than I have ever been able to, but you should remember that your superior intellect can make you arrogant. You may forget that there is something greater than your mind, the very source of knowledge and wisdom. However, now that I am old and about to die, I would like to tell you once again that my love for you has always been overflowing and that, as was once the case with our Archfather Jacob and his children, you are and were dearer and closer to me than all your brothers and sisters. Sustained by this love, I trust that You will turn again to the Bible and to our Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition and renew them in Your field. This is my legacy to you! Read the Bible and also the Talmud! This will help you more than you may be able to believe at the moment! Your dearly loving father Jacob Freud, son of Rabbi Schlomo blessed, son of Rabbi Ephraim Freid blessed from my Galician Eastern Jewish hometown Tysmenyzja.”

Postscript: Sin, sacrilege and smoke – a birthday letter to Alexander Freud

There is another document, written only two years later, i.e. in 1893, which, although less elaborate, is related in form and content in a certain respect, and which also comes from the pen of Jacob Freud and also stands in the context of a father-son relationship – according to my research so far, this document has only been reproduced in one place (Goodnick, 1993) and has not yet been taken note of at all in the German-speaking world. Although this letter does not belong directly to the relationship between Jacob and Sigmund Freud, it nevertheless fits the context of this chapter in

terms of form and content and allows us to draw conclusions about Jacob Freud's attitude towards his children.⁶⁴

On his twenty-seventh birthday, Jacob congratulated his youngest son Alexander Gotthold Ephraim Freud (1866-1943) with a letter that bears striking similarities to the dedicatory letter to Sigmund Freud, both in its intertextual, bilingual structure of references and in essential statements. Jacob writes to Alexander (in the words of my own translation):

“My dear youngest / son Alexander / I am happy also to celebrate your 27th / birthday and hereby pass on to you / the most heartfelt congratulations and blessings. / God keep you & bless you. He shine / you his face [*Numbers*, 24, 23-27] and give you perfect / satisfaction Amen / Amen / As a gift I give you cigars / to smoke as a reference to /

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/ which our people emphasize on New Year's Day, i.e., / let sin and iniquity be consumed like the / smoke from all the earth [*Psalter*, 37, 20]. / On Thy 28th New Year's Day consume them / and let all the wickedness of men also / be consumed. / Amen. / Your loving / father / Jacob Freud / Wein [sic!] 19t April 893 / IX. Grünethorgasse14” (quoted in Goodnick, 1993, p. 260; the inserted dashes mark the line breaks – see fig 8 in the appendix).⁶⁵

Also in this letter, written in a fine literary style, there are some revealing references to the Jewish scriptural tradition: in his birthday wishes Jacob quotes the priestly blessing that Aaron and his sons are to bestow on the people in the Book of *Numbers* (*Numbers*, 6, 24-26) after God's commission to Moses – it is known both in Jewish and (in a modified form) in Christian Protestant liturgy as the “Aaronic Blessing”:

“The LORD bless thee, and keep thee; The LORD make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; The LORD lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. So

⁶⁴ Goodnick gives the *Library of Congress* as the location of the document. So far I have not been able to find it (at least) in the *Collection of Sigmund Freud Papers*.

⁶⁵ The text in the original German reads: „Mein lieber jüngster / Sohn Alexander / Ich bin glücklich auch Deinen 27ten / Geburtstag zu feiern und übergebe Dir / hiermit den innigsten Glückwunsch und Segen. / Gott behüte & segne Dich. Er leuchte / Dir sein Antlitz [*Numeri*, 24, 23-27] und verschaffe Dir vollkommene / Zufriedenheit Amen / Amen / Zum Geschenk übergebe ich Dir Zigarren / zum verrauchen als Anspielung auf / was unser Volk am Neujahrstag betont, d.h., / die Sünde und der Frevel soll wie der / Rauch vernichtet werden von der ganzen Welt (*Psalter*, 37, 20). / An Deinem 28ten Neujahrstag verrauche sie / und alle Bosheiten der Menschen sollen auch / verrauchen. / Amen. / Dein Dich liebender / Vater / Jacob Freud / Wein [sic!] 19t April 893 / IX. Grünethorgasse14“. Jacob Freud does not write out the millennium number in this date either.

shall they put My name upon the children of Israel, and I will bless them” (*Numbers*, 6, 24-27).

The passage from the letter written in Hebrew is a Psalm word that is read not only on the Jewish New Year (*Rosh Hashanah*), but also on the highest of the Jewish holidays, *Yom Kippur* (Day of Atonement). It reads, “For the wicked shall perish, And the enemies of the LORD shall be as the fat of lambs – They shall pass away in *smoke*, they shall pass away” (*Psalter*, 37, 20). In his translation of the Masoretic text, Ludwig Philippson speaks here of the “wicked [Frevler]”, while other translations speak much more sharply of the “ungodly”. Thus this verse of the Psalm in the version of the *Luther Bible* reads, “For the *wicked* shall perish; and the enemies of the LORD, though they be as bright eyes, yet shall they perish as the smoke passeth away.” Goodnick (1993) has pointed out that Jacob Freud made two linguistic changes to these verses in his birthday letter. First, with typical Talmudic interpretive freedom, he writes neither “sacrilegious” nor even “ungodly”, but, in a variation of this highly personalized attribution, speaks of “sin” and “sacrilege”. What is at issue here, then, is not an absolutely set personal quality that completely defines a person, but an action that need not be completely identical with the person performing it. Secondly, Jacob Freud uses the phrase “*like smoke*” instead of merely “smoke”.

It seems to me that these two modifications, if we look at them more closely, point in the same direction as the basic statements in Jacob Freud’s “Widmungsschreiben” to his son Sigmund. With these modifications, there is a retraction of the murderous impulses of destruction against concrete people, and Jacob transforms a physical event into a metaphor. There is thus a transition from concretism to symbolic function, from the paranoid-schizoid to the depressive position: The ungodly can be burned, but not iniquity and sin; a different way of dealing with them is necessary, one that enables the person who has erred to distance himself from his actions. If we take the two letters of Jacob together, then he might even have meant that the iniquity and the sin against God belong to the relationship with God, have to be dealt with and need a merciful and non-vengeful dealing and counterpart.

Jacob’s use of the words “iniquity” and “sin” and the variations he has made also subtly allude to a narrative handed down in the *Babylonian Talmud* in the tractate *Berakhkoth* (10a) and well known in the Jewish context; it deals with the only woman named as a scholar in Talmudic literature, Berurya, and her husband Rabbi Meir:

“There were these hooligans in Rabbi Meir’s neighborhood who caused him a great deal of anguish. Rabbi Meir prayed for God to have mercy on them, that they should die. Rabbi Meir’s wife, Berurya said to him: What is your thinking? On what basis do you pray for the

death of these hooligans? Do you base yourself on the verse, *as it is written: 'Let sins cease from the land'* (Psalm 104:35), which you interpret to mean that the world would be better if the wicked were destroyed? But *is it written, let sinners cease?'* Let *sins* cease, *is written*. One should pray for an end to their transgressions, not for the demise of the transgressors themselves.”

The idea of the difference between person and action just developed is particularly beautifully unfolded in this story. Rabbi Meir wants revenge and to destroy the people who torment him. But his wife Berurya, referring to a verse in the Psalm, draws his attention to the fact that what is at stake is the overcoming of sin and that sinners are in need of mercy and the possibility of conversion and repentance. It could be that with this text Jacob alludes to a conflict that resulted from the turning away of even his youngest son from the Jewish tradition, and that he wanted to say:

“I do not condemn you, my son. You are not the godless and hopeless sinner and apostate who deserves death and destruction. You, like every human being, but especially like every young person who quarrels with and attacks Tradition, are in need of forbearance and mercy. Attacking tradition, as I myself know from my own experience, is part of tradition, and only through it can it preserve and renew itself.”

Something else should be added at this point: In favour of Jacob Freud’s referring to *Berakhkoth* speaks another passage in that tractate, presumably in the background of this letter on Alexander Freud’s 27th birthday. There, reference is made to the significance of the year 28 and the date of spring in Jewish tradition:

“The Sages taught: One who sees the sun in the beginning of its cycle, the moon in its might, the planets in their orbit, or the signs of the zodiac aligned in their order recites: Blessed... Author of creation. The Gemara asks: And when is it that the sun is at the beginning of its cycle? Abaye said: Every twenty-eight years when the cycle is complete and returns to its genesis, and the Nisan, vernal, equinox, when the spring days and nights are of equal length, falls within the constellation of Saturn on the night of the third and eve of the fourth day of the week, as then their arrangement returns to be as it was when the constellations were first placed in the heavens” (Berakhkoth, 59b).

In Jacob Freud’s birthday letter, not only does the year 28 also appear, but approximately the date falls in the spring month of Nisan (April 19). Nisan is the first month in the religious calendar in Judaism, and the turn of the year of Nisan’ always falls in the period from mid-March to mid-April.

When Jacob Freud writes, “On your 28th *New Year’s Day* consume them [the cigars] and all the wickednesses of men shall also consume”, he is wishing for his son to wait a year, to begin his life anew at that time, and to overcome the wickednesses. Here too, then, we find (as in the “Widmungsschreiben”) a desire for renewal and conversion through overcoming one’s own affects. Sigmund and his brother, however, are not only each connected to their father by a dedicatory letter, but also, as is well known, by a trip they took together to Athens in the summer of 1904 and a visit to the Acropolis, which also has a direct reference to their father and was associated with a “disturbance of memory”. Freud reports (also) in a birthday letter to Romain Rolland (Freud, 1936a and 2021a) about this trip, which originally was not supposed to lead to Greece and Athens at all; it only resulted from a suggestion by a business friend of Alexander Freud in Trieste. The latter suggested that the two of them should not continue on to the hot summer island of Corfu, as originally planned, but instead visit Athens. Freud now describes how he and his brother were in a strange and persistently bad mood after this suggestion, which he could not understand – especially since the prospect of seeing Athens tied in with old childhood wishes. It was not until 1936, more than 30 years later, that Freud was able to elucidate this reaction conclusively and now understood it as the expression of a feeling of guilt towards his and their father for having “brought it so far”:

“It was something to do with a child’s criticism of his father, with the undervaluation which took the place of the overvaluation of earlier childhood. It seems as though the essence of success was to have got further than one’s father, and as though to excel one’s father was still something forbidden” (Freud, 1936a, p. 246).

Sigmund and Alexander Freud, both already professionally successful and holding professorial titles by the time of the journey, have indeed come a long way in their desire to overcome the “limitations and poverty of our conditions of life in my youth” (ibid., pp. 245-246) and assimilate. Yet Freud writes down this memory when he was in the midst of working on his testamentary late work, *Moses and Monotheism*, and had long since made his way “from the Acropolis to Sinai” (Le Rider, 2002), turning again and intensely to his father’s legacy. His sense of guilt probably also had to do with the fact that he had repeatedly strayed far and often too far from his father’s Jewish heritage in his life. But we can say, on the basis of what we have learned so far, that Jacob Freud allowed his sons both to go far and move away from their origins and to remain faithful to the Jewish tradition in their own special way – but the more detailed reconstruction of this tense development in Freud’s life must be reserved for a later chapter, Chapter 4.

Finally, it is interesting to know that Alexander Freud also wrote a text called “Die Traumdeutung”, or more precisely a speech on his brother’s work of the same title. This text was not published

during his lifetime, was probably intended exclusively for the family circle after the publication of Freud's book, and was probably delivered there on New Year's Eve 1899 (A. Freud, 2002). I mention this speech because in it Alexander Freud employs a Yiddish word for the dream or dreams, *chalomes*, which presupposes a greater familiarity with Yiddish, which seems quite natural in its use in the Freud family, and which can perhaps be seen as a reminiscence of the father as well as of the Eastern Jewish heritage of both parents – this would correspond with the importance that the father and his death had for Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* and its genesis (see Chapter 4). In a paragraph on Freud's theory of the dream as a wish fulfilment, Alexander Freud writes critically:

“I have come closer to this assertion and have established in an undoubted manner, on the basis of the material at my disposal, that this assertion of my great colleague is at least inaccurate. From countless dreams |: Chalomes :| of my friends, as well as from my own, it was possible for me to state that the dream brings with it the fulfilment only of those desires that were *not fulfilled while awake*. Ex contrario: fulfilled desires are not dreamed” (ibid. p. 137; own translation).

Chapter 2

Ludwig Philippson and the Rebirth of the Jewish Bible

“For the voice of this book must not allow itself to be enclosed in any space, not in the hallowed interior of a church, not in the speech sanctuary of a people, not in the circle of celestial images that sweep across a nation’s sky. It wants to resound again and again from outside, from beyond this church, from beyond this people, from beyond this heaven. It does not deny that its sound is echoing in spaces, but it itself wants to remain free. If it has become familiar, accustomed, possessed somewhere, then it must again and again disturb the content saturation of the supposed owner as a strange, unfamiliar sound from outside” (Rosenzweig, 1926, pp. 105-106; own translation).

Introduction

In the last chapter, a first attempt should be made to show, with the help of a detailed analysis of the entries contained in the (Family) Philippson Bible, what a determining significance the reading of biblical writings, integrated into the relationship with his father, had for Freud’s development. It is worth mentioning in advance that the third chapter will produce the finding that the study of the Bible was of also great importance in Freud’s religious education in Vienna in the 60s and 70s of the nineteenth century. Access to the Bible in its “original language” was not only considered indispensable in preparation for full participation in synagogal worship, but its comprehensive knowledge was regarded as a core pedagogical element in the introduction to a modern Jewish culture and the acquisition of a contemporary Jewishly determined identity. Before turning to these lessons in more detail, a gap must first be filled: So far, Philippson’s biblical work has been presented only in its rough structure as well as in its publication history, but its more accurate analysis and classification in terms of religious and cultural history has not yet been done. Such a consideration will help to understand better what is referred to by the keywords of a modern “Jewish culture” and “Jewish identity” related to the Bible. To do this, we need to widen the circle of enquiry, namely to raise the question beyond the family and school context why the *Jewish Bible* across all directions and denominations was accorded such a high significance in the process of the formation of a modern Judaism and which preconditions for it had to be created in a process lasting many centuries.

In order to access the Bible with this intention and effect at all, good Jewish-German translations had to be created that offered an acceptable alternative to the prevailing Christian texts, especially the *Luther Bible*. In the context of the new translations that increasingly emerged from the end of the seventeenth century onwards (cf. on this Bechtold, 2005 and Gillman, 2018), a surviving ancient text was transformed into a “Modern Jewish Bible” (Levenson, 2011), and the “Holy Scriptures” thus became, in a sense, the “Book of Books” (Shavit and Eran, 2007), which now became not only a religious, but for many a (sometimes even exclusively) cultural-worldly point of reference. This transformation was all the more urgent because of the increasing Christian-colonial dispossession of the Hebrew or of the original Masoretic text: Not least, Martin Luther (1483-1546), with his highly influential translation of the Old Testament, pretended to liberate its assumed Christian or, more precisely, Christological sense from the Jewish body of the Hebrew letters and, disregarding the Jewish exegetical tradition, transformed the book of the Jewish people into that of “the Germans”, both in terms of language and content (Seidman, 2006, especially pp. 115-152). This process found a continuation in a certain sense in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Protestant-influenced, historical-critical research of the *Jewish Bible* called *Old Testament*, in which its unity and authenticity were radically questioned. These researches not infrequently had a distinctly anti-Jewish slant; they painted a negative picture of biblical Judaism, understood and often discredited the *Jewish Bible* as an “oriental” book, and in this way sought both to rid themselves of their own origins in Judaism and to alienate Jews from their possessions and their past.

In contrast, a “culture of translation” (Seidman) was developed and culturally positioned in a process spanning many generations, which made the very own Jewish approach to the biblical text strong and created a “modern Jewish Bible” in a kind of *counter-translation* against the colonial treatment or even colonization of the biblical texts prevailing in Christianity. The German-Jewish translations of the Bible thus stand in a field of tension between (Christian) culture of dominance and (Jewish) self-assertion, in which the political negotiation of religious-cultural meanings was at stake. Ludwig Philippson’s bilingual work on the Bible, with its comprehensive commentary and woodcuts, which Freud read together with his father and which had an “eduring” influence on his religious socialization and intellectual development, can only be adequately understood in the overall cultural-historical context of the developments to be outlined here in broad outlines. The attempt to trace these in more detail will be undertaken in certain steps below.

I. From the “Holy Scriptures” to the “Book of Books”

Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran (2007) in their study *The Hebrew Bible Reborn. From Holy Scripture to the Books of Books*, were able to show impressively how, in a process that took place in the German-speaking world over about three centuries and probably reached its preliminary climax in the second half of the nineteenth century, Jews increasingly learned to regard the Bible as the most important source and the most significant heritage of a common scriptural culture that has endured for millennia, and how they reappropriated it, albeit in new and changed ways. In this context, Richard Cohen (2002) appropriately speaks of a “process of repossessing”. Not only was the Bible translated in large numbers first into Yiddish and then into German and reinterpreted in many ways, but it became formative for one’s own self-understanding both in public discourse and in private life and was understood as the indispensable and unique contribution of Jewish religion and culture to the development of all humanity. In the course of this “Biblical Revolution” it became, in summary, the decisive building block and key moment of an obstinate Jewish identity and developed its influence even into the Zionist movements.

To speak of revolution in this context may sound exaggerated at first glance, but this turn of phrase becomes more understandable if we consider that the transformation of the “Holy Scriptures” into the “Book of Books” has been a constitutive component of a modernization encompassing all areas of Jewish life, of religious reform, of secularization, as well as of the newly emerging nationalistic self-image, and has helped to drive all these developments. In the course of such a radical transformation, at least as Shavit & Eran (2007) accentuate this process, the “people of Torah (and *halakhah*)” became a “people of the Bible”. Perhaps, however, we should be a little more careful in our wording, and also remind ourselves at this point of the tension between radical modernization of tradition and fidelity to it, which we find reaffirmed again and again: Despite all the innovations and repostings that have made a different text out of what appears to be the same one, it has still been the Jewish Hebrew Bible that has been referred to, and the treatment of the traditional holdings that have been handed down (this applies above all to rabbinic Judaism with its exegetical works of the Midrashim and the Talmudim) has varied greatly in detail: it has ranged from sometimes complete rejection in the *Wissenschaft vom Judentum* to its emphatic assertion (but also reformulation) in neo-orthodoxy. And it is also true: despite all modernization and secularization, there remains in this book a traditional and religious surplus that has always resisted its radical dissolution into the merely secular.

In any case, it can be said that influential currents of the Jewish Enlightenment movement Haskalah began in the 18th century to detach the Bible from its theocentric orientation and to understand it as an essentially cultural-literary document, in whose world view one believed to discover a complete foundation of all forms of human existence and fundamental philosophical and ethical ideas, to which a universal significance was to be attributed, with far-reaching consequences for the whole of Jewish life – and thus also for the other directions in Judaism. But even now it can be put in perspective that the Jewish Enlightenment scholars, unlike the Christian-Protestant biblical research in its historical fundamentalism and scripturalism, were mostly and not primarily interested in questions of chronological classification and the respective authorship, but read the biblical texts with regard to their thematic relevance and thus remained in the continuity of the rabbinic exegesis of the Midrashim – and this still applies to Freud, who also read them in this sense (see chapter 5). Only in this way could the Bible become a formative book, or better still: only in this way could it remain so through its transformations and fulfil its function as a connecting bridge between the ancient past of the Israelite people, the present of the modern Jews who have come under considerable pressure to assimilate, and the hoped-for future of complete emancipation or longed-for state formation. The Bible was seen as an outstanding literary document containing a system of ethical principles, constituting the Jewish people as a living historical entity with a universal mission to the world and ensuring its continued existence.

The directions in Judaism differed in their understanding primarily according to whether they understood the Bible as a sovereign human and independent creation or just denied this assumption. The question that separated the Enlightenment movement from (neo-)Orthodoxy was primarily whether the Bible was to be understood as a supra-worldly divine or human-cultural creation, that is, whether it was humanly or divinely inspired. Another question related to its dependence or independence on tradition: can the biblical text be understood at all without the great post-biblical Rabbinic-Talmudic commentary literature, or precisely only in the unity of written and oral tradition? From the orthodox and neo-orthodox side, the Enlightenment movement was accused of separating the written Torah (expanded Bible) from the oral (and later written) tradition: It copied Protestant biblicism and its principle of *sola scriptura*, and thus moved in a direction that had already been taken by the Caraeans and was now leading to heresy.

To this a short explanation is inserted here: The religious community of the Caraeans, which arose in Mesopotamia in the 8th century CE, was by no means a merely marginal group and experienced a heyday in 10th- and 11th-century Palestine, forcing an important hermeneutical debate about the understanding of Scripture and the relationship between written and oral Torah. They understood Judaism strictly as a book religion and, like the Sadducees (and to a certain extent the Samaritans)

before them, assumed that it was entirely contained in and grounded in the written law of the Bible, which was a self-contained and final revelation and required no further development within the framework of rabbinic interpretations (oral Torah). Their slogan was, “Search the Scriptures properly (yourselves) and do not rely on my opinion”. In the last part of the sentence a relativisation of the oral Torah is pronounced (cf. on this Liss, 2020, pp. 31-36).

But although for Orthodoxy in opposition to these currents in Judaism the indissoluble coherence of written and oral tradition was indeed defining and decisive, there was also in this Jewish denomination a rediscovery of the Bible – think, for example, of the great five-volume translation of the *Pentateuch* (*Der Pentateuch übersetzt und erläutert*), which was written between 1867 and 1873 by the founder of *Neo-Orthodoxy*, Samuel Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888), and which with its symbolic understanding of the *Halacha* is still considered particularly subtle today (see below).

The Enlightenment movement, on the other hand, claimed that the almost exclusive and supremacist study of the *Talmud* and the rabbinic writings had led to the erection of a wall between the Jewish community and mainstream society and to the isolation of Jews. The almost exclusive status of the Talmud and the method of its study, the *pilpul*, had become quite obsolete and the greatest obstacle on the road to religious reform and emancipation. And what is more, the Bible had been criminally neglected by the primacy of Talmudic study, and could no longer be perceived and recognized in its independent value. To rediscover it and to strengthen its importance was the declared goal of many Jewish Enlightenment thinkers.

Heinrich Heine understood how to formulate this critique, spread over various of his writings, like probably no one else, and he shall therefore function here as a guarantor for the last development described. In his book *Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland* (*Concerning the History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany*), he clearly identified the anti-Talmudic tendency in the Jewish Enlightenment:

“As Luther had overthrown the Papacy, so Mendelssohn overthrew the Talmud, and in a very same way, namely, by repudiating tradition, by declaring the Bible to be the source of religion, and by translating the most important part of it. By so doing he destroyed Jewish Catholicism, for such as Luther had destroyed Christian Catholicism. The Talmud is, in fact, the Catholicism of the Jews” (Heine, 1835, p. 193).

Whether Moses Mendelssohn actually “overthrew” the Talmud is more than questionable, since for him the unity of *Haskalah* and *Halacha* was still decisive, not least in his translation of the Pentateuch (see below) (cf. on this, for example, Grözinger, 2009, pp. 380-416). It is no less questionable whether Rabbinic-Talmudic literature can be compared or even equated with

Catholicism – Rabbinism has indeed also developed a (textual) tradition alongside the Bible, but due to its own principle of openness to interpretation, it lacks any tendency towards dogmatization, and there is no binding Magisterium (cf. on this Hegener, 2017). Nevertheless, this quotation makes it clear why, according to the conviction of the Jewish Enlightenment thinkers, the Talmud obstructed access to the Bible and that they were concerned with freeing it from obscurity. This led to an increasing high esteem of the biblical writings, which quite reminds of Protestantism and its criticism of Catholicism and connects to it (however, as we will see in a moment, with a decisive difference, which is ultimately one for the sake of the whole). But from the Jewish side the central one, namely the Jewish contribution to the rebirth of the Bible was emphasized, which was mostly just suppressed by the Christian authors.

Heine also gave an example of this when he wrote in his *Confessions*:

“Now, in my later and more mature days, when the religious feeling again surges so overwhelmingly in me, [...] now I chiefly honour Protestantism for the agency in rediscovering and circulating Holy Scriptures. I advisedly use the word rediscovering; for the Jews, who had preserved the Bible from the great conflagration of the second temple, and all through the Middle Ages carried it around with them like a portable fatherland; kept their treasure carefully concealed in their ghetto. Here came by stealth German scholars, the predecessors and originators of the Reformation, to study the Hebrew language, and thus acquired the key to the casket wherein the precious treasure was inclosed” (Heine, 1854, p. 276).

For Heine, it is precisely the Bible, and it alone, that constitutes the “portative fatherland” and the “treasure” of Judaism. The traditional rabbinic literature, which came into being after “the great conflagration of the second temple” and was certainly no less essential for the continued existence of Judaism, no longer appears at all in these considerations. With partly similar formulations, Heine also emphasized in his writing on Ludwig Börne the central position of the Bible as a *book*, and no longer as a “Holy Scripture” dependent on being supplemented by oral tradition – and this concerns the second important point besides the criticism of the Talmud. The book of the Bible is now the treasure out of which the Jewish people alone can gain its indestructible peculiarity and assure itself of it:

“The Jews should easily console themselves that they have lost Jerusalem and the temple and the ark of the covenant and the golden instruments and jewels of Solomon ... Such loss is but slight in comparison with the Bible, the indestructible treasure they saved. If I am not

mistaken, it was Mahomet who called the Jews ‘the people of the book’, a name which has remained with them to this day in the Orient and is profoundly significant. A book is their fatherland, their possession, their ruler, their fortune and their misfortune. They live in the fenced marks of this book, here they exercise their inalienable right of citizenship, here they cannot be chased away, they cannot be despised, here they are strong and worthy of admiration. Immersed in the reading of this book, they noticed little of the changes that were taking place around them in the real world; nations rose and vanished, states flourished and died out, revolutions stormed over the face of the earth ... but they, the Jews, lay bent over their book and noticed nothing of the wild chase of time that was passing over their heads!“ (Heine, 1839, pp. 38-39; own translation)

A little later there are almost hymn-like formulations about the Bible, praising above all its literary qualities:

“I have been reading again in the Old Testament. What a great book! Even more strange to me than the contents is this presentation, where the Word is, as it were, a product of nature, like a tree, like the sea, like the stars, like man himself. That sprouts, that flows, that sparkles, that smiles, one does not know how, one does not know why, one finds everything quite natural” (ibid., p. 44; own translation).

Let us summarize: In contrast to the traditional and Orthodox view, the Bible is now understood as a distinct and independent creation. Its interpretation is no longer dependent on the exegetical approaches of the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition. The text is understood as a historical and literary document that guarantees continuity and identity, as well as containing a treasure trove of humane and ethical attitudes and an overarching world view. Although the Enlightenment movement of the Haskalah rediscovered the Bible in this way, the criticism of Orthodoxy that it assimilates Judaism to Protestantism misses the mark at a crucial point. We will see in the course of the chapter that Protestant translations of the Bible operate under the central premise of a Christological appropriation and neutralization of the Masoretic text (*sola scriptura* here means first and foremost *solus Christus*), and show that all Jewish translators, regardless of their provenance, have strictly rejected this perspective.

Shavit and Eran (2007, p. 20) succinctly summarized the “Biblical Revolution” in seven points:

1. In various circles, the Bible replaced the *Mishnah* and the Talmud as the book expressing the spirit of “authentic Judaism” (the “Mosaic” or “Biblical”).

2. All 24 books of the Bible, not only the Torah of Moses (namely the *Pentateuch* – that is, in the common expression of the Vulgate: *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*) and the liturgical books were now perceived as the spiritual-literary creations of the Jewish people (and no longer as directly divinely inspired). Within this framework, the books of prophecy and wisdom, understood as expressions of Judaism’s universal message and its inherent ethical monotheism, were accorded a particularly important value and status.
3. The presence, status and weight of the Bible in Jewish culture in general and in Jewish education in particular were strengthened.
4. There was a growing interest in the Bible as a special literary and historical document representing the biblical period.
5. The question of the veracity and reliability of the biblical historical narrative was given increasing importance and value – not only to the traditions about the origin of the nation, but also to the history of the Jewish people in the land of Israel.
6. Jewish scholars began to use modern scientific means to conduct studies and research on the biblical period, showing a growing familiarity with the results of Christian biblical scholarship and research on extra-biblical sources discovered by ancient Near Eastern archaeology.
7. The Jewish public gradually began to take a greater interest in issues related to Bible study and the history of the ancient Near East and the land of Israel during biblical times.

Again anticipating, we can say that these general developments were also reflected, with a certain refraction, in Freud’s religious education, in which the Bible was read, as far as possible, without reference to the Rabbinic-Talmudic commentary literature, as a historical and literary document containing a universal ethic or the ethical monotheism of Judaism – in this, however, the religious reference was preserved, since Enlightenment criticism in the Habsburg Empire of the nineteenth century was less radical and operated in a more restrained manner.

For the program of the “Biblical Revolution”, which was also reflected in the religious education of the second half of the 19th century in the Habsburg Empire, not least the numerous Bible translations were indispensable, because it was only they that turned the Masoretic text, which was intended and reserved for synagogal use, into a German book available for broad cultural use (see below). In addition to this internal Jewish demarcation, however, another one was indispensable in external relations: The Jewish translations are namely also to be understood as counter-translations, which formed in resistant demarcation especially from Protestantism of Lutheran orientation, which

under an extreme Christological scripturalism tried to disinherit the Jews from their biblical possessions in a colonial gesture.

II. Bible translation as a Christian-colonial project in Protestantism

In her almost classic study *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Tejaswini Niranjana has shown that modern Western translation practices were not and are not politically neutral and unproblematic processes, but emerged under specific, namely colonial, conditions, reproduced the unequal power relations in imperial contexts, and in some cases continue to reproduce them. Western thought, she argues, has often aided and abetted colonial domination, not least through translations, by constructing “exotic” subjects. In her study, Niranjana has examined translations of Indian texts into English from the eighteenth century to the present and has been able to trace concretely how scholars, administrators, and missionaries in occupied India translated the literature of the colonized people in order to extend the boundaries of the British Empire. She concludes the following:

“Translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within, in asymmetrical relations operating of power that operates under colonialism. What is at stake here is the representation of the colonized, who need to be produced in such a manner as to justify colonial domination [...]” (Nranjana, 1992, p. 2).

However, Nranjana’s study aims to go beyond mere analysis and encourage postcolonial peoples to conceive of translation as a site of resistance and transformation, that is, to create forms of “counter-translations”.

At one point in her book, Niranjana discusses the specifically religious context in which the translations she examines were situated:

“What has only recently begun to be discussed, however, is the question of the historical complicity in the growth and expansion of European colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of those interested in translating non-Western texts (for example, the missionaries engaged in spreading Christianity) and those engaged in the study of ‘man’” (ibid., pp. 47-48).

Translations were accordingly understood as a “humanistic” project and were to bring faith and the true, namely already Christian understanding of the texts to the unbelievers. What Niranjana has described for the Indian-colonial society, i.e. in the external relationship of the European-British

culture, can also be found centuries earlier *within* the Western societies and can be referred to the context of the Christian Bible translations since the time of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation. These too cannot be adequately understood without the developments of Christian dominant culture and its missionary activity, modern capitalism as well as colonial imperialism; they too operate with the schema of superiority and inferiority, of true and false meaning. Niranjana (ibid., p. 53) herself points to Luther's remark in his missionary *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* [*Circular Letter on Translating*], in which he effectively equates translating with "verdeutschten" (to Germanize). According to Luther, naturalizing Germanization is the goal of the translation of the entire text of the Christian Bible: this is true for the New Testament writings,⁶⁶ but also and in an even more special way, as we will now show, for the "Old Testament".

Naomi Seidman (2006), in her remarkable study *Faithful Renderings. Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation*, further substantiated Niranjana's reflections and subtly explained how, in the context of the Humanist and Reformation projects of Bible translations since the early modern period, Jews were largely and increasingly treated only as colonial objects (this concerned above all the converts, who knew Hebrew, were initially still and even urgently needed, but then replaced and made superfluous), how the Masoretic text was, as it were, colonially appropriated (it was not only to be "Germanized" but completely Christianized within the framework of a Christological interpretation), and how the aim was to suppress as far as possible all cultural differences.⁶⁷ But there is something more essential: on the one hand, the missionary hopes of the Reformation efforts refer to Jews, but on the other hand, they are also the source of what Seidman aptly calls "genealogical anxieties". Indeed, the assumed asymmetry between Christians and Jews was complicated by their possession of cultural capital: Jews have brought in the corpus of the "Old Testament" biblical writings, and these writings embody, as it were, the original, while Christianity, in contrast, appears only as the translation. These fears were triggered not least by the fact that Luther's scriptural principle of *sola scriptura* led his own translations away from the more recent texts of the Latin *Vulgate* towards the older Greek translation (*Septuagint*) and the Hebrew or Masoretic original text. Certain reformers did their utmost to dispel the disparity between original and translation as a mere appearance and to fortify the colonial asymmetry against the ever-present threat of destabilizing their own asserted superiority. The end result was a Reformation Christianity that had severed itself from its own Jewish roots.

⁶⁶ In the *Sendungsbrief vom Dolmetschen*, the word "verdeutschten" appears a total of eight times in the text (Luther, 1530, pp. 15 [2], 16, 20, 22, 23 [3]). For the sake of better readability, I deliberately quote and translate this work in the version given and not from the *Weimarer Ausgabe* of his works, to which I otherwise refer.

⁶⁷ Göttert (2017) has recently traced this process as a „story of a hostile takeover“.

Luther's translations of the Bible into German were, as is well known, not the first – even before Luther's translation of the New Testament in the period between 1466 (the year in which the *Mentelin Bibel*, the first printed Bible in a vernacular language ever appeared) and 1522 (the year in which the *Halberstädter Bibel* was printed), 18 German printed Bibles alone are known (cf. on this the study by Landgraf & Wendland, 2005) –, their actual significance does not derive from a temporal lead. Rather, they have had such a tremendous impact because Luther succeeded in a style-defining way in creating a clear, everyday and comprehensible language with great widespread and long-distance impact. Luther broke away from the word-for-word translations from Latin (New Testament – *Vulgate*), Greek (Old Testament – *Septuagint*) and Hebrew (Masoretic text) that had been common until then and chose a German that was close to the people. This made his Bible editions so popular in theological circles as well as with the general public that all other translations still available could no longer be sold. The immediate and resounding success of Luther's Bible can be seen in the following figures alone: Between 1522 and 1546, 430 partial or complete translations appeared in German-speaking countries (the *New Testament* appeared for the first time in 1522 and the complete *Luther Bible* in 1532; see below).

Luther justified his approach to translations in the *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* [*Epistle of Interpretation*] thus:

“Likewise here, Romans 3, I have known very well that in the Latin and Greek text the word ‘solum’ does not stand, and would not have needed the Papists to teach me such. True: These four letters ‘s-o-l-a’ are not in it, which letters the asses’ heads look at as cows look at a new gate. But we do not see that it nevertheless corresponds to the sense of the text, and if one wants to *translate it clearly and violently*, then it belongs in it, because I wanted to speak German, not Latin nor Greek, when I had undertaken to speak German when interpreting” (Luther 1530, p. 20; own translation and emphasis).

It is revealing that the translation of the New Testament came easily to him and he was able to complete it within only a few months (between December 1521 and March 1522) at the Wartburg. The translation of the Old Testament, on the other hand, took him just over a decade to complete, with some help, between 1522 and 1532. This had to do not only with the disparity in scope of the two Testaments, but primarily with the fact that Luther had never learned Hebrew sufficiently to read, let alone translate, the texts without help. Despite the support of Philip Melancton (1497-1560) and the Wittenberg professor of Hebrew Matthew Aurogallus (Goldhahn) (c. 1490-1543), the work on them proved extremely arduous. He himself vividly describes an example of these difficulties in the *Sendbrief*:

“And we have very often encountered that we have searched and asked for a single word for fourteen days, three, four weeks, and still have not found it at times. In Job we worked so, Magister Philips [Melanchton – W.H.], Aurogallus and I, that in four days we could sometimes hardly finish three lines” (ibid., p. 20).

While the Latin and Greek were very familiar to him (he knew the *Vulgate* as good as by heart, so that he did not, or hardly, need the copy he had at his disposal at the Wartburg for the translation of the New Testament, as far as was known) and seemed to submit well to his translation efforts, the Hebrew text was obviously far more foreign to him. It was with great difficulty that he succeeded in forming from the language of the Hebrew Bible a non-theological, uniform usage German that overcame the heterogeneity of the various dialects and was henceforth to function as the new *lingua franca* of the Christianity that was renewing itself in the Reformation. The “Germanisation” of the Bible and the access to it that was no longer bound by tradition and mediated by priests, can be seen, as has often been the case, as a challenge to the ecclesiastical-Catholic or papal authorities (although Luther always endeavoured to reject and dispel the latter). However, it can also be understood, which has hardly ever been done so far, as a response to Jewish biblical authority and Jewish exegesis as well as an assertion of the superiority of Christian biblical interpretation. Seen from this perspective, Luther’s naturalizing translations served equally, and even primarily, to neutralize and domesticate an experience of the resistant (Jewish) stranger (Seidman, 2006, p. 119). In the “Summarien über die Psalmen und Ursachen des Dolmetschens” [Summaries on the Psalms and Causes of Interpretation], which appeared three years later, Luther expressed even more decisively than in the *Sendbrief* his expropriating approach to the Hebrew text of the *Jewish Bible*, which was aimed at strict Germanization:

“But once in the Psalm we have ventured much, and often given the sense and let the words go far. [...] Whoever wants to speak German must not use the Hebrew words wisely, but must see to it, when he understands the Hebrew man, that he grasps the meaning and thinks thus: Dear, how does the German man speak in such a case? If he now has the German words that serve for this purpose, he should leave the Hebrew words alone and speak the meaning freely in the best German he can” (Luther, 1533, p. 11; own translation).

In order to fully transform a Jewish book into the Old Testament, a book for the Germans and a German book, Luther not only wanted to transform the Hebrew into German writing, but also to further establish and consolidate a form of (Christological) access to Scripture that was completely independent of the tradition of Jewish exegesis and radically opposed to it. How much not only the

Christian heretics (for example in the form of the Anabaptists) were a thorn in his side in this enterprise, but he especially wanted to keep Jews away from the translation, becomes apparent in the following quotation from the *Sendbrief*:

“Therefore I hold that no false Christian nor Rottengeist can faithfully interpret; as this becomes clear in the Prophets, translated at Worms [in 1527 Hans Denck (c. 1500-1527) and Ludwig Hätzer (c. 1500-1529), two leading Anabaptists and dissident theologians, published the so-called *Wormser Propheten*, the first Protestant translation of all the prophetic books], in which truly great diligence has been applied and my German has been followed very closely. *But there have been Jews among them who have not shown Christ great favour* – in itself there would be art and diligence enough” (Luther, 1530, p. 25; own translation and emphasis).

Of the two Anabaptists Denck and Hätzer, Luther can still say approvingly that they had worked on their translations with “art and diligence” and that they had followed his German. But what completely discredits all their efforts, even more than their dissident positions on the question of infant or adult baptism or the disputed sacramental meaning of the baptismal rite (“but”), is the fact that “Jews have been among” who had not shown any homage to Christ. From Christ alone (“*solus Christus*”), we may conclude, only one proper translation can arise at all in Luther’s understanding. Christ is not only the sole mediator of salvation in general, but in particular also the guarantor of the correct reading and translation of the Old Testament Scriptures. The Jews, since they stubbornly deny and deceive the supreme significance of Christ for salvation, must be prevented from translating the Bible into German, must be disinherited from their sacred writings, and these must be expropriated from them. According to Luther, as we shall see in more detail later, by their translations they would corrupt the true meaning of Scripture not merely, as the Anabaptists, selectively or gradually, but fundamentally. With regard to the question of German-Jewish Bible translations, which is of interest in this chapter, it should be noted that Luther declared them to be actually impossible and even harmful with great distance effect – and herein lies, as it seems to me, an essential and so far not sufficiently considered reason for the extreme anti-Semitism of especially the late Luther.

At this point, a more general note should be added, which further classifies this Christological way of interpreting the *Jewish Bible* historically (cf. on this in more detail Hegener, 2017, chapter 1): In Christian dealings with it, already in the patristic period, the tendency developed to deny it to Judaism and to claim it as a Christian book. This has happened above all by the fact that by means of allegorical and typological exegesis one has tried afterwards to put a Christian meaning under the biblical word of Scripture and to win it. In the *allegorical interpretation of Scripture* the Old

Testament is regarded as a fiction that points to the reality actually meant, namely Jesus Christ and his work of redemption.⁶⁸ Since the entire *Jewish Bible* already speaks allegorically of Jesus and is written with Jesus in mind, its scriptural meaning is fulfilled in his life and death. From this fulfilment and surpassing it is deduced, according to a Christian conception that has been valid for centuries, that the *Jewish Bible* has lost its validity as an enduring independent revelation and, moreover, that God's promise of salvation to his covenant people Israel has lost its foundation. In the *typological interpretation* first a *type* or a *prefiguration* from the old time of the Old Testament is identified, which then in a second stage of interpretation is brought into a certain relationship of correspondence with an *antitype* or a *postfiguration* from the new time of the New Testament. According to the schema of promise-fulfilment or shadow-reality, it is to be demonstrated that the "Old" is suspended and overcome in the "New" Testament. In the image-related language of patristics, the type thus becomes the shadowy model and the antitype the fulfilled full image (cf. on this, for example, Krochmalnik, 2006, p. 51f.).⁶⁹

The allegorical-typological view of the *Jewish Bible* resp. the *Old Testament* is also reflected in the different arrangement of the scriptures in Judaism and Christianity (see introduction). The difference can be determined as the difference between "Torah perspective" and "prophet perspective": Whereas in the Jewish canonical form of the Tanakh the Torah is followed by the prophetic books (*Ne'vim*) and then by the wisdom writings (*Ketuvim*), in the Christian tradition, despite all the differences in detail, from the *Vulgate* to the *Luther Bible*, we find a fourfold division and a modified structure that implies a Christo-logic: The Torah is followed by the books of history (in some recent editions of the *Luther Bible* the autonomy of the five books of the Torah is even dissolved, and they are assigned to the books of history), then the wisdom books, and in a fourth, concluding part, the prophets. This sequence implies a structure that is both historical-theological and Christological, for it is assumed that the Torah and the history books represent the past, the wisdom books the present, and the prophecy books the future, pointing ahead to the coming of Christ. The Israelite prophecy is thus moved to the threshold of the Gospels of the New Testament,

⁶⁸ In his study "Figura" from 1938, which can almost be called classical, the Romanist Erich Auerbach examined more closely the system of exegesis that was already valid at the beginning of Christianity and was able to show that the Church Fathers not only followed a classical model of allegory, according to which the "Old Testament" is seen, as it were, as a fiction that illustrates the given reality of Christ and Christianity, but that they also developed a system in which it was possible to connect both events vertically with divine providence. Auerbach calls this method, because it is more than allegorical, "figural". Like allegorical forms of representation, figural interpretation sets one thing for another in that the one signifies the other. But it does even more: it places the two events, the signified and the significant, in an inner-historical context. In it, the historical truth of the "Old Testament" survives, but seen from a salvation-historical perspective, it can in principle be overcome and overtaken.

⁶⁹ Handelman (1982, especially pp. 76-83), following structuralist conceptions, has described the difference between the Christian and Jewish approaches to the text as that between a metaphorical and a metonymical interpretation. With metaphor, Christian authors seek correspondences and confirmations between the "Old" and "New" Testaments by means of the principle of similarity. The rabbis, on the other hand, constantly shift the meaning of the signs and texts and do not presuppose a given identity.

in which, according to the Christian conception, only their true, namely Christological meaning is fulfilled – thus also here, already in the formal canonical structure the mentioned fundamental overbidding scheme of promise and fulfilment is shown.

The conclusion of this “Christianization” of the *Jewish Bible* is in the history of Christian theology mostly that the Christological truth is indeed preserved in the Old Testament, survives there and remains indispensable in it as promise – and exactly for this reason the Old Testament is in most Christian theologies and lines of tradition also an indispensable part of the Christian canon – ,⁷⁰ but that it has to be considered as overcome and dismissed at the same time when seen from a perspective of salvation history. Nietzsche, this may be briefly noted here, sharply criticized the just outlined treatment of the *Jewish Bible*; he considered it an “unheard-of philological farce” to “pull the Old Testament from under the feet of the Jews with the assertion it contains nothing but Christian teachings and belongs to the Christians as the true people of Israel, the Jews being only usurpers” (Nietzsche, 1881, p. 49).

Through his strict “*solus Christus*” this tradition, which had been ready and effective for a long time, was further intensified in Luther’s theology, and his warning against involving Jews in the translation of the Bible into German thus seems logical and almost inevitable: if the true meaning of the Old Testament Scriptures is a Christological one, and the Jews, however, deny this very meaning, then the resulting translation can only be *systematically* wrong and must be prevented. In a table talk from the winter of 1542/43, Luther had accordingly succinctly decreed: “Iudaei non intelligunt biblia, qua rem non intelligunt [The Jews do not understand the Bible because they do not understand the matter]” (Luther 1542/43, p. 212). Shortly afterwards he adds by way of explanation:

“The Jews said we must study the Bible of them. Yes, indeed! Should we study the bible *ab eis, qui sunt summi hostes bibliae* [from them who are the chief enemies of the Bible]? I see well where our Hebrei want to go. They would like us to preach our New Testament and never have it. [...] If Moses says of Christ, I accept him; otherwise he is nothing to me. So Christ

⁷⁰ But there is in the history of Christianity another, marginal, sometimes also declared heretical, nevertheless effective and persisting tradition, which begins with the early Christian theologian Marcion (2nd century CE) and can still be found in the German-speaking world with the cultural Protestant theologian Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) and the National Socialist German Christians: here it is demanded to remove the Old Testament from the Christian canon or to decanonize it (cf. on this Tück, 2016, pp. 193-216). That this is by no means an outdated position and that the so called “Markionite temptation” remains virulent is shown by a debate not long ago: In 2013, the Berlin theologian Notger Slenczka, in his essay “Die Kirche und das Alte Testament”, had argued for removing the Old Testament from the canon of the Holy Scriptures and downgrading it to the level of apocryphal writings – this, among other things, with the astonishing argument that with the adoption and appropriation of the *Jewish Bible* Christianity runs the risk of dispossessing Judaism. This position provoked a great deal of opposition and protest in a sharp debate in 2015, even to the point of accusations of anti-Judaism. It was complained that Slenczka’s plea led to a radical uprooting of Christianity. But perhaps Slenczka has also been attacked so fiercely because his position reveals the inherently ambivalent relationship of the Christian religion in general to its own Jewish origins.

says: In Moses and prophets *de me scriptum est* [is written of me]” (ibid., p. 220; own translation).

Luther’s position in dealing with the Hebrew language found a revealing expression in the appointment of professors of Hebrew at Wittenberg University and in his relationship to the converts. Heinz Schilling writes in his biography of Luther (2017, p. 482) that Luther was never (not even in his first, promotional pamphlet of 1523 *Daß Jesus ein geborener Jude war* [*That Jesus was a born Jew*]) prepared to engage seriously with contemporary Judaism or to engage in dialogue with it on an equal footing – quite unlike others such as Andreas Osiander (1496 or 1498-1552) in Nuremberg, Wolfgang Capito (1478-1541) in Mainz and later in Strasbourg, Konrad Pelikan (1478-1556) in Basel and Zurich respectively, and Sebastian Münster (1488-1552) also in Basel. For Luther, the evangelical truth he represented was so evident and indisputable that he saw and accepted for the Jews only the path of radical renunciation of their faith.

“A philological-theological dispute of contemporary Jews and their writings could only be counterproductive and dangerous. It offered the devil a loophole to thwart the evangelical renewal of Christianity or even to seduce Christians to Judaism” (ibid.; own translation).

Among the Christian Hebraists mentioned above, Sebastian Münster, who first held a Hebrew professorship at the University of Basel and was then Professor of Old Testament, played a special role for Luther (cf. Th. Kaufmann, 2017, pp. 103-105). He was in close contact with the Jewish grammarian Elias Levita (1469-1549), whose works he had translated and disseminated; probably not least because of this contact, Münster acquired an outstanding knowledge of rabbinic literature for his time and, despite all the hostility towards Jews that was also inherent in him, made room for the convincingly presented arguments of a Jew against the messiahship of Jesus, for example in his writing *Messias Christianorum et Iudaeorum* of 1539. Initially, Luther, who received Münster’s works closely, still held back with his criticism of the “Judaizing” colleague for reasons of religious policy, but then he defamed him as a “giftige[n] Rabi [poisonous Rabbi]” (Luther, 1534a, p. 517). In a table talk, Luther on the one hand praised him as an enemy of the Jews, but on the other hand combined this praise with the sharp criticism that Münster was far too influenced by the philological-exegetical positions of the “rabinis”. Münster, said Luther (1542/43, p. 220), “hanget blos an der grammatica [he’s just hung up on grammar]”. Against this Luther set his fundamental hermeneutical principle that the Old Testament in case of doubt should always be read and translated in the light of the New Testament. If, for example, there is a double meaning

(*aequivocatio*) in the Old Testament text, then priority should always be given to the interpretation that agrees with the New Testament.

Luther's attitude was also reflected in the occupation policy at the University of *Leucorea* in Wittenberg. From November 1518 to January 1519, the Hebraist Johann Böschenstein (1472-1540) held the Hebrew professorship there at Luther's instigation, and he successfully lobbied the students to study and learn the Hebrew language for its own sake or intrinsic value. This does not seem to have suited Luther at all, and he quickly realized that Böschenstein would not comply with his intentions. He now insulted him as a convert and a mere Christian by name who was secretly Judaizing, and in association with other Wittenberg reformers he saw to it that Böschenstein was soon dismissed. For Luther, Hebrew and its study were not allowed to claim independent status; in his understanding, it was no more than a servant of Reformation theology (Schilling, 2017, pp. 111-112 and 475-476).

Shortly thereafter, the Wittenberg reformers, unable to find a connoisseur of Hebrew in their own ranks as a successor, were forced to negotiate with baptized Jews, i.e., converts, such as Matthaeus Adriani (c. 1475 – after 1521) from Spain and Bernhardus Hebraeus (no life data can be found), who was eventually appointed and temporarily held the professorship from the summer of 1519 to Easter 1520. Bernhardus Hebraeus was originally called Jacob Gipher, came from Göppingen and had been baptized in 1519 under the impression of Luther's writings. He went to Wittenberg and studied theology there. He was universally called the "baptized Jew Bernhard" and was initially the epitome of the "good Jew" for Luther. Nevertheless, conspicuously enough, he was not given a surname in the Reformers' discourse, nor did it occur to Luther to appoint him, the studied theologian, to a pastorate. Here Luther's deep reservations about converts, whom he ultimately did not consider reliable, become apparent. It is as if he had insinuated in an ultimately racist argumentation that they could never become real Christians.⁷¹

Luther's central concern was to make Hebrew studies as independent as possible from Jewish tradition and Jewish traditions. Probably the most important ally on this path was the linguist Johannes Förster (1496-1556), who was one of the daily table companions in Luther's house. The programmatic intent of his studies is most clearly expressed in the title of his many-volume and influential Hebrew grammar, which he was able to finish only shortly before his death and which appeared posthumously in 1557: *Dictionarium Hebraicum novum, non ex rabinorum commentis, nec nostratum doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrarum Bibliorum, &*

⁷¹ For the portrayal of Judaism as a threat, yet another convert in the history of Protestantism played an important role. This is Antonius Margaritha (c. 1492-early 1542), who published his major work *Der gantz Jüdisch Glaub* in 1530. Margaritha addressed his book, which was widely received by Protestant theologians, not with the intention of conversion to Jews, but to Christians, in order to convince them of the dangerousness of the Jewish religion (cf. Th. Kaufmann, 2006, pp. 118-127, especially 121).

eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, cum phrasibus scripturae Veteris & Novi Testamenti diligenter annotatis. This title reads in translation approximately as follows: “New Hebrew Dictionary, neither from the commentaries of the rabbis nor from the foolish imitations of our foolish doctors, but developed from our own treasures of Holy Scripture and by an accurate collation of biblical passages, annotated with passages and phrases from the Old and New Testaments”.⁷² Förster and Luther wanted to develop a new Hebrew that was completely detached both and above all from the rabbinic commentaries and from the “Judaizing” translations of the Reformers of other cities (the “foolish doctors”), who did not want to recognize the danger of imitating this Jewish exegetical tradition. For Luther, the danger posed by the “doctors” and Christian “Hebri” was so great that he understood his worst anti-Semitic writing *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* [*On the Jews and Their Lies*] (Luther, 1543a) to be directed against them as well: “O, the Hebri – I say also of ours, judentzen very much; therefore I meant them also in *eo libello, quem scirpsi contra Iudaeos* [in that little book which I wrote against the Jews]” (Luther, 1542/43, p. 212).

Whether Förster and Luther succeeded, or were able to succeed at all, in making Hebrew completely independent of Jewish tradition is not relevant in this context (though it is fair to deny it); what is more decisive is that this goal was formulated and pursued at all. In her study, Seidman (2006, p. 121) has worked out that Luther was the first significant translator from Hebrew who was not made familiar with the language by a Jewish teacher, but taught it largely autodidactically through a dictionary, and that Förster’s and Luther’s objective of relying only on their own lexicons and grammars for language acquisition would have been quite impossible a good thirty years earlier. Luther began his study of Hebrew in 1508 by working through Johannes Reuchlin’s (1455-1522) *De Rudimentis Hebraicis* (Reuchlin, 1506), an important Hebrew-Latin dictionary and grammar, published shortly before. The appearance of this work marked in some ways a turning point, since from now on two quite different models of how to learn the Hebrew language and script were in conflict with each other, and one of these options was falling into disuse altogether. On the one hand, there was the classical and until then almost exclusively possible way of doing this through direct contact with rabbis or, as was far more common, through converts. On the other hand, the possibility now developed of learning Hebrew through a taught research apparatus that Christian Hebraists produced in increasing numbers without any contact with Jewish scholars. These dictionaries and grammars neutralized the cultural, historical and ethnic peculiarities of the Hebrew language and promoted the idea of a translation without a concrete human translator, who in each

⁷² The Hebraist Johann Isaak Levita (1515-1577), in his *Meditationes Hebraicae* (Levita, 1558), subjected Förster’s grammar to a sharp and knowledgeable criticism, and listed the manifold errors in that work.

case also works from the background of a particular life story and brings in his or her cultural particularities:

“That this rationalizing process not only neutralizes the historical and cultural dimension of language but also arises as a form of substitution for particular historical subjects is apparent in the discourse of sixteenth-century Christian Hebraica. Christian Hebraica in this period is as much about the absence of Jews as it is about the acquisition and appropriation of their language” (Seidman, 2006, p. 126).

In a certain sense, the replacement of the converts and rabbis by glossaries, lexicons and grammars meant the ruin of the Christian-Jewish cooperation in the indexing of the Hebrew texts, which had nevertheless been practised until then, despite all asymmetries. For Luther, the Jews are no longer, as they were for Augustine, the servants and keepers of the scriptures that are needed, but he goes a decisive step beyond that. Especially the two late anti-Semitic writings *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* and *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* [*On the Shem Hamphoras and on the Lineage of Christ*] from 1543 are full of invectives against rabbinical exegesis and push Luther’s intentions to eliminate any dependence on converts and rabbis and on the Jewish religion and its scriptural access in general to the extreme. In the later of the two works, *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi*, Luther’s “crudest work using the most obscene language he ever wrote” (Th. Kaufmann, 2017, p. 119), he not only equates the Jews with the devil and flatly denies them the status of the chosen people, but also, through an analysis of the name of God, the *tetragrammaton* YHWH (in rabbinic literature, *Ha-Shem Ha-Mephorash* [“the expressly established name”] is the designation of the unpronounceable and holy name of God),⁷³ accuses them of having had the Hebrew letters die off and of no longer being worthy of Hebrew:

“Now behold the tender Früchtchen, the circumcised saints. They write such divine works and miracles to the Shem Hamphoras, that is, to the empty, dead, wretched letters, which are written in the book with ink, or hover on the tongue, or are carried in the heart, even of the wicked. For the Shem Hamphorah be what he will, so they are, and can be, nothing else, but dead, leaden, fainting [powerless] letters, though God’s holy Scripture itself be (the best of

⁷³ Luther reviles the Jewish name of God in Scripture as „Schamha Peres“, “that is: Here dirt, not that lies in the alley, but comes from the belly [Hie dreck, nicht der auff der Gassen ligt, Sondern aus dem bauch kommt]“ (Luther, 1534b, p. 601; own translation). The name was also the inspiration for the relief with the “Judensau” still visible today on the Wittenberg parish church (“Rabini Schemhamphoras”); Luther mentions the relief in his writing with the following spiteful remark: “there is here in Wittenberg at our parish church a sow hewn into the stone, there lie young piglet and Jews underneath, who suck, Hinder of the sow stands a Rabbi, who lifts up the right leg of the sow, in order with his left hand he pulls the pirtzel [curly tail] over himself, bends down and peeks with great diligence of the sow under the pirtzel into the Talmud [...]” (ibid., S. 600; own translation). Luther here makes of the central post-biblical document of Judaism, the Talmud, which he did not know, an excrement that belongs to be disposed of.

all), whereof the Jews prate much, and know not what they prate. What should letters be able to do, but letters of their own power, where nothing more can come to them? What help they the devils, the Turks, the Jews, and all the wicked, if they misuse such letters, even the name of God, against the other commandment? For Satan and all ungodly names and works are also written in holy letters” (Luther, 1543b, pp. 591-592; own translation).

Luther wanted and had to show that the meaning of the Bible is not bound to the Hebrew letters it contains. For him, the meaning lies entirely beyond the (Hebrew) letters; it is not essentially linked to them, but can ultimately be completely detached from them with the help of a Christian exegesis that aims at their allegorical, that is: Christological meaning. Hebrew therefore becomes for him an arbitrary and at the same time a dead language, a medium which has hitherto conveyed the sense of a universal signifier, but which now, because Judaism has outlived itself and only survives its own being outlived, is nevertheless better off in another, superior language, excellently in German. The name of God, unpronounceable to the Jews, whose letters contain an indissoluble mystery, must now be translated, i.e., divested of its dead letters, and given its proper and opaque meaning. Therefore the Jewish *Tetragrammaton*, which is only understood as a placeholder, is to be forgotten and only the Greek, Latin and preferably the German name of God is to be spoken:

"We Germans must speak it: He is and thus becomes *Trigrammaton* [Ens] in Latin, *Dygrammaton* [On] in Greek, *Hexagrammaton* [Luther mentions in the sentence before the German word ‘Wesen’, but a word that has five and not six letters] in German, or shall we call bad IS [IST], so it is also *Trigrammaton*. That they now surrender that the name ‘jehovah’ should be unpronounceable, they know not what they slur” (ibid., p. 607; own translation).

What Luther states here for the name of God applies *pars pro toto* to the whole Hebrew language. His argumentation combines two thoughts (Seidman, 2006, p. 132): On the one hand, he considers Hebrew to be completely translatable, but on the other hand, he considers the Jews to be ultimately unconvertible, that is, as it were, untranslatable. Even if they convert to the Christian faith, they remain in essence what they have always been, namely Jews who cannot let go of their dead faith and the dead Hebrew letters.⁷⁴ In a further step, Luther separates the Hebrew language from the “obdurate” Jews, wants it transported into dictionaries and grammars in order to be able to translate it, detached from its previous bearers, into a superior Christian Reformation German. To put it a little differently: Luther created a new and pure, a German Hebrew, which he contrasted with an old

⁷⁴ The Jewish converts pose a diffuse threat in Luther’s speech, as they undermine and destabilize the notion of a pure Christian religious identity. Indeed, the converts show that any religious identity is ultimately a performative one (Seidman, 2006, p. 144).

and outmoded Jewish Hebrew. In his understanding, these steps were necessary in order to achieve the intention of taking the Hebrew-language Bible away from the Jews and transforming it into a Christian and German book. While Luther holds on to the Old Testament, thus resisting the “Markionite temptation” (see above) to abandon it altogether, he makes an effort to turn it into an entirely Christian book and, precisely in this way, separates Protestant Christianity from its Jewish origins.

III. German-Jewish Bible Translations in Context

The last described expropriation of the *Jewish Bible* primarily in the Lutheran-Protestant tradition in Germany forms a decisive background for the German-Jewish Bible translations, which have been numerous since the end of the 17th century. Plaut (1992, p. 11) lists 16 *complete* translations for the period between the 18th and 20th centuries, counted, that is, without new editions and partial translations – and we will see that there were first fully translated Bible editions even before the 18th century – and Liss (2020, pp. 300-302) has counted 18 editions for the 19th and 20th centuries alone in listing the most important German-Jewish Bible translations. It is important to emphasize that all of these translations *per se* were not written for worship or liturgical use; there the Hebrew-language Bible has been able to maintain its absolute primacy for a very long time, and in some cases to this day (and it was precisely for this use that learning Hebrew and reading the Bible in the “original language” was so important). This is also one of the greatest differences to the *Luther Bible*, which, as is well known, has replaced the previously used “originals” in Protestantism (this applies especially to the Latin *Vulgate*) in the service. But there is something else: The *Luther Bible* had a tremendous effect beyond the church service and beyond the denominational borders; it became a determining linguistic and cultural document that asserted a hegemonic claim.

We have seen in the first part of this chapter that since the 18th century many Jews, especially in the Enlightenment movement of the Haskalah, had an urgent desire to have their own German Bible and to be able to use it widely in their respective societies as a central identity-forming Jewish cultural document. The influence of Protestantism with its pronounced anti-Semitism seems to have been a significant (background) reason why no other country or language area produced as many *Jewish Bible* translations as Germany. Not least through these translations, German Jews have attempted to counter the Christian majority culture with something of their own and to integrate themselves with it. To put it another way: the new Bibles were precisely not like the certificates of baptismal that Heine thought were “the entrée billet to European culture” (Heine, 1831-48, p. 313) – this would have meant assimilation and even self-pricing – but were seen as a key to the desired

independent participation in the changing German language and culture as well as a bridge into the majority society. It was only the new editions of the Bible that made it possible for Ashkenazi Jews, most of whom had until then only spoken Yiddish, to participate more fully in German culture and “education” – and to do so *as* Jews. In this respect, they have proved constitutive for the development of a modern Jewish culture.

And something else is important: Despite all Enlightenment criticism of the Jewish tradition, the translators moved in a rabbinic-exegetical context. For them, it was not Scripture alone or as such (*sola scriptura*) that was decisive, but it was – in whatever refraction – the special Jewish approach to Scripture that constituted the specificity of their efforts as well. Without a (critical) reference to this tradition, the translations could not have come into being at all; the translators attempted to modernize and, at the same time, to assert them in the critical confrontation and dialogue with Christian translation practices as well as with the respective current scholarly, cultural and aesthetic developments and trends. The questions that had to be clarified in the course of these debates were: “[...] *what are we if we are a nation of translators? What is translation, and what is good translation, for the people we are?*” (Gillman, 2018, p. XIX). Another question immediately follows: What does it even mean to speak of a “nation of translators”? For in the Jewish tradition, the translation of “Holy Scripture” has been anything but self-evident.

The original scenes of translation in the Bible, to which the translators could refer, are found in the Book of *Exodus* (19) and in the Book of *Nehemiah*: In the Book of *Exodus*, Moses appears as the first translator and mediator in the scene already mentioned several times in this book, for he receives the words and commandments of God in the form of two tablets on the holy mountain of God, Horeb, opposite the desert of Sinai, where the people of Israel encamped after their exodus from Egypt; he smashes them in anger in view of the apostasy of his people, but returns and receives a second pair of tablets. This time, however, it is not God Himself who writes His law, but Moses himself who must record His commandments (*Exodus*, 34, 27), which is why it is spoken of as the *Torah-Mosche*.⁷⁵ From this the distinction between written and oral Torah is derived in the Jewish tradition, and the insight arises that the original word of God is lost and Moses must act as mediator and translator. Yes, the Word of God is only accessible at all in human translation, which is always already commentary (on the hermeneutical issues involved, see Bruckstein, 2001 and Hegener, 2017, especially pp. 74-78). The mediation by Moses is necessary, moreover, because the people fear to die if, they talk to God themselves (*Exodus*, 20, 19 and *Deuteronomy*, 5, 23-33). Translation, then, implies a kind of humanization that makes the words of God bearable.

⁷⁵ At the beginning of chapter 34, however, in contradiction, it says that *God* will write on the tablets the words that were written on the first tablets (*Exodus*, 34, 1) – this is usually understood as a reference to the precipitation of different sources of tradition.

The second scene of the translation and also of the commentary can be dated to the time after the return of the Israelite people from the Babylonian Exile (597-539 BCE) – and every translation since that time has remained forever connected with and expressive of the situation of the exile, for without the exile the necessity of any translation would be absent. In this situation, as it is reported in the eighth chapter in the Book of *Nehemiah*, the scribe Ezra gathered the people in Jerusalem and, with the help of the Levites, had the Torah read. In verse 8 it says: “And they read in the book, in the Law of God, distinctly; and they gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading.” Here, for the first time, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into another dialect, namely into the Assyrian language (which, along with Babylonian, was one of the two dialects of Akkadian, which belongs to the Semitic languages and was also spoken by the Jews in Babylonia). The Scriptures were read *and* interpreted, but only *orally*. There seems to have always been considerable reservations in Jewish tradition against written translation. In the extra-canonical Talmudic tractate *Soferim* (1, 7; on this see Strack & Stemberger, 1991, p. 248), for example, the day on which the Torah was translated into Greek was compared to the day on which the Golden Calf was built (and declared even worse), i.e. equated with the most serious form of apostasy and idolatry.

More precisely, the following is meant: In Alexandria the first translation of the Hebrew-Aramaic Torah into the ancient Greek everyday or colloquial language (*Koine*), which is called *Hebdomekonta* and in the Latin designation, which was soon to prevail, *Septuagint*, was created, and it was followed in the coming centuries by further biblical writings (cf. Tilly, 2005). According to the legendary tradition of the Letter of *Aristeas*, 72 Jewish scholars (according to the Greek proper name *Septuagint* means “according to the 70” and is therefore also abbreviated *LXX*) are said to have translated the Torah into Greek in 72 days in an almost miraculous way on the initiative of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246 BCE). Already in the *Letter of Aristeas* a later very effective tendency to interpret and transcend the Jewish legal regulations by means of their “symbolic content” can be seen. Thus, a *spiritualization* and *allegorization* of the understanding of the law emerges, which would later find its continuation in the mostly polemically and anti-Jewishly accentuated opposition between the “ceremonial law” or the “ritual and purity Torah” and the “moral law” (cf. on this Tiwald, 2016, p. 165ff) and fundamentally differs from the scriptural and interpretive understanding of the later rabbinic tradition (Liss, 2020, p. 20). It should also be noted in this context that the *Septuagint* was already strongly influenced by the Hellenistic context in its translations (and indeed even in the word-to-word translations) and that the arrangement and scope of the individual books in the *LXX* version differ in part considerably from the version of the Masoretic text. In the course of time, the *Septuagint* became the authoritative textual basis in Christianity alongside the Latin translation (the Vulgate): Already in the New Testament, written in

Greek, quotations from the *Jewish Bible* are mostly rendered in the *LXX* version, and this was later subjected to revisions and adaptations by Christian authors and eventually declared the official Bible of Christianity – in Eastern Orthodox Christianity it remains so to this day, in Western Latin Christianity it was later superseded by Hieronymus' Vulgate (347-420 CE). In the rabbinic context, however, the *Septuagint* has been rejected at least since that time (the day of the Septuagint translation was, as already heard, even considered an unlucky day by the rabbis) and was regarded as a deterrent example of the dangerousness of translations in general (cf. on this also Seidman, 2006, pp. 37-72).

Something else is added in the case of the *Septuagint*: In the Jewish Hellenistic understanding, the translation of the *Septuagint* represents an adequate rendering and an equivalent substitute for the original text; the idea of untranslatability that characterized the later rabbinic tradition did not yet exist here. While the *Septuagint* thus replaces the *Jewish Bible* the Greek translation, which was created in the rabbinic context, is necessarily subordinate to the original text, and it belongs more to the oral than to the written tradition. Here the translation is done as a transmission *verbum e verbo*, so it is more of an explanation of the Hebrew biblical text, and accordingly the Greek is adapted to the Hebrew throughout (cf. Liss, 2020, pp. 9-10). The meant translation comes from Rabbi Aquila (c. 50/55-135 CE), a scholar from the 1st and 2nd century CE, who developed an alternative translation of the *Jewish Bible* into Greek, which replaced the *Septuagint* in the Jewish-rabbinic context at the latest from the time when this became the official Christian version of the Old Testament and rabbinic Judaism began to prevail. It subsequently became authoritative and used by Greek-speaking Jews not only in worship but also in Jewish-Christian disputations. Aquila, in contrast to the allegorizing mode of interpretation of the *Septuagint*, strove to be as faithful to the words as possible and intended to create not so much a transmission of their content as an explanation of the Hebrew text. For this very reason, his transmission was not infrequently taken *pars pro toto* by the Christian side for the entire Jewish translation practice, and Aquila was repeatedly reviled into the 20th century for having adhered “slavishly” or “pedantically” to the Hebrew text and its style (cf. Seidman, 2006, pp. 73-114).⁷⁶

One of the most famous translations into Aramaic also goes back to Aquila. Altogether, the translations into Aramaic are called *Targumim* (plural of *Targum*, Hebrew: תרגום, English: translation or explanation), were written between 200 BCE and 800 CE and were the translations most likely to be permitted and authorized by Jewish scholars in antiquity; they were written when

⁷⁶ Jews in this line of tradition, which was already (pre-)formulated in Paul and then formed in the Patristics, were identified with the “carnal Israel” and distinguished from the superior “spiritual Israel”. The reason for this was that they also defined themselves by bodily ties (circumcision) and denied a purely spiritual approach to the law. In the Christian tradition, therefore, they were those who slavishly adhered to the law and understood the texts literally, as it were bound to the body of language, and not actually or spiritually (cf. on this, for example, Boyarin, 1993).

Aramaic had established itself as an everyday language of use after the Babylonian exile.⁷⁷ From Aquila comes the best known of these Targumim, the *Targum Onkelos* (or *Targum Onqelos*). It represents a translation of the Torah, is close to the Masoretic text tradition and was probably written in the second century CE, when people hardly understood Hebrew and wanted more accurate translations than those that *meturgemanim* (the interpreters) had produced quite freely during the text readings.

However, despite the rabbinic legitimization, the use of the *targumim* was limited, since, as Stemberger (1982, p. 28) assumes for the Talmudic period, they were not allowed to be used in worship, or, as can be inferred from Talmudic writings, only in a certain relation to the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus the tractate *Berakhot* (8a; emphasis W.H.) of the *Babylonian Talmud* says: “*Rav Huna bar Yehuda said that Rabbi Ami said: A person should always complete his Torah portions with the congregation. The congregation reads a particular Torah portion every Shabbat, and during the week prior to each Shabbat, one is required to read the Bible text of the weekly portion twice and the translation once.*” The purpose, then, was to ensure that priority was given to the original text and that the translation was not given preponderance. In a certain way, it was and remained binding for all translators of the Bible that translation and Torah should move in a balance in which the primacy of the Torah written in the “holy language” (*ha-qodesh*) was not questioned. This has not least to do with the fact that Hebrew is considered sacred and inviolable in the Jewish understanding, since it is assumed that it is inseparable from the revelation itself and that the (Hebrew) Scriptures engraved in the tablets were already created before the complete creation of the world on the evening of the Sabbath (on the seventh day of creation) (cf. on this Liss, 2019).⁷⁸ But the fact that such a translation of the written and read language into a vernacular language was possible at all shows, on the other hand, that there was a thoroughly pragmatic approach to translations and that they were considered necessary to ensure the fulfilment of religious obligations in the Jewish communities and the continuation of Jewish tradition in general. This also happened in the following centuries, when most Jews were no longer able to speak Aramaic and further oral translations were created, passed on and also written down.

⁷⁷ A distinction is made between *Palestinian* and *Babylonian targumim*: the Palestinian *Targumim* include the *Targum Neophyti*, the *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and the *Questionment Targum*. Among the Babylonian Targumim, which had a more official character, a distinction is made between the best-known Targum *Onkelos*, which will be discussed in a moment, the *Targum Jonathan*, and the *Job Targum* (cf. Zenger et al., 2006, pp. 58-59).

⁷⁸ It is remarkable that the non-religious Freud speaks of Hebrew regularly and without circumstance as the “sacred language,” especially in his later years (for the chronological and substantive classification of the following statements, see also Chapter 4). In the preface to the Hebrew edition of *Totem and Taboo* we read: “No reader of [the Hebrew version of] this book will find it easy to put himself in the emotional position of an author who is ignorant of the *language of holy writ* [...]” (Freud, 1934b, p. XIV; emphasis W.H.). And to the translator of his works into Hebrew, Jehuda Dvosis-Dvir, he writes in December 1930: “It gives me extraordinary pleasure and satisfaction that some of my books will appear in the Hebrew language. My father spoke the *sacred language* as well as German or better” (Freud, 1990s, p. 44; emphasis W.H.).

At this point, it should be briefly mentioned for further explanation that for a long time there was a recognisably great reservation among Jewish scholars against the writing down of oral teachings (i.e. above all the Talmud), not only with regard to the translation of biblical texts (cf. also Hegener, 2017, chapter 1). The rabbis feared that in the course of such a writing down of the teachings, precisely that which constitutes the core of living Judaism would be extinguished: the open, inconclusive discussion conducted in a learning community, which should prevent any dogmatic codification. The tractate *Gittin* (60b) of the *Babylonian Talmud* therefore states:

„*Rabbi Elazar: The majority of the Torah was transmitted in writing, while the minority was transmitted orally, as it is stated: ‚I wrote for him the greater part of My Torah; they were reckoned a strange thing‘ (Hosea 8:12), meaning that the majority of the Torah was transmitted in written form. And Rabbi Yohanan says: The majority of the Torah was transmitted orally [al peh], while the minority was transmitted in writing, as it is stated with regard to the giving of the Torah to Moses on Mount Sinai: ‚For on the basis of [al pi] these matters I have made a covenant with you and with Israel‘ (Exodus 34:27), which indicates that the greater part of the Sinaitic covenant was taught orally.*“

At a certain point, however, oral teaching assumed such a volume that it had to be written down in order to continue to be preserved in cultural memory at all. It is remarkable that the rabbinic scholars understood the act of writing down as the “destruction of the law” or the “burning of the Torah”.⁷⁹ But the abrogation of the Torah, so now the ultimately decisive argument of the scholars, was permitted for the sake of its preservation, even commanded under certain conditions – for it was better that one page of the Torah be destroyed than that the whole Torah be forgotten. In Tractate *Temurah* (14b) of the *Babylonian Talmud*, on the one hand, it is reiterated that words “*that were taught orally you may not recite in writing, and words that are written you may not recite orally, i.e., by heart.*” But then, on the other hand, it is conceded that “*perhaps with regard to a new matter it is different*“, and with the interpretation by Rabbi Johanan and Res Lakish an exception is expressly granted:

⁷⁹ It is revealing how similarly Freud reflects on the process of writing in *Moses and Monotheism*. He analyses the contrast between an oral tradition, he calls it “the tradition”, and its written fixation in the following way: “Tradition was a supplement but at the same time a contradiction to historical writing“ (Freud, 1939a, p. 67). Freud believes that oral tradition is less distorted than the written record. Its fate is, on the one hand, that it has been incorporated into writing, but on the other hand, that it, as Freud says, “would be *crushed* [in the original German: *erschlagen* (slain)] by the written account” (ibid., p. 68; emphasis W. H.). This passage can be read as an elucidation of Freud’s claim that it is in the defacement of a text, as in murder, that the difficulty lies not in the execution of the deed but in the removal of the traces (ibid., p. 42). For writing to come into being, it must be a “murder” must have happened (see also chapter 5).

“And they did so because *they taught as follows*: Since one cannot remember the Oral Law without writing it down, it is permitted to violate the *halakha*,⁸⁰ as derived from the verse: ‘*It is time to work for the Lord; they have made void your Torah*’ (Psalm 119:126). *They said it is better to uproot a single halakha of the Torah, i.e., the prohibition of writing down the Oral Torah, and thereby ensure that the Torah is not forgotten from the Jewish people entirely*”.

Moses Mendelssohn, in his 1783 book *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum* (*Jerusalem or on Religious Power and Judaism*), aptly summarized this process, which eventually led to its being written down:

“It was, at first, expressly forbidden to write more about the law than God had caused Moses to record for the nation. ‘What has been transmitted orally,’ say the rabbis, ‘you are not permitted to put in writing.’ It was with much reluctance that the heads of the synagogue resolved in later periods to give the permission – which had become necessary – to write about the laws. They called this permission a destruction of the law and said, with the Psalmist, ‘There is a time when, for the sake of the Eternal, the law must be destroyed.’ According to the original constitution, however, it was not supposed to be like that. The ceremonial law itself is a kind of living script [sic!], rousing the mind and heart, full of meaning, never ceasing to inspire contemplation and to provide the occasion and opportunity for oral instruction” (Mendelssohn, 1783, p. 102-103).

Although the Jewish tradents attached the greatest importance to living oral transmission, and were therefore very reluctant to consent to the writing down of their tradition, and Mendelssohn saw in this a continuing danger of reification, Judaism may nevertheless be regarded as one, if not the “scriptural religion” par excellence – namely in the sense that with the Talmud in particular it has given space to a certain and special form of writing that is, as it were, not book-like, i.e. not closed by its arrangement of lines and pages, but creates a type of “living script” (Moses Mendelssohn) that supports the oral formation of tradition in the context of communal learning and thus makes possible and keeps open the process of further creative tradition formation. And when Mendelssohn refers in particular to the revealed law as a “living script”, which, as he further explains, on the one hand renounces any figuration and on the other hand also opposes the abstractness and inanimate nature of alphabetic scripts, he is precisely emphasizing a type of script unfolding in Judaism, which strictly prevents idolatry and idolatry through its openness to interpretation and its integration into open interpersonal dialogue (cf. on this Hilfrich, 2000, pp. 105ff, who sees in Mendelssohn’s

⁸⁰ This is strongly reminiscent of the thought Jacob Freud developed in the *Widmungsschreiben* to his son Sigmund (see chapter 1), referring to formulations in the Talmud: that the tablets must be broken in order to be able to preserve them; that tradition must be broken in order to be able to continue it.

theory of signs an “anti-idolatrous semiology”). We will be able to see later how this kind of scriptural formation also determined his translation of the Torah.

Gillman (2018, p. 5) has pointed out that over the centuries Ashkenazi Jews were mostly still able to speak and read Aramaic, i.e. the language of the *Gemara*, but had often forgotten Hebrew. This is connected, as we have already worked out, with the fact that the Bible had been pushed into the background and could be read sufficiently well only by very few. To compensate for this, even before there were complete Yiddish and Jewish-German translations of the Bible since the 17th or 18th century, two new text genres were created. First, there were now more glossaries or concordances, which translated the most common and important Hebrew words into Yiddish and were intended to help teachers and students in the indexing of the Hebrew text (for a detailed overview of the history of German-Jewish glossary literature, see Staerk & Leitzmann, 1977, pp. 1-72). However, these works were very crude, and there was corresponding dissatisfaction with them. Related to these works are *interlinear morpheme glosses* or, more briefly, *interlinear glosses* that translate foreign-language (in this case, Hebrew) utterances “between the lines” word for word (here into Yiddish). These glossaries wanted to subordinate themselves entirely to the Hebrew text; they were not and did not want to be literarily independent translations.

Also in Yiddish, and this brings us to the second type of text, “narrative Bibles” appeared from the 17th century onwards, containing selected Hebrew verses, their Yiddish translations and explanatory commentaries (aggadic legends, midrashim, Rashi commentaries, parables, anecdotes, etc.). These translations, too, did not yet claim full independent value, were written for the uneducated, women, or children, and were intended merely to compensate for, enable, or support the reading of the Hebrew text – and in this respect they are also *interlinear translations*. Probably the most famous of these vernacular Bibles is the *Tsene-Rene* (or *Tsene Ureno* or *Ze’edah U-Re’edah*), written by the Polish rabbi Jacob ben Isaak Ashkenazi (1550-1625) in the 1590s (the oldest surviving edition dates from 1622); it is among the most widely read as well as printed Yiddish books ever⁸¹ and, because girls and women were particularly fond of reading it, was called the “Yiddish Women’s Bible”. It is important to note that his edition of the Bible is an expression of strict gender segregation: while boys learned in Jewish only the home or “private” sphere. The lasting importance of this edition of the Bible is underlined not least by the fact that part of it (*Genesis: Bereshit*) was translated from Yiddish into German and published in the 1920s by Berta Pappenheim (1859-1936), the first analysand and co-inventor of psychoanalysis (for more detailed information, see below and see Hecht, 2012, pp. 331-344).⁸²

⁸¹ To date, 240 editions have been published in Yiddish (a detailed overview is provided by Faienstein, 2013).

⁸² This part of Bertha Pappenheim’s work is largely unknown (especially in psychoanalysis); as Boyarin (1997, pp. 313-359) shows, her Jewish-Rabbinic background has been made virtually invisible and is exemplary of the sealing

Two things should be noted at this point: On the one hand, the central importance of Yiddish becomes evident and comprehensible on the basis of the “narrative Bibles”. A translation precisely and first and foremost into this language followed a widespread need: Yiddish was the *lingua franca* of Ashkenazi Jews for a long time, even before German became the customary language of use in the individual countries and regions, in varying degrees and chronological order. It now becomes easier to explain why the first complete translations of the Bible (see below) were also written in Yiddish and were so popular. On the other hand, it must also be noticed that it was only with these complete translations of the Bible that the translations emerged as an independent literary genre (thus emancipating themselves from the original) and that the respective translators were from then on inseparably associated with their works by name (e.g. “*Mendelssohn Bible*” or “*Philippson Bible*”):

“Modern translations went further by showing the reader *how* the Bible means, above all by explaining (*be’ur*) the language of the text and language as such. Once the meaning of the Torah became located within the language of the Bible, the translator assumed a new authority as author, language expert, and arbiter of sense” (Gillman, 2018, p. 12).

This follows an overarching tendency, particularly in Germany, towards the individualisation and personalisation of literary authorship, which also applied to translators – especially since it was in the 18th century that the most famous literary figures in Germany also emerged in this genre:

“Gottsched, Wieland, Bürger translate Homer, then Voß follows. Goethe translates Voltaire and Benvenuto Cellini, Schiller translates Shakespeare and Racine. Schlegel translates the Bhagavad Ghita. Tieck translates Don Quixote. Schlegel, Dorothea Tieck and Baudissin create the Shakespeare translations that dominate German stages to this day. Chamisso translates, Heyse and Geibel translate” (Störig, 1960, pp. XII-XIII; own translation).

It could be added that other scholars also followed this trend, such as the influential Protestant theologian Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who stood out for his translations of Plato. All this is an expression of a broadly developed German translation culture in the majority society. Referring again to the Jewish translators, it can be said that, due to their newly possible training and competences, they could now claim a literary authority of their own that went beyond the religious; at the same time, however, in order to be credible and to remain connected, they had to assure themselves in their undertakings of the legitimacy of Jewish tradition through references

of this tradition.

to Ezra, to a limited extent to the Greek *Septuagint*, to the Aramaic *Targumim*, but also to the extensive commentary works of the midrashim and Talmudic literature.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that translations became necessary in order to be able to continue to teach the Bible to one's own children (especially the young) under sometimes dramatically changing circumstances that led to the dissolution of traditional milieus, i.e. to not let the generational thread of Jewish tradition formation break. The translations were thus integrated into changing pedagogical scenes of transmission, as we have seen for the relationship between Jacob and Sigmund Freud and will get to know for his religious education in the next chapter. These scenes were determined by a particular script: The Jews now had at their disposal biblical works beyond their worship use, with a new literary and scholarly authority that appeared and performed. But this authority was a special one, for it remained connected (to a highly varying degree) in content and form with the religious scriptural corpus of the Jewish tradition – and by no means only for external or strategic reasons. Even now it is true that rupture was and is an inherent means of Jewish tradition maintenance and renewal. The translations to be shown here are, to put it another way, forms that have ensured the life and survival of the Jewish original and basic text.

But let us now come more specifically to the Yiddish and German-Jewish Bible translations, which since the end of the 17th century represented a great leap forward in development compared to the previously used “narrative Bibles” and glossaries. Abigail Gillman (2018) has made the sensible suggestion of ordering or grouping the set of German-Jewish Bible translations chronologically, distinguishing four phases for the period between the 17th and early 20th centuries, and assigning exemplary translations to each of these phases. Here, first of all, a summary overview of the phases with the bibliographical data of the Bible editions is given (I have partly reformulated the naming of the phases):

Phase 1: Jewish Enlightenment Bibles in Yiddish and German

Yekuthiel ben Isaac Blitz. *Torah Nevi'm u'Khtuvim: Bilshon Ashkenaz* [Bible in Yiddish]. Amsterdam: Uri Phoebus Ben-Aharon Halevi 1678.

Joseph ben Alexander Witzhausen. *Torah Nevi'm u'Khtuvim*. Amsterdam: Joseph Athias, 1679.

Moses Mendelssohn. *Sefer Netivot ha-shalom: Hamishah humshe torah 'im targum askhenazi u-ve'ur* [The Book of the Ways of Peace, which is a Work containing the Five Books of the Torah in German Translation and Explanations]. 5 vols. Berlin: George Friedrich Starcke, 1780-83.

Phase 2: The spread of the *Jewish Bible*

Joseph Johlson. *Die heiligen Schriften der Israeliten, erster Theil: Die fünf Bücher Mose, nach dem masoretischen Texte worttreu übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen*. Frankfurt am Main: Andreäische Buchhandlung, 1831.

Gotthold Salomon. *Die deutsche Volks- und Schulbibel für Israeliten. Auf's Neue aus dem masoretischen Text übersetzt*. Altona: Hammerich, 1837.

Leopold Zunz (Hrsg.). *Torah Neviim Ketuvim. Die vier und zwanzig Bücher der heiligen Schrift: Nach dem masoretischen Texte*. Übersetzt von Heymann Arnheim, Julius Fürst und Michael Sachs. Prag: Veit & Comp., 1838.

Salomon Herxheimer. *Die vierundzwanzig Bücher der Bibel im hebräischen Texte: Mit worttreuer Uebersetzung, fortlaufender Erklärung und homiletisch benutzbaren Anmerkungen*. 4 volumes. Berlin: J. Lewent, 1841-48.

Phase 3: The *Jewish Bible* as a total work of art

Ludwig Philippson. *Die israelitische Bibel. Enthaltend Den heiligen Urtext, die deutsche Übertragung, die allgemeine, ausführliche Erläuterung mit mehr als 500 englischen Holzschnitten*. Leipzig: Baumgärnter, 1839-54 (1st edition).⁸³

Samson Raphael Hirsch. *Der Pentateuch. Übersetzt und erläutert von Samson Raphael Hirsch*. 5 Bände. Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann Verlag, 1867-78.

4th phase: German-Jewish Bible editions for the 20th century

Martin Buber und Franz Rosenzweig. *Die fünf Bücher der Weisung*. Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1925-27.

Berta Pappenheim. *Zeenah u-Reenah: Frauenbibel: Bereschith [Genesis]*. Übersetzung und Auslegung des Pentateuch von Jacob Ben Isaac aus Janow. Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann Verlag, 1930.

In the following overview I will orientate myself on the first three phases, but will present and discuss the Bible translations assigned to them in varying degrees of detail. For obvious reasons, the focus of the presentation will be the *Philippson Bible* (accordingly, I will no longer consider the translations by Buber and Rosenzweig and Pappenheim, and will only be able to deal with Hirsch's translation in passing); the comparative historical interpretation of this biblical work, which was

⁸³ More detailed information on this first as well as the second edition and on further editions of the Philippson Bible can be found in chapter 1.

also so significant for Freud, will occupy the broadest space. In the historical passage, special attention will be paid to the Protestant-influenced, historical-critical approach to biblical research, which in many ways massively attacked the Jewish understanding of Scripture and the rabbinic approach to it, and with which especially the *Jewish Bible* translators of the 19th century had to deal intensively and controversially. One could almost say that both Luther and the Protestant theologians as well as the Christian biblical scholars constantly looked over their shoulders, as it were, with often less than friendly, not infrequently even hostile glances; in this respect, the Bible translations created can be understood as self-conscious and stubborn reactions to these dominant-colonial glances. In summary, the Bible translations stand in a tense two-sided relationship: internally they move in the dynamic of loyalty and betrayal to the Jewish textual tradition and externally in the critical confrontation with the Christian culture of dominance.

Phase 1: Jewish Enlightenment Bibles in Yiddish and German

What can be said about the translations of this first phase, which falls in the time of great social and cultural upheavals and is usually associated with the Age of Enlightenment, applies across the board more or less to all the Bible editions listed here and therefore marks a “revolution in translations”: They are, with gradations, renderings of the source texts that are as faithful as possible to the text and the words, in a language that is now stylistically and syntactically beautiful and correct, as well as in entirely new, appealing editorial forms; in contrast to previous translations and glossaries, they are far more than mere auxiliary works, but pieces of literature in their own right that meet aesthetic standards. The two Yiddish-writing translators of this first phase, Blitz and Witzenhausen,⁸⁴ as well as Moses Mendelssohn, who produced the first German translation, were united in their radical criticism of the traditional textual basis and in their desire to use their works to lay the foundation (not only linguistically) for what they considered indispensable for Jewish emancipation: *Education*. In order to come close to the then far superior translations of Luther and the *Zurich Bible* [*Froschauer Bibel*], published by Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) in 1531 and authoritative for the Reformed churches, both of which were constantly revised and produced in ever new editions, they therefore created entirely new Bible editions, which in their outward appearance became in part similar to the Christian ones, were able to appeal to a broad Jewish audience and aimed to raise their level of education. But the idea that the new Jewish Enlightenment Bibles created Christian equivalents and that Mendelssohn in particular was, as it were, the Jewish Luther and wanted to

⁸⁴ Blitz’s Bible translation can be viewed at: <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/jd/content/thumbview/1698623> and Witzenhausen’s translation at: <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/jd/content/thumbview/1699199> (last accessed on 10/13/2020 in each case).

create a new type of secular, enlightened German Jew with his translation of the Pentateuch misses the point, as we shall see: For what is mostly overlooked is that Mendelssohn's type of translation and extensive commentary work (*Be'ur*) is deeply rooted in the Jewish exegetical tradition and did not intend to replace or overcome it – quite the opposite was the case.

a) *The translations of Blitz and Witzzenhausen*

The tendency towards at least an outward assimilation to the Christian editions of the Bible is already evident in the design of the two Yiddish translations, which were published in Amsterdam at about the same time. Already in the time before the Reformation, it had become customary to provide theological works with elaborately ornamented title pages; this tradition experienced its peak with the *Luther Bibles* of the 16th century and continued into the 19th century. This had been quite unusual for Yiddish printed matter, so it is all the more remarkable that it was now used in the new translations as well. Thus, in the 1678 edition of the Bible translated by Jekuthiel ben Isaac Blitz (1634-1684) and published by Uri Phoebus Ben-Aharon Halevi (1625-1715), there is a frontal spitz depicting Moses and Aaron on the left and right (see fig. 9). Gillman (2018, p. 19) suggests that Abraham bar Jacob (1669-1730), who created this image, was inspired by the title page of the 1648 Dutch *Luther Bible*, which depicts Moses on the left, Jesus on the right, and Luther in the lower centre. But what appears to Gillman here to be virtually a copy is at the same time a subversion. While the Christian depiction stands for the Christological appropriation of the *Jewish Bible* claimed by the Reformation and Luther respectively, the Jewish one claims independence in the combination of prophetic and legal (Moses) as well as priestly (Aaron) tradition. In the second Yiddish Bible translated by Joseph ben Alexander Witzzenhausen (born at the beginning of the 17th century, died after 1686), Moses and David, i.e. again the Jewish prophet par excellence as well as the exemplary biblical (messianic) king and poet, are found on the front page. The Yiddish Bibles thus use given Christian prototypes, but give them a different contextual twist and meaning.

That these first new translations of the Bible, writing Yiddish in Hebrew letters, were published in Amsterdam is anything but a coincidence. Amsterdam was one of the leading centres of Jewish life and the production of Hebrew and Yiddish books, which were not only in demand locally, but were highly valued and sold widely throughout Western and Eastern Europe. The two Bible translations in question were each sold in editions of 6,000 copies (which was an enormous number for the time), primarily to Yiddish-speaking Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. The Dutch metropolis, one of the most modern cities in the world at the time, was strongly influenced by Sephardic Jewry, and the editors and translators of the Bibles also came from these communities, which had been

established about 150 years earlier by the influx of exiled Spanish and Portuguese Jews. With their scholarship and book productions, they exerted a great influence on the Askenazi populations as well and were the most predestined for the desired reforms in translation practices.

If we try to summarize the main concerns of this reform, or perhaps even revolution, several characteristic features can be identified:

1. For the first time in Yiddish literature, the entire *Tanakh* was translated. In doing so, the translators and publishers emancipated themselves from the previous practice of studying the Bible in the traditional Askenazic educational system and broke away from the canon of biblical writings that were read in the synagogue (*Pentateuch* and the prophetic books). Here we see what we have already noted: Bibles detached themselves from their synagogal and liturgical use and became cultural and educational goods in a broader sense.

2. The translations are written in a clear and understandable language and have fundamentally changed the methods of translation, even in the Jewish field. This meant a break with the widespread strict word-to-word translations, which had no regard for presentability and comprehensibility and had long been criticized by rabbis and scholars. Blitz, for example, in the introduction to his translation of the Bible, explicitly criticized the Yiddish-language *Tsene Rene* as an example of works that made the Hebrew inaccessible. In the translation, commentary and interpretation would be mixed, and the mere rendering of the simple sense of the word (*peschat*) would render the text incomprehensible (cf. Schatz, 2012, p. 102).

3. The aesthetic quality of the Bibles was noticeably improved and corresponded more to the sophisticated demands that had developed in many congregations. Especially the title pages designed as copper engravings show this change impressively.

4. It was more recent developments in Christian translation culture that inspired Blitz, Witzelhausen and Mendelssohn to write their works. In the case of the Yiddish Bibles, it was the translation works of the Protestant Reformation, in particular the so-called *Statenvertaling*, the first ever complete translation of the Bible from the original languages into Dutch, on which six Protestant theologians worked after receiving an official commission from parliament in 1619. In 1637 the translation was authorized and published for the first time. A wealth of philological research had gone into this *State Bible*, and it is notable for its simultaneous greater closeness to the Jewish tradition as well as its distance from the *Luther Bible* – which understandably facilitated a Jewish reception (cf. on this Timm, 1993). This exemplary function, however, did not prevent the translator Blitz from inserting anti-Christological commentaries in some of the prophetic books (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 50-51). For Mendelssohn, a century later, it was the Enlightenment Bibles that became the inspiration for him (cf. Sheehan, 2005).

In summary, the translations of Blitz and Witzzenhausen can be understood as “transitional works” (Gillman, 2018, p. 29) that thoroughly revised the Yiddish translations that preceded them and, at the same time, were the first attempts at Bible editions in a vernacular language committed to the Jewish Enlightenment. Without these efforts, Moses Mendelssohn, who criticized them but nevertheless used them in teaching his children, would have had a much harder time with his Pentateuch translation. Yes, one can even say that Mendelssohn retraditionalized the *Jewish Bible* compared to Blitz and Witzzenhausen: He avoided the Christian appearance, wrote the German translation in Hebrew letters, and added an extensive commentary (this is precisely what is missing in the two Yiddish translations).

b) Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch

In his biography of Mendelssohn, Dominique Bourel (2007, p. 445) called his translation of the Torah one of the “most fundamental events of modern Judaism” and further explained:

“Together with the transmission begun by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig in 1925 and completed by Buber alone after World War II, it marks the two unmistakable and almost uncrossable boundary points of German-Jewish history as Jewish-German translation history” (ibid.; own translation).

Above all, Mendelssohn had broken with the habit, now common in the Askenazic world, of reading the Bible in Yiddish and created the first German translation – and this was more than an arbitrary translation, it created the first Jewish-German Bible. Mendelssohn began his project in 1774, and the individual volumes of his Pentateuch translation were published between 1780 and 1783, after the appearance of a subscription prospectus of the project; also in 1783, a complete edition was published in Berlin by Georg Friedrich Starcke. Let us first consider the characteristic graphic-textual arrangement of the individual pages of the *Mendelssohn Bible* (see fig. 10):

- On the inner upper part of each page is the Hebrew or Masoretic text.
- Next to it on the outside is the German translation made by Mendelssohn, but not, as many of today's readers would probably expect, in German, but in Hebrew letters.
- Below these two texts are two separate commentary sections. The first is the *Tikkun Sofrim*, the “Correction / Emendation of the Scribes”, by which are meant philological and grammatical explanations. Mendelssohn wrote this Masoretic commentary with the help of Salomon Dubno (1738-1813) and Hartwig Wessely (1725-1805).

- Among them is Mendelssohn's actual commentary, the *b'ur*, which he wrote with the help of numerous collaborators and which is written in the so-called Rashi script, that is, the variant of the Hebrew script traditionally used in rabbinic commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud.

This page layout of *Mendelssohn's Bible* is not at all comparable to Christian Bible translations, in which neither the source texts nor, what seems to me even more important, commentaries are to be found – these in particular blatantly contradict the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* and have been associated with Catholic traditionalism. However, they are characteristic of the Jewish tradition, appear not least in the Philippon Bible and have been both structure-forming for the works of the *Talmudim* (cf. Hegener, 2017) and characteristic of the so-called *Hebrew Rabbinical Bibles* (which should not be confused with the Bible of Leopold Zunz, also called the “Rabbinical Bible” and translated into German – see below), such as the second edition of the *Miqraot Gedolot* (“Great Scriptures”) by Jacob ben Chajjim (c. 1470-1538) from 1524, which is provided with the commentaries of Jewish scholars (see fig. 11 in the appendix). Mendelssohn obviously took this design for granted and without alternative (cf. Levenson, 2011, p. 33).

The Talmudic texts in particular are dedicated commentary literature. For the sake of explanation, let us turn to the printed page of the *Babylonian Talmud* (s. fig. 12 in the appendix), which is found for the first time in the first edition printed in Venice from 1520 to 1523 by the Christian Flemish publisher and printer Daniel Bomberg (1470/80-1549), edited by Jacob Ben Chajim (c. 1470-1538) and containing, with modifications and additions, its classical external form that is still valid today (an illustration with the exact explanations of the individual textual components can also be found in Barnavi, 1994, p. 63). It is noticeable that the various textual components are arranged in a special graphic form in which commentary revolves around commentary: In the centre of the page is the basic text of the Talmud, consisting of the *Mishnah* (the religious-legal traditions) and the *Gemara* (explanations of the *Mishnah*). Inside and surrounding both is the commentary of Rashi (1040-1105). Rashi is the abbreviation for Rabbi Schlomo ben Itzhak, who lived in Troyes in the 11th century CE and wrote a legendary commentary without which the Talmud cannot be understood. This is followed in a further circular movement by the annotations and commentaries of the so-called *Tossafists*, who were pupils and “complements” of Rashi and exercised a decisive influence on the tradition of the rabbinical schools in *Ashkenan* (i.e. in Germany and in northern France) in the period from the 12th to the 14th century. Then follow 1. the codification and systematization of halakhah by the important medieval scholars of Judaism Moses Maimonides (1135 or 1138-1204) (from his book *Mishneh Torah*) and Joseph Karo (from the *Shulchan Aruch*), 2. The interpretation of Rabbenu (our teacher) Chananei ben Chuschi'el (990-c.1055), who wrote a complete commentary on the *Babylonian Talmud*, and 3. A commentary by Nissim ben Jacob ibn

Shahin (990-1062), the learned rabbi and leader of the Tunisian Jews in the 11th century. Finally, at later dates, the “proofs” of Joel Sirkes (1561-1640), containing corrections or interpretations of the Gemara and the Rashi commentary, the annotations of Akiba Eger (1720-1758), a list of corresponding texts from various passages of the Talmud and from traditional literature, and a list of biblical references to the text of the Gemara were added.

However, Mendelssohn felt strongly connected to the Jewish tradition not only in the formal design, which already reflects the form of its presentation, but also in several other respects. Thus, for example, he not only took the Masoretic text, which was written in the 9th and 10th centuries CE, as a basis and considered it reliable, but also did not emend it in any way, i.e. did not subject it to any correction. This is remarkable because Mendelssohn, who was certainly open to historical questions about the text and authorship, did not follow a certain trend that had long since begun to dissolve the uniformity of the biblical text in the course of the rapidly developing historical-critical exegesis (see below). It can already be said from this point of view that Mendelssohn created, as it were, a *modern rabbinic Bible* (cf. Levenson, 2011, p. 38) and considered it a unique work poetologically, i.e. in its literary aesthetics (Liss, 2020, p. 258). For him, it also remained that while the translation could be read, the actual study of the Bible could only be done on the basis of the Hebrew text. In accordance with tradition (see above), he regarded the Hebrew as the sole sacred Scripture and remained faithful to it even in the translation into German. Since Hebrew is a consonantal script and speaking means vocalizing and interpreting, Mendelssohn considered the oral tradition, in its openness, to be especially suitable for protecting the biblical text from abuse and idolatry. He obviously could not help but see the Bible through the eyes of the great Jewish commentators and, as Bourel (2007, p. 462) has shown, drew on at least four other traditional medieval commentaries besides Ibn Ezra (1089-1164), namely Rashi, Rashbam (1080/1085-c. 1174), Ramban (1195-1270), and David Kimchi (1160-1235).

Although Mendelssohn himself referred to Luther as a “predecessor” in his 1783 translations of the Psalms, and there were not a few voices who saw in Mendelssohn a Jewish Luther (see above the quotations from Heine), it must be said that, if one considers the Christian influences, he was much more influenced by the Pietist critique of Luther and his translation of the Bible, as well as the philological accuracy and Hebraic style of the Pietist Bibles (cf. Gillman, 2018, pp. 44 and 47-48). Even his famous translation of the Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* as “der Ewige [the Eternal]” is modeled on Jean Calvin (1509-1564) (*L’Eternel*) rather than Luther. Beyond this, however, and much more important, is Mendelssohn’s massive critique of the Christological, and indeed Christian, interpretation of the *Jewish Bible* that culminated in Luther, beginning with his commentary on the translation of the Psalms and ending with his *B’ur*.

Mendelssohn most clearly expressed his massive reservations about the Christian translations of the Bible and especially the Christian translations of the Torah in 1782 in “Or Lanetiwa. Licht auf dem Pfad, dies ist die umfassende Einleitung zu allen fünf Büchern [Or Lanetiwa. Light on the Path, this is the comprehensive introduction to all five books]” in the paragraph “Von den Übersetzungen [Of the translations]” (reproduced here in an English translation of the German transcription):

“For the Christian translators, who do not accept the traditions of our Sages, their memory be for a blessing, do not listen to the words of the Massorah, nor do they acknowledge our vowel points and accents, make the words of the Torah a broken wall [according to *Proverbs*, 25, 28], which anyone can surmount in order to proceed inside according to arbitrariness. They add, take away, and change in the Torah of God” (Mendelssohn, 1782, pp. 56-57).

They would, he continues, emphasizing the sanctity of the *Massorah*, understand the words of the Torah not as something to be observed, but as a work of history. Seen in this light, there would be no harm in changing details by adding or omitting letters. This, however, was just not acceptable for the House of Israel; any emendation was forbidden. Through this clear observance, which in Mendelssohn’s case was coupled with great cultural openness, he became formative for later translators and gave the German Jews back their Bible. But in contrast to Zunz (see below), Mendelssohn’s faithfulness to the rabbinic tradition was constitutive for his entire translation. If he understood his translation as a Targum, he did not want to replace the original, but to lead to it through a (further) commentary. It was not the holy language that could be foreign to him, but his own position at a distance from the original that was foreign – in Mendelssohn’s view, this is yet the interlingual-exilic position of all humanity vis-à-vis the Torah (cf. Lapidot, n.d.).

To conclude this section, we would like to point out the pedagogical impulse that also motivated this translation. According to Mendelssohn, he had initially wanted to prepare a hand edition for one of his sons for purely private use, but was then persuaded by his collaborator and his son’s teacher, Salomon Dubno, to make the transmission available for printing as well (see, for example, Liss, 2020, p. 257). In a letter of May 25, 1779, he wrote retrospectively to Avigdor Levi:

“I translated the Scriptures into the German language, not to boast of my handiwork and make a name for myself in the land, or an axe to dig, but for the benefit of the children with whom God gifted me. The eldest died to my distress, and there remained to me only my son Joseph (may God strengthen his heart with His Torah). I put the German translation into his mouth, so that through it he may understand the simple literal sense of Scripture, until the boy grows up and understands it of his own accord” (quoted in Bourel, 2007, p. 460; own translation).

The desire to ensure the genealogical transmission of Jewish tradition through the teaching and joint reading of the Torah is also readily apparent here. Beginning with the *Mendelssohn Bible*, it was possible for those parents who cared deeply about Jewish tradition to acquire a German family and home Bible and to make their children initially familiar with it in a common reading – and between Jacob and Sigismund Freud, this scene will be repeated barely 100 years later, albeit with a different translation of the Bible.

Phase 2: The spread of the Jewish Bible

The situation at the beginning of the 19th century in Germany was characterized by several developments: First, it became noticeable that the knowledge of Hebrew of most Jews was meagre and no longer sufficient for reading the Bible in the *Ur-Text* – and here the *Mendelssohn Bible*, written in Hebrew (even despite the meanwhile available translations into German), offered no real remedy. Secondly, the gap between the incipient Reform Judaism and (neo-)Orthodoxy opened up more and more, and this gap was connected with a sharp controversy about the meaning and authority of the oral Torah, i.e. the Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition. Thirdly, there were hardly any suitable *Jewish Bibles* for Jewish religious instruction that met the growing demands – we will trace this in more detail in the next chapter for instruction in Austria / Vienna. Here, too, the *Mendelssohn Bible* did not provide a remedy, since it was unsuitable for broad pedagogical use. In addition, it was sharply criticized by the orthodox side and did not find favour in the reform camp, because it no longer met the demands of a modern, critically annotated edition of the Bible. Thus, *Luther* or *Missionary Bibles* were increasingly used, which was sharply criticized some time later, especially by Ludwig Phillipson (cf. Phillipson, 1859; see below). Liss (2020, p. 296; own translation) commented on this crisis-like situation as follows: “Judaism in Germany had already lost the rabbinical tradition (as an oral tradition) in a certain sense, but had surrendered the biblical tradition (i.e. the written tradition) to Christianity”.

After the historical passage presented here, one could say that it was primarily Luther’s translation and its consequences that led to the expropriation of the *Jewish Bible*, and that both the Protestant biblical scholarship that emerged in the 18th century and the Jewish Enlightenment movement *after* Mendelssohn and the scholarship of Judaism (albeit with clearly different motives) worked to delegitimize the oral, that is, the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition. Since these developments form the background for the *Jewish Bible* translations to be discussed in this subchapter, they are presented here in broad outline in advance.

Let us begin with the Protestant biblical criticism of the 18th century (I follow here, if not otherwise indicated, the highly instructive account by Weidner, 2003): For them the attempt to arrive at a historical or (cultural-)historical reading of the Bible was decisive, which meant a turning away from the notion of verbal inspiration and a detachment from dogmatic-religious prescriptions in the reading of Scripture and its study.⁸⁵ This view was most notably advocated by Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791) in his *Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Canons* [*Treatise of free Examination of the Canon*] (Semler, 1771), pointing out that the biblical texts emerged from a multi-layered historical process of formation. This newly forming historical reading, also called “higher criticism”, now had the consequence that one saw in the biblical writings more and more a compendium of various documents of antiquity, which in the 19th century was to lead to the formulation of the *Newer Document-Hypothesis*, which was very influential until the 1970s, especially in the work of Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) (we will return to this in the next subchapter in connection with considerations on Philippon’s Bible Work in more detail).

In his work *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* [*From the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*] (Herder, 1783), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) also conceived of the biblical texts as man-made in a secularizing reading and appreciated Hebrew poetry as poetry of the Orient. This led to the juxtaposition between the Orient and the Occident as well as between the Jews and the Hebrews on the one hand and the Europeans on the other. Likewise, Herder’s writing already contains a judgmental distinction between “Hebräertum [Hebraism]” and later Judaism, or between the original Hebrew language, which was considered superior, and the allegedly inferior later rabbinic Hebrew – which was to provoke Mendelssohn’s sharpest protest.

The well-known Göttingen theologian and Orientalist Johann David Michaelis (1717-1791) followed Herder in this judgment and rejected rabbinic Hebrew as a deficient level of language and took the position that rabbinic Judaism could not explain the authentic Israelite tradition, but that it could only be understood against the background of Oriental social forms. Among Protestant theologians, this led to an increasing rejection and devaluation of the oral Jewish interpretive tradition as a whole. In his devaluation of rabbinic Judaism, Michaelis argued that the rabbinic Talmud teachers, whom he reviled as small-minded ignoramuses, no longer had any land of their own and thus no agriculture, thus serving the classic anti-Semitic cliché of rootless Jews. Because

⁸⁵ Although the focus here is on Protestant criticism in the German-speaking world, it should not go unmentioned that it was Baruch de Spinoza (1632-1677) who provided a decisive impetus for this development and was widely received in the 18th century. Spinoza considerably sharpened the critique of tradition and the Bible that had already emerged in the Renaissance, and that this critique is not something incidental to his work is already evident from the fact that the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* of 1670 was his first publication, and it stands for a break with what was also central to medieval Jewish thought, namely the identification of revelation and reason. Spinoza avowedly wants to strictly separate philosophy and theology and show that the universal insights of reason are not to be confused with the historical-particular revelation described in the *Jewish Bible* (see below).

of this landlessness, Michaelis also contrasts the Jews of the time after the destruction of the Second Temple with the Israelites of the time of Moses and the taking of land after the flight from Egypt. Thus Michaelis writes in volume 5 of his multi-volume work *Mosaisches Recht* [*Mosaic Law*]:

“The Talmudists alone, who lived a few millennia after Moses, and after the Jews had long since lost their paternal customs and learning in exile and under many foreign rulers, are generally poor interpreters of the Mosaic laws; but nowhere are they more unreliable than when the laws of agriculture are spoken of, for they compiled their collection from hearsay, when the Jews had long since lost their fatherland through Titum Vespasianum, and thus had no more agriculture. [...] On the mere word of anonymous parochial scholars who lived more than two thousand years after the time of Moses, who themselves neither practiced agriculture nor were connoisseurs of nature, nor quoted any old books, but merely hearsay of older teachers, no one who has learned any *logicam probabilem* will accept this” (Michaelis, 1785, p. 244; own translation).

Besides Herder and Michaelis, the works of the German-Swiss theologian Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780-1849) were also influential in the early 19th century. De Wette was the first to see in the Mosaic legislation a late product of the Babylonian exile, and introduced a further distinction, namely that between the (pre-)exiled *Hebrews* and the exiled-post-exiled *Jews*. De Wette, in his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [*Contributions to the Introduction to the Old Testament*] (de Wette, 1806/07), wanted above all to show that the cultic laws of the *Pentateuch* had played no role in the writings that predated Josiah’s cultic reform. This distinction, which already tended to devalue the law and pit it against prophecy, was to take an even more clearly anti-Semitic turn a few decades later, especially through Wellhausen’s research (see below).

The study of antiquity that emerged at the end of the 18th century (cf. Shavit & Eran, 2007, pp. 156-191), which emancipated itself from theology, also located the biblical writings in the ancient Near Eastern context, understood them as an integral part of the ancient literatures, and detached them from the Rabbinic-Talmudic heritage. Both new fields of research, biblical studies and ancient studies, rejected rabbinic exegesis as inadequate in the same sense. This decoupling of the biblical text from Jewish tradition led, as Bruckstein (2001, p. 43; own translation) has put it, “to a sensory deprivation of the body of (Jewish) commentary tradition”. The strict historicization of Scripture isolated an original text that was now thought to belong to a closed past and not in need of rabbinic interpretive practices denigrated as theocratic and dogmatic.

The newly forming *Wissenschaft vom Judentum* is inconceivable without this prehistory; its representatives in a certain way shared and helped to promote the last described development, “the

emergence of the interpretation of Scripture in a general account of the history of religion” (Liss, 2020, p. 288: own translation). Judaism’s membership in modern civilization was to be legitimized through its historical study, and a modern Reform rabbinate was to be created that replaced “the traditional authority which rabbis had gained through their nonhistorical training in Jewish law” (Meyer, 1988, p. 75). Although for the representatives of the *Wissenschaft vom Judentum* the positioning of Judaism in the historical development did not mean the dissolution of Judaism, as in Protestant biblical studies or ancient studies, but was supposed to support and accelerate the reform process, their efforts also led to a far-reaching rejection of the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition – this was the price they had to pay and in no small part gladly paid for the desired normalization.

The movement emerged among young Jewish intellectuals in the second decade of the nineteenth century, who became familiar with the new historical research approaches and methods during their academic studies. In 1819, they founded the “Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden” (ibid., p. 76) in Berlin, and its most prominent and active representative, Leopold Zunz, made several attempts to establish his discipline at German universities. This failed again and again due to the fierce resistance of academic Protestant theology, which did not want to tolerate any independent study of Jewish history and literature at the universities. Zunz’s initiatives were not successful, although it was precisely in his early, radical phase, when he was extremely sceptical about the future of Judaism and even contemplated conversion, that he had hoped to reach his goal by abandoning the Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition. In any case, he was convinced, as were many of his comrades-in-arms, that nothing of significance in Jewish reform could be achieved “until the Talmud will be overthrown” (quoted in Meyer, 1988, p. 52). As Lapidot (n.d.) shows, Zunz wanted to replace the term “rabbinical”, which he considered outdated, with “Jewish”, since only in this was the changed self-understanding of the Jews reflected in their modern existence. In the newly emerging science of *Judaism*, with the help of which Jews should now be able to recognise themselves as Germans, the “Hebrew books”, which Zunz understood as later products of the “Hebrews” and thus as “New Hebrew literature”, were at the same time “laid to rest” (quoted in ibid., p. 14).

In response to the widespread rejection that the Reformers of Judaism experienced, but also as an expression of these developments, the Bible editions of Joseph Johlson (1777-1851), Gotthold Salomon (1784-1862), Salomon Herxheimer (1801-1884), and the group around Leopold Zunz, all of whom were Reform rabbis, were produced in rapid succession between 1831 and 1841.⁸⁶ All these researchers were educated at German universities and each attempted in their own way to

⁸⁶ In the century and a half between Mendelssohn’s translation and those of Buber and Rosenzweig, German Jews produced 15 (!) different translations of the Bible (Goldschmidt, 2007, pp. 182-193).

create a modern alternative to both Mendelssohn's idiomatic German translation and his commentary, which now seemed to many to be downright medieval, and to the *Luther Bible*, which met the scholarly demands of a modern biblical commentary. They thus addressed the growing and new group of Jews for whom Orthodox Judaism, which at that time still largely rejected Bible translations, had lost all attraction and binding power and who no longer mastered Hebrew. The new translations were intended to help strengthen the Jewish faith, build bridges into the Protestant majority religion, and promote the enlightened educational reform that had led to a move away from Talmudic study. It is not possible here to consider in detail these Bible translations, which document the growing stylistic diversity of *Jewish Bible* translations; it is only possible to throw a few spotlights on some important works and their characteristics.

The two Bible editions by Johlson and Salomon served recognizably pedagogical purposes. Johlson in particular, who taught at the Frankfurt Philanthropin and had previously published one of the first German-language textbooks for Jewish pupils, together with a catechism (Johlson, 1819), also wanted to ensure with his translation that knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish history would develop. His biblical work, which was enthusiastically welcomed by Reform Judaism for the particular fidelity to the word in his translation as well as for its contribution to the displacement of Luther's Bible from the religious and scholastic life of the Jews of his time, combines enlightenment, pedagogical reform, and scholarly aspirations (cf. Gillman, 2018, pp. 105-113 and Bechtold, 2005, pp. 132-164).

In 1837, the translation project *Die vier und zwanzig Bücher der Heiligen Schrift (The Four and Twenty Books of Holy Scripture)*, led by the aforementioned Leopold Zunz, was published. It became known as the *Zunz Bible* or *Rabbinical Bible*, appeared in 12 editions until 1889, and of the second-phase translations mentioned here, it received the widest distribution and recognition (and still enjoys a certain popularity today). It was a joint venture involving, in addition to Zunz, the Rabbis Heymann Arnheim (1796-1865), Julius Fürst (1805-1873), and Michael Sachs (1808-1864). Zunz himself was only responsible for the translation of the *Chronicle*, but at the same time directed the overall editing and for this reason became the titular editor. Zunz's primary concern was to translate the formal characteristics of ancient Hebrew into German, which often makes for unwieldy reading, and he and his collaborators, in order to allow the text to stand out, dispensed entirely with footnotes, commentaries, and insertions. His intention, unlike Mendelssohn's, was not to be an exegete in and through his translations, but rather to be a historian, capturing the primary source in its most accurate linguistic form and unlocking the dignity and authenticity of the Hebrew source text. It is in this, however, although Zunz did not add a historical-critical commentary to his Bible,

that his historicizing and anti-talmudic perspective becomes apparent (Gillman, 2018, pp. 113-121 and Bechtold, 2005, pp. 184-217).

The Pentateuch translation by Herxheimer (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 247-269), who was Reform and regional Rabbi in Anhalt-Bernburg, has certain features that were already centrally important for Mendelssohn and were also to become binding for Philippon. In the preface to the first edition of 1841, he summarizes his approach in several points: “1. that the original text of the Holy Scriptures is available in possible correctness” (Herxheimer, 1854, p. V), “2. a faithful translation” (*ibid.*, p. VI), “3. a complete, brief and contemporary commentary” (*ibid.*), “4. the practical and homiletically usable notes” (*ibid.*, p. VII; own translations). Herxheimer’s commentary was probably the first modern commentary after Mendelssohn’s *B’ur to* integrate new biblical scholarship. The author summarizes his approach as follows:

“Therefore, the commentator must not exclude from the scope of his work any ancient or modern, Jewish or non-Jewish, Oriental or classical, linguistic comparison, travelogue, or any investigation, unchecked and unused, as soon as it leads to the illumination of a biblical moment. Thus, in this commentary, the following are considered and cited: the translation of the Alexandrians, the Chaldeans, like that of Luther, the interpretations in the Talmud, the Midrash, the explanations of Rashi, Rambam, Ebn Esra, Kimchi, Ramban, Abarbanel, like those of Herder, Michaelis, Vater, Rosenmüller, de Wette, Gesenius, Ewald, Bohlen, the explanations in Josephus, More Nebuchim, and so on, as those of Mendelssohn and Heidenheim” (*ibid.*, pp. VI-VII; own translation).

This compilation seems somewhat disconcerting because it mixes disparate interpretive traditions of Jewish and Christian provenance as if at random. However, this mixture reflects both the growing influence of Protestant biblical scholarship and the author’s intention to address Jews as well as Christians with his biblical work and to contribute to overcoming anti-Semitic stereotypes through joint study. Herxheimer’s Bible Work also found distribution among the Christian clergy in the Duchy of Anhalt-Bernburg, and the consistory of the Protestant church there had expressly ordered the distribution and use of this Bible in the Protestant congregations (cf. Herrmann, 2015, p. 31). This led, as can easily be imagined, to massive protests especially from Protestant theologians, such as the Old Testament scholar Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802-1869), who saw this as virtually endangering Christianity. But also from the Jewish side there were considerable reservations about this mixture (*ibid.*, pp. 32-33).

Phase 3: The Jewish Bible as a total work of art

This brings us to the Bible translations of the third phase and consequently also to Ludwig Philippson's biblical work. This period, that of the advancing 19th century, is characterized by various general developments that were also reflected in the two translations under discussion here. On the technical and economic level, there were considerable improvements in printing techniques and book illustrations, as well as the expansion of a mass market for all kinds of printed products (magazines, books, splendid editions, etc.). This was also associated in the German-speaking world with the decline in the production and distribution of religious books and the growing desire for information, learned entertainment and edification. The two translators Ludwig Philippson and Samson Raphael Hirsch had to react to this development trend and find their own, new *and Jewish* answer. They did this under the still prevailing impression that good *Jewish Bible* translations were still lacking, that the Bible had become lost to the Jews, and above all a pervasive religious crisis, which had to do with a strong and increasing pressure to assimilate, but also with the deepening internal division between Reform Judaism and Orthodoxy. Unlike their predecessors, however, Philippson and Hirsch still wanted much more strongly a religious regeneration and reformation of Jewish tradition, and in their work, though they were this too, saw themselves less as researchers than as *rabbinic translators* (on this, see Gillman, 2018, p. 149).

At first glance, it might appear that Philippson and Hirsch were antipodes, respective representatives of the opposing denominations of Reform and Orthodoxy – but on closer examination, it turns out that this impression is deceptive. Both can be said to have stood between the fronts: Philippson as an extremely moderate Reform rabbi (see below) and Hirsch as one of the most important representatives of Neo-Orthodoxy, which sought a third way between a virtually ossified Old Orthodoxy and the Reform movement (cf. Grözinger, 2009, pp. 496-537). Hirsch – this should be briefly mentioned here before we turn to Philippson – introduced fundamental innovations under his breath and called for an emancipation and modernization of Judaism from a traditionalist perspective (cf. Levenson, 2011, pp. 45-63). Already in his treatise *Chaurew, oder Versuche über Jissroéls Pflichten in der Zerstreung zunächst für Jissroéls Jünglinge und Jungfrauen* (*Chaurew, or Attempts on Jissroel's Duties in the Dispersion first for Jissroel's Young Men and Maidens*) (Hirsch, 1837) he developed his concept that the meaning of the commandments did not lie in their mechanical exercise (this would only lead to mindless casuistry and imprisonment of the law), but that they had to be understood as symbolic acts standing for Israel's living relationship with God. This basic understanding had a strong impact on his Bible translations

of the *Pentateuch* (1867-1878) and the *Psalmen* (1883), which were provided with extensive commentaries (Hirsch's *Pentateuch* commentary alone comprises 3000 pages!). With the symbolic interpretations of the religious laws to be found here, "he sought not only to combine biblical interpretation with practical *halakha*, but (and here, of course, directed against reform) to fill the 'antiquarian' laws with new meaning" (Liss, 2020, p. 314; own translation).

For both Hirsch and Philippson, the indispensable starting point of all their efforts was the *Jewish Bible*, and here especially the Torah. Both saw it not as an arbitrarily historicizable component of ancient and oriental literature that could be dissolved into its various source texts, but as an enduring unity with which Judaism attains its world-historical relevance and the basis for its continued existence. Their translations should contribute to making this relevance accessible once again to German-speaking Jews.

IV. Ludwig Philippson and his Bible Work

(a) Biographical information

In order to be able to come to Philippson's Bible translation and to understand it better, it is necessary and helpful in a first step to gather some biographical information about his person. In doing so, I will draw primarily on the following sources, without always identifying them in detail: Besides the entry in the *Biographische[n] Handbuch der Rabbiner. Teil 1. Die Rabbiner der Emanzipationszeit in den deutschen, böhmischen und großpolnischen Ländern 1781-1871* (*Biographical[n] Handbook of Rabbis. Part 1: The Rabbis of the Emancipation Period in the German, Bohemian and Greater Polish Lands 1781-1871*) (Brocke & Carlebach, 2004, pp. 702-706), I will refer to Meyer Kayserling (1829-1905), who was married to Philippson's daughter Berta and published the only comprehensive biography of his father-in-law to date in 1898, to the work of Philippson's granddaughter, Johanna Philippson (1962), already cited, and also to the helpful summaries in Bechtold (2005, pp. 270-296), Lordick & Mache, 2011, Herrmann (2015), Liwak (2019), and Liss (2020, esp. pp. 320-322) (I will provide further references in the text).⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The Leo Baeck Institute also maintains in its holdings the "Ludwig Philippson Family Collection 1810-1989", founded by Philippson's granddaughter Eva Philippson, with documents from the Philippson family history (<https://archive.org/details/ludwigphilippsonfamily>; last accessed August 12, 2021). Among other things, the memoirs of the geographer Alfred Philippson (1864-1953), the youngest son of Ludwig Philippson, which he wrote in the concentration camp Theresienstadt and which contains important information also about Ludwig Philippson, can be found here (A. Philippson, 2000).

Philippson was born on 28 November or December 1811 in Dessau, Mendelssohn's birthplace, and was the son of the senior teacher, writer and bookseller Moses Philippson (1775-1814)⁸⁸ and Marianne Levi-Wust (1785-1849). On his father's side, he was the great-grandson of Jakob-Josua Falk (1681-1756), chief rabbi of Frankfurt and an important Talmudist. When Philippson was three years old, his father died, and his mother made it possible for him to attend the Franz School in Dessau between the ages of four and thirteen, despite extremely difficult financial and economic circumstances (cf. Horwitz, 1894). Following the example of the Jewish Free School in Berlin, this school was founded in 1799 by Jewish Enlightenment thinkers as an elementary school for poor Jewish children, and after only five years, with the support of the authorities, it was transformed into a Jewish elementary and secondary school. It was taught according to modern, general education curricula, which was certainly decisive for Philippson's development. Leading the establishment of the Franz School was its director David Fränkel (1779-1865), who was strongly influenced by Mendelssohn, since 1806 edited the journal *Sulamith. Zeitschrift zur Förderung der Kultur und Humanität unter der jüdischen Nation (Journal for the Promotion of Culture and Humanity among the Jewish Nation)*, and published Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch in German letters in 1815.

Philippson was in the Franz School, where his father also taught for a time (see *ibid.*, p. 7), a pupil of Gotthold Salomon, who in 1837 published in Hamburg (where he was later a preacher in the Temple congregation) the [*Die*] *deutsche Volks- und Schulbibel für Israeliten. Auf's Neue aus dem masoretischen Text übersetzt* ([*The*] *German Folk and School Bible for Israelites. Translated anew from the Masoretic text*). In 1825 Philippson went to the Dessau *Bet-Midrash* for Talmudic studies, and in the spring of 1826 entered the Quarta of the Latin School of the Orphanage in Halle. There he was the first Jewish student, and in 1827, at only 15 or 16 years of age, he wrote his first Bible translation under the name of his brother Phoebus, who was studying medicine in Halle, entitled *Die Propheten Hosea, Joel Jona, Obadja und Nahum in metrisch-deutscher Übersetzung (The Prophets Hosea, Joel Jonah, Obadiah and Nahum in metrical German Translation)* (Philippson, 1827; cf. Brümmer, 1877, p. 143 and Heuer, 2010, p. 7).

On 17 Oct. 1829, Philippson matriculated at the University of Berlin, where he completed four years of study in philosophy with Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and Heinrich Steffens (1773-1845), and especially in classical philology with August Boeckh (1785-1867), with

⁸⁸ Moses Philippson also ran a printing house for Hebrew books and printed Bible translations in German with Hebrew letters there. His most famous own work was the school and reading book *מורה לבני בינה Kinderfreund und Lehrer. Lehr- und Lesebuch für die Kinder jüdischer Nation und für jeden Liebhaber der hebräischen Sprache (A Childfriend and Teacher. Textbook and Reader for the Children of the Jewish Nation and for Every Lover of the Hebrew Language)* (M. Philippson, 1808/11).

whom Leopold Zunz had also studied. His Latin dissertation, written under Boeckh, was published in 1831 under the title *Hýlī 'anthrôpinī: Pars I. De internarum humani corporis partium cognitione Aristotelis cum Platonis sentiis comparat: Pars II. Philosophorum veterum usque ad Theophrastum doctrina de sensu; Theophrasti de sensu et sensilibus fragmentum historico-philosophicum, cum textu denuo recognito, prima conversio latina et commentaria; Aristotelis doctrina de sensibus; Theophrasti fragmenta de sensu, phantasia et intellectu e Prisciani metaphrasi primum excerpta* published.⁸⁹ After his doctorate, Philippson initially aspired to a career as a philologist in France, but as a Jew this was blocked. Probably mainly as a result of this experience, he turned to political or political-historical topics and published a study on the question of why the Jews in the Western and Eastern European empires had lost their civil rights and why they should now be granted them in full (Philippson, 1832).

In December 1833 he became a preacher in Magdeburg, passed the Prussian service examination as a “geistlicher Lehrer [spiritual teacher]” with the grade “excellent” on March 10, 1834, and in 1839 acquired the rabbinical teaching license of the Reform-oriented state rabbi for the Duchy of Westphalia and the Principality of Wittgenstein with Joseph Abraham Friedländer (1753-1852). From 1834 Philippson was rabbi and teacher⁹⁰ in Magdeburg, remained there for 28 years until he had to give up his work for health reasons (see below), and during these years worked in the spirit of the Reform. In 1841, for example, he defended the Reform position in the dispute over the new Hamburg Temple Prayer Book⁹¹ (cf. Meyer, 1988, pp. 112-119 and Brämer, 2000), and participated in the three major assemblies of Reform rabbis in Braunschweig in 1844, Frankfurt/Main in 1845, and Breslau in 1846. However, he represented an extremely moderate Reform, which hoped for a religious revival in Judaism as a *whole*, and for this very reason was also concerned to achieve a balance with (neo-)Orthodoxy. Philippson in no way wanted an adaptation to the Christian majority culture and therefore pleaded, for example at the Frankfurt Assembly, since it was the universal language of the Jews, for Hebrew as the main language in the synagogal service – and because he

⁸⁹ Available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k764390/f2.item>; last accessed 29 Oct 2020. Hermann Cohen (1911), the well-known Jewish neo-Kantian philosopher, paid extensive tribute to Philippson’s dissertation in the second volume in the *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* edited by him and published on the occasion of Philippson’s 100th birthday.

⁹⁰ Philippson was a very dedicated teacher and wrote numerous textbooks and catechisms. In 1867, his elaborately designed book with a steel engraving, *עצת שלום Der Rath des Heils. Eine Mitgabe für das ganze Leben an den israelitischen Confirmanden (Bar Mizwah) und die israelitische Confirmandin oder beim Austritt aus der Schule. (The Council of Salvation. A gift for life to the Israelitish Confirmand (Bar Mizwah) and the Israelitish Confirmand or upon leaving school)*, was published. It is interesting to note that the book, which is dedicated to Jewish youth and runs to a full 303 pages, is addressed equally to boys *and* girls, which documents Philippson’s progressive attitude. In 1847 he also published a translation of the Pentateuch “für Schule und Haus (for school and home)”.

⁹¹ In this dispute, the Hamburg rabbi Chacham Isaak Bernays (1792-1849) was significantly involved on the side of Orthodoxy or “Reform Orthodoxy”. Isaak Bernays is the grandfather of Freud’s wife Martha Bernays, and we will discuss his significance for Freud in more detail in Chapter 4 (“Nathan Letter”).

could not prevail with this position, he left the Assembly. Overall, he described himself as a “historical” Jew in the sense of the rabbi and director of the influential Breslau *Jüdisch-Theologischen Seminars Fraenckel’sche Stiftung* Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), who sought a middle way between loyalty to tradition and modernization (cf. Herrmann, 2015, p. 35 and Liss, 2020, pp. 291 and 320). As a “historischer Israelit [historical Israelite]” or a “geschichtlicher Jude [historical Jew]” (Philippson, 1855, S. 1), Philippson was concerned to hold on to the tradition of a unified Judaism and not to deny recognition to (neo-)Orthodoxy either. His motto was accordingly “regeneration” and not reform (cf. Ellbogen, 1912).⁹²

It is already because of this intermediate position of Philippson’s, this may be formulated here in a short note, that the common assessments about him, which are regularly found in the Freud literature, are so little accurate and one-sided (and thus wrong); they fail to recognize the fundamental tension in the person and work of Philippson (as also in Jacob and Sigmund Freud), which precisely prevented a smooth “break with tradition”. Such an ultimately total break with tradition is assumed, for example, most recently by Whitebook when he claims that Philippson (and his brother) played a “prominent role” in Reform Judaism (Whitebook, 2017, p. 22), that the *Philippson Bible* was a product of the Haskalah *par excellence* (ibid., p. 20),⁹³ and that it inadvertently contributed “to the *undermining of* [Jewish] *tradition*” (ibid., p. 23). The subsequent sweeping assertion that the Orthodoxy that shaped this tradition was opposed to any form of critical scholarly examination and was incapable of reflection (ibid.) is also untenable and rather testifies to a bias on the part of the author. Above all, as a rule, any view of Philippson’s biblical work is missing, which even in Whitebook is described only roughly and purely externally in its formal peculiarities (bilingualism, use of woodcuts, insertion of a commentary); such a view, as we shall see in a moment, allows for a completely different perspective that leaves the usual schematic classifications far behind. These references are important not least because misconceptions of Ludwig Philippson as a person and of his work have implications for understanding Freud’s development. One may even get the impression that Philippson is deliberately to be understood as a pure representative of Reform Judaism and the *Wissenschaft vom Judentum*, in order to be able to

⁹² In his lecture series „Die Entwicklung der religiösen Idee im Judenthume, Christenthume und Islam“ (Philippson, 2014), which he held publicly in Magdeburg in 1847, Philippson, in his passage through the Jewish history of religion, pleads for a third way between prophetism, to which large parts of the current Reform Judaism (Abraham Geiger) had subscribed, and Talmudism resp. Rabbinism, which he also subjected to a critique, to take a third path, “where the unity of idea and life in the ideal version of Mosaism creates itself anew” (ibid., S. 150; own translation). We will see later how central Moses and Mosaism were for Philippson, especially in his translation of the Bible.

⁹³ Anzieu (1986, 299), to whom Whitebook refers here, speaks of *Philippson’s Bible* as having been written “from an ‘objective’ point of view, very much in the spirit of Moses Mendelssohn’s new Jewish philosophy” – a characterization which, from all we have learned, is not apt for either Mendelssohn or Philippson, indeed grossly misunderstands both.

construct the corresponding image of Freud as someone who had turned away from the Jewish tradition altogether (something corresponding can also be said for Jacob Freud).

But let us return to the life story of Ludwig Philippson: From May 1837 until his death in 1889, i.e. for more than 50 years (sic!), he published the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums. Ein unparteiisches Organ für alles jüdische Interesse (A non-partisan organ for all Jewish interests)* (until 1845 with the addition: *in Betreff von Politik, Religion, Literatur, Geschichte, Sprachkunde und Belletristik (Mit Königl. Sächsischer allergnädigster Concession)* (*in the fields of politics, religion, literature, history, linguistics and fiction (with the Royal Saxon Concession)*), which was initially published twice and then once a week by the publishing house of Baumgärtners Buchhandlung in Leipzig (where Philippson's Bible work was also published).⁹⁴ With this magazine Philippson became, as the well-known Jewish religious philosopher Hermann Cohen put it, "in an ideal sense the publicist of Judaism" (H. Cohen, 1911, p. 461; own translation). This journal, like his Bible work, was not only aimed, like other projects of the time, at a learned audience, but at broader circles of the population as well as at all groupings of Judaism and, despite the progressive pressure to assimilate, wanted to convey and strengthen a sense of belonging to a worldwide Judaism. Since the newspaper was not limited to religious issues alone, it was also possible to avoid addressing only a particular Jewish trend or sectarian currents (cf. Meyer, 1988, p. 108). On July 27, 1837, i.e. in an issue of the first volume, Philippson wrote "On the Principles of Redaction":

"We have to expand our religion, to assert the institutions of antiquity, we have to break the heavy fetters of restriction, prejudice, and hatred: and one resents the word that wants to make this clear, and calls an organ that is intended for this purpose a segregation? Where is there reason and equity in this? – I believe that the reader will agree with this, and will know how to reject those among Jews and Christians who, under the hypocritical appearance of an equality which, unfortunately, does not yet exist in fact, and which recent times have again made such a terrible mockery of, reject the most serious, holiest aspiration" (1. Volume, No. 41, p. 162; <http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/wiki/3224737b>; own translation).

Philippson was also politically active in many ways: on 24 Oct. 1837 he launched an appeal for a collection for a Jewish theological faculty, which, however, remained unsuccessful despite great publicity. After his early election in 1848 as a deputy member of the Frankfurt National Assembly on the moderate liberal side, he became a member of the Trades Council in 1849 and president of the General Teachers' Association of the Province of Saxony. On May 1, 1854, he founded an

⁹⁴ The digital library of German-language Jewish periodicals *Compact Memory* contains the almost complete holdings of the journal at: <https://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/cm/periodical/titleinfo/3224737> (last query 13 August 2021).

educational initiative in favour of the Jews of the Orient, which he tried in vain to realize in negotiations in Paris and Hamburg. He was also involved in the founding of the “Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur (Institute for the Promotion of Israelite Literature)”, which in the eighteen years of its existence published some 80 works, some of them important, by 50 authors: these included partial volumes of the altogether eleven-volume *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart (History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present)* by Heinrich Graetz (1817-1891), which is regarded as one of the standard works of 19th-century historiography in general and of Jewish historiography in particular, or the *Geschichte des Judentums und seiner Sekten (History of Judaism and its Sects)* by Isaak Markus Jost (1793-1860). Due to almost complete blindness, Ludwig Philippson retired on May 1, 1862 at the age of only 50, left Magdeburg, lived from then on in Bonn because of the more favourable climate there, where he continued working on the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* until shortly before his death, and initiated the Kassel Rabbinical Assembly in 1868. Finally, he was also a co-founder of the “Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund” (“German-Israeli Community Federation”), which existed from 1869 to 1933 and was the first supra-regional umbrella organization of Jewish communities in Germany, as well as of the “Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums”, to whose board of trustees he belonged since 1870 and at whose opening he gave the ceremonial lecture in Berlin on May 6, 1872.

Philippson had two marriages: in 1835 he married Julie Wolffstein (d. 1843) from Osterburg in the Altmark and about a year after her untimely death in the fall of 1844 Mathilde Hirsch (1822-1891) from Halberstadt. Two daughters from his first marriage married Rabbis Mayer Kayserling (see above) and Tobias Cohn (1826-1904). His son from his second marriage, the historian Prof. Martin Philippson (1846-1916) became chairman of the Deutsch-Israelischen Gemeindebundes (German-Israelite Community Federation) in 1896, and his youngest child was the geographer Prof. Alfred Philippson mentioned above. Ludwig Philippson died on 29 December 1889 in Bonn.

b) The Philippson Bible

On February 14, 1838, Ludwig Philippson wrote to his brother Phoebus after his visit to the publisher Gotthelf Baumgärtner (1759-1843) in Leipzig that the latter had “the plan for a large work, for which he purchased extraordinarily beautiful copper engravings, about five hundred, in England and which shall consist of a translation of the Bible with a continuous commentary, especially of geographical, physical, historical and homiletical content. It will be a great work” (quoted in Kayserling, 1898, p. 70). In England, Baumgärtner may have become familiar with the

Pictorial Bible by the publisher Charles Knight (1791-1873) and the biblical scholar John Kitto (1804-1854), which was edited between 1836-1838, i.e. just recently in London, and which is not only also provided with numerous explanations on geography, natural history and history, but moreover, according to its external appearance, shows great similarities with *Philippson's Bible* (Liwak, 2019). This is especially true of the extensive use of novel woodcuts: The title page of Kitto's Bible advertises the impression of "many hundred wood-cuts", and Philippson's Bible work contains, as we have seen, "English woodcuts". This modern woodcut was invented by the innovative engraver and woodcutter Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), who used the particularly hard wood of the box tree for this purpose and revolutionized the previously valid topiary rules by working the wood transversely to the grain rather than lengthwise, so that it was particularly resistant to pressure and could be used more easily in letterpress printing. Philippson's publisher Baumgärtner also edited *Das Heller-Magazin (nebst Bild-Atlas) zur Verbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse, besorgt von einer Gesellschaft Gebildeter* (The Heller-Magazine (together with a picture atlas) for the dissemination of charitable knowledge, published by a society of educated people), which printed extensively English woodcuts similar in form and found a model in *The Penny Magazin*, also published by Charles Knight – the novel woodcuts can also be found in this illustrated magazine, which was sold weekly for the working class for only a little money. Nothing is known about the artists of the woodcuts used in the *Philippson Bible*; only among some of them are abbreviated names that cannot be further elucidated.⁹⁵ It can be said, however, that the primarily chosen zoological, botanical, geographical and historical motifs served to naturalise and historicise biblical stories: the hitherto usual emphasis in image design shifted with them away from the supernatural and the divine to natural and historical realms (cf. Gillman, 2018, p. 170).

Philippson was open to these (and other) innovations, but did not want a mere copy of *Knight-Kitto-Bible*. In the last mentioned letter to his brother he points out what was missing and absolutely necessary for his project: "I have now given the suggestion to add also the Hebrew text [which is missing in Knight-Kitto-Bible – W.H.], because only then it will find entrance among all Jews. [...] I have the idea of creating something *classic* here, something that does not yet exist" (quoted in Kayserling, 1898, p. 70; emphasis W.H.). The question here is what Philippson means by "classic". When his biographer Kayserling, shortly after reproducing the letter to his brother, emphasizes that Philippson maintained a "conservative standpoint" (ibid., p. 71; own translation) toward the biblical books, "classic" may well be understood in this sense. He did want to create a modern Bible that was appealing, of high literary quality, and that took into account scientific findings, but he wanted

⁹⁵ For example, entries such as: "Nach Melville" (PB, vol. 1, p. 552 or 557) or "Picard" (PB, vol. 1, p. 723 or 754) can be found.

to do so with strict regard for and preservation of Jewish tradition, that is, as a preservation of the basic stock of what has rightly been called “classical Judaism” (Stemberger, 1979). The innovations, such as the English wood engravings, were ultimately inserted by Philippson not because of their aesthetic (intrinsic) value alone or merely out of consideration for public taste, but as a means to the end of creating better access to the biblical text.

From this combination of innovations and fidelity to tradition, *Philippson’s Bible* came into being, the three special features of which will be briefly recalled here: It contains, what constitutes the first of the peculiarities, the Hebrew text and its German translation printed in parallel, extensive learned commentaries that incorporate modern findings in botany, history, archaeology, and antiquity and link them to the Jewish scriptural tradition (2nd peculiarity), and 755 illustrative “English woodcuts” (3rd peculiarity; for the number, see Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 220 and 372f.). If we look at the typeface with these components as a whole and also in comparison with preceding Bible translations, it is noticeable that Philippson falls back on the old pattern of the Rabbinical Bible, the *Mikraot Gedolot* (see Fig. 12). Like Mendelssohn before him (see above), he places the (German) translation next to the Masoretic text and the commentaries below both. This results in a traditional typeface, which is dissolved in Johlson, Salomon or Zunz, who only present the translation text. This alone, even though Philippson writes quite novel commentaries, is an indication of an astonishing fidelity to tradition (cf. Gottlieb, 2019, p. 64).

The question now arises as to how Philippson’s biblical work as a whole can be historically classified. In several retrospective reflections, which will be quoted at length, Ludwig Philippson very vividly outlined the plan and intentions of his translation project. In 1859, he emphasized one circumstance in particular that had motivated him to undertake his project, namely that the Jews had lost their Bible and, like many translators before him (see above), that the *Mission Bible* and Luther’s translation had taken its place, with very unfortunate consequences (Philippson feared in particular that the use of Christian Bibles would lead to baptism):

“Whoever goes through the earlier volumes of this newspaper will find that from the beginning one of our most serious and constantly repeated slogans and mottoes was: ‘The Bible has been lost to the newer Jews – they must have it again!’ [...] We deeply deplore these conditions [...]. Without reproaching the Missionary Bible for the fact that its conception is a Christian one, for it starts from a Christian society and has the spreading of Christianity as its purpose, it is nevertheless unsuitable for Jews, and its spreading among the Jews is, from our point of view, more harmful than beneficial. The Mission Bible is based on Luther’s translation, and this is full of errors, and has a character that is not that of the Holy Scriptures.

Scripture. Judaism has always kept itself completely free in the explanation of the Holy Scriptures. Judaism has always kept itself completely free in the explanation of the Scriptures. It has taken no translation as canonical, it has declared no interpretation to be the only correct one. The Talmud in particular pays homage to free exegesis [...]. Not Septuagint, not Targum, not Saadia, not Mendelssohn became to him sanctioned translations. We have also advanced with the newer biblical scholars, who have done so great things since Luther, and accept the good from everyone. But Luther's translation, full of errors, has by all means not met the character of the Holy Scriptures, but rather completely altered them. Luther's translation has extraordinary merits for the development of the German language, and it is original. But it is hard, stiff, icy, where the original is soft, fluid, full of sentiment; it is one-sided, monotonous, and prosaic, where the original is many-sided, profound, and full of verve, of delicacy or sublimity, of variety and flexibility. Already from a general point of view it would be a step backward and a great injustice to let Luther's translation now be given into the hands of our fellow believers" (Philippon, 1859, pp. 183-184; own translation).

Beyond this delimitation, he also retrospectively outlined the layout of his translation in 1878 as follows:

"As early as 1835 I decided to compose and publish in German a first comprehensive commentary of the entire Bible from a Jewish pen, and made the preparations. The guiding ideas of the enterprise were: to compile the main results of exegetical research both from the old translations and the Jewish commentators, as well as from the most outstanding Christian exegetes on each verse of Scripture, to add explanatory notes from the great travel literature on the countries concerned, as well as from scientific works, but then to give the understanding of the text according to my own view and from the scientific point of view. These explanations were to be aided by numerous illustrations, but not by fanciful and artistic creations, but only by those that served antiquarian, topographical and natural-historical purposes" (Philippon, 1878, p. 770; own translation).

He expounded his extensive commentary in 1854, and in doing so it becomes apparent how much Philippon strove to avoid the divisions and polarizations in Judaism of his time. On the one hand, his work shows a great openness to the latest scientific developments of the time (geography, topography, botany, natural history), which marks his affinity with Reform Judaism; on the other hand, however, he took into account the entire Jewish traditional literature with comprehensive

knowledge – and the compilation, in contrast to Herxheimer’s commentary (see above), seems anything but arbitrary:

“The Commentary, in noble German, seeks first of all to present the context of the individual parts, sections and verses, then addresses all the concerns and questions that arise in the whole and individually and seeks to resolve them, then explores the meaning of the words by partly by citing the interpretation in the Talmudim, Midraschim, in the most important rabbinical exegetes, as well as in the most excellent Christian ones up to the latest time, partly by striving for a decision independently after examining the earlier explanations. Here the manifold from many and best travel works about customs and objects of the Orient is quoted what serves for the illumination of the difficult passages [...]. In ‘Concluding remarks’ the positive thought content of the book is concisely compiled. In the introductions, in the critical part, an unpretentious exploration without hypercritical presumption [...] is striven for mostly from the inner character, then also from external moments, about time, position, author, then the idea, the doctrine, the tendency, the historical content, the form, etc. is discussed in a positive manner” (Philippson, 1854, p. 348; own translation).

c) Philippson’s Criticism of Contemporary Protestant Biblical Scholarship

We have already seen in the reflections on Christian biblical scholarship in the paragraph on the Jewish translations of the third phase that the Jewish translators had to respond to a certain and increasing criticism. In devaluing the Talmud, the criticism of the Protestant scholars was directed against the whole oral Jewish tradition and against “the Law”, which was separated from prophecy. The need for reaction became only more urgent for the Bible translators of this fourth phase. They had to react above all because the criticism of the Pentateuch had developed considerably in the meantime, and people now systematically began to divide the biblical text into individual sources, which finally led to the claim that one could understand the Israelite tradition without the Torah (see below). This direction went by various names, such as the supplementary hypothesis, the fragmentary hypothesis, or the older and newer document hypothesis. The Protestant theologian Hermann Hupffeld (1796-1866) is regarded as the founder of the *Newer Document Hypothesis*, but it was Karl Heinrich Graf (1815-1869) and above all the aforementioned Julius Wellhausen who made it most famous (the literature more frequently speaks of the “Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis”),

which claimed almost dogmatic validity in Christian biblical scholarship until the 1970s.⁹⁶ In short, it was about distinguishing four different sources in an evolutionary perspective trained on Hegelian historical thinking in the creation of the *Pentateuch*: the source writings E (*Elohist*) and J (*Jahwist*) as the earliest or basic versions of *Deuteronomy* (D), which originated in the 7th century BCE, as well as the source writing P (priestly codex or priestly writing), which was written down a good 400 years later as the youngest literary *stratum*.

But this was not a mere or neutral enumeration and assumption of a temporal stratification of sources, but from the beginning connected with certain evaluations. On the one hand, Wellhausen (1878a and 1878b) in particular described the development of the Israelite religion as an ongoing regressive process that had proceeded from a natural religion to a theocratic priestly religion. This corresponded with a further distinction between Moses the historical leader of a primitive tribe and Moses the lawgiver – and it was only for Moses the leader that Wellhausen had praise (cf. Shavit & Eran, 2007, pp. 91-103). Second, Wellhausen maintained that the Israelite tradition could not be understood without the prophets, but very much without the Law, that is, without the legislation contained in P (Priestly Scripture), which developed primarily exilically and post-exilically.⁹⁷ The Priestly Scripture became for him the founding document of Judaism, and he demarcated it against the ancient Israelite religion with its Great Scriptural Prophets (*Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel*); between the two he assumed no more continuity, but a fundamental rupture, which had led to a decline. This hypothesis of a post-exilic religious-national decline of Israel into Judaism has become known by the formula “*lex post prophetas*”.⁹⁸ With it the uniformity and, to take up a book title of the already mentioned and at that time well-known Protestant theologian Ernst Wilhelm

⁹⁶ One of the last and most prominent formulations of the *Newer Documentary Hypothesis* in Germany can be found in the first edition of Werner H. Schmidt’s *Einführung in das Alte Testament (Introduction to the Old Testament)*, published in 1978 and used to train entire generations of (mainly Protestant) theologians in Germany (Schmidt, 1995⁵) which is now highly controversial. Criticism, which is meanwhile widespread in Old Testament research, emphasizes, for example, that the *Newer Documentary Hypothesis* regards the books of the Pentateuch like a modern “authorial literature” and forgets, however, that what is particularly relevant for the Jewish context of transmission, is a “tradition literature” in which the texts were continuously rewritten and updated (cf. on this Gertz, Schmid & Witte, 2002 and Zenger et al., 2006, pp. 96-99). How far recent research is prepared to go in its criticism is shown by Christoph Berner (2010) in his instructive study *Die Exoduserzählung. Das literarische Werden einer Ursprungslegende Israels*. Berner wants to completely abandon the paradigm of the New Documentary Hypothesis and develops the image of a lively, multi-stage and midrash-like process of updating the examination of the given text. According to Berner, the development of the text follows the principle of a self-interpretation of the emerging Scripture (“rewritten Bible”).

⁹⁷ Wellhausen speaks, even more precisely, of the source Q (for *quator = liber quator foederum* = book of the four covenants), which he calls “priestly codex” and understands as the original core of the priestly scripture P. Since the “Mosaic cult law” formulated here does not (yet) occur in the prophets of Scripture, it must be younger than the prophecy.

⁹⁸ It has been shown several times that the position of the Wellhausen school, which has become known as “higher biblical criticism”, clearly shows anti-Semitic tendencies and can be understood as a form of “higher anti-Semitism” (cf. on this already the contemporary criticism by Schechter, 1903). According to Wellhausen, namely, the *Jewish Bible* blocks access to heaven and corrupts morality (cf. on this also Nirenberg, 2014, pp. 454-455 and Herrmann, 2015). But what seems important to me above all is the attack on the traditional Jewish-rabbinic notion of the *unity of the Bible* and its indispensable connection with the commentary in the oral tradition.

Hengstenberg, who clearly criticized this position, “the authenticity of the Pentateuch” (Hengstenberg, 1836) was attacked.

But it meant and enabled even more: as a result of Wellhausen’s thesis of the “lex post prophetas”, it has long been customary to distinguish in the history of Judaism between an “early Judaism” (*Frühjudentum*) and a “late Judaism” (*Spätjudentum*) and to distinguish these two epochs in turn from an ultimately non-”Jewish” prehistory. According to this, the time when “Israel” returned to Jerusalem from exile was considered the time of the invention of Judaism. In this period, the written and dead “law” had taken the place of the living word of God transmitted by the prophets. This “early Judaism” in turn was distinguished from the Judaism of Jesus’ time and especially after the destruction of the Second Temple and was now called “late Judaism”. Already in the prefix “late” lies a massive devaluation: For it was assumed that Judaism after the destruction of the Second Temple, i.e. rabbinic Talmudic Judaism, was actually a dead remnant of the state of affairs at that time. Following Wellhausen, much of Christian theology assumed that Judaism had not ceased since that time, as it were, and had outlived itself. This chronological flow chart made it possible for the mostly Protestant theologians to claim, in reversal of the actual relationship of descent, that Christianity represented and continued the idealised tradition of “Old Israel” and the prophets, while Judaism had broken away from this and represented a new, deviant and degenerated religion of “law”.

Wellhausen’s dislike of “the law”,⁹⁹ which for him became a “disturbing spirit”, was powerfully expressed in the introduction to his book *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (*Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*):

“At last I took courage and made my way through Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers [...]. But it was in vain that I looked for the light which was to be shed from this source on the historical and prophetic books. On the contrary, my enjoyment of the latter was marred by the law; it did not bring them any nearer me, but intruded itself uneasily, like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible and really effects nothing. [...] At last, in the course of a casual visit in Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it; I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of *understanding Hebrew antiquity without the books of the Torah*” (Wellhausen, 1878a, pp. 3-4; emphasis W.H.).

⁹⁹ Already the speech of the „law“ carries the mark of hostility against the Jews, it is handed down by the radical Pauline and then by Luther still surpassed criticism, which in the *Halacha* (Hebrew הלכה; derived from the verb הלך halach: „to go“, „to walk“) ultimately can and wants to recognize no more than mere rituals, ceremonies and legalistic externals.

Philippson reacted to this both in his biblical work and in later and further writings with criticism, some of it very clear, which will also now be documented with extensive quotations (on Philippson's general criticism of Christianity, cf. Kohler, 2010 and Brämer, 2014). One could even say, in a certain sense, that his translation work can also be understood as an attempt to create a concretely formulated alternative reading to the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis in the guise of a complete edition of the Bible. Let us begin with the "Allgemeinen Einleitung zur heiligen Schrift (General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures)", which he placed at the end of the third volume of his Bible translation (Philippson, 1858). There he strongly advocates "the integrity and authenticity of the five books of Mosheh" (ibid., p. XLI; own translation) and strongly opposes "the hypercritical discarding and tearing, the hypothetical shifting and rearranging" (ibid., p. XII; own translation) of the biblical writings. After a summary survey of the various parts and writings of the Bible, he states instead:

"If we survey this total presentation, the result is that *the concept of God is a completely unified one throughout all the books of Holy Scripture, and that it is progressively developed through all of them into an accomplished and completed whole*" (ibid., p. XXXIV; the emphasis is the only one in the entire introductory text; own translation).

In detail he tries to prove that the fundamental (God-)idea is unfolded in the Pentateuch and on this foundation the historical, prophetic and other books then carry out the development of this idea. There is "a complete unity in all the books of sacred Scripture with regard to the religious idea, and its further development in all the other books [corresponds] exactly to the foundation in the five books of Mosheh" (ibid., p. XXXIX; own translation).

In several essays in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* he restated his criticism of Protestant biblical scholarship in the 1850s and 1860s (in addition to the writing cited below, see also Philippson, 1857 and 1868). In the essay "Das Judentum und die Schriftkritik (Judaism and Scriptural Criticism)", for example, we can read:

"Judaism has too much that is concrete and positive; it is too much of a four-thousand-year-old historical phenomenon [...] to be attacked and destroyed from a certain point. We value the works of the critics of Scripture according to their worth. If they only do not want to force us to accept their results, which contradict each other a thousand times over, as real and incontrovertible, but allow us to wait for the progress of science, which daily brings to light something new and significant from the rubble and ruins of time, then we may also respect this intellectual work [...]. But that they thereby tread too close to the real and essential

Judaism, harm it, endanger it, or only make it waver, we cannot concede either to their own hubris or to the clamour of the fanatics of letters. [...] Whoever is convinced of the necessity of the Sabbath will not make its sanctification dependent on investigations into the differences between Exodus and Deuteronomy. [...] We can therefore dispense with concern about the attacks on the Scriptures. On the contrary: Perhaps these will again stimulate many to study the Bible [...]" (Philippson, 1864, p. 540; own translation).

A good 10 years later, in his article "Die Einheit der Ideen in der Heiligen Schrift (The Unity of Ideas in Holy Scripture)" he repeated his criticism of the Christian source hypothesis very clearly:

"No written work of antiquity has been so seized upon by decomposing, dissolving, and tearing apart criticism as our biblical books. For more than two centuries, it has continued to eliminate the information that has come down to us about them, partly through titles and headings, partly through tradition, to show that their canonical form is incorrect, that they are composed of various fragments, and that they have been interpolated and added to, and to prove that the time of their composition was entirely different from that hitherto assumed. If this were done prudently, with a thorough appreciation of all the decisive moments, with careful circumspection and without passionate partisanship, then such scientific investigations could only be willingly given their place. But this is not the case [...]. The mere refutation of critical hypotheses, the opposing of genuine and thorough research in all its details, is indeed necessary, but would hardly have a lasting effect against just that danger. The only proper remedy is rather: to prove thoroughly the unity of ideas, of doctrines and views in the books of our Holy Scriptures, as they really exist, as they run through all parts of them as a dominating moment" (Philippson, 1879, pp. 91-92; own translation).

Even later, when the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis was already fully formulated and widely accepted, Philippson maintained this criticism. He emphasized, also against certain Reform rabbinical positions that had adopted Wellhausen's position, that the "ethical monotheism" characteristic of Judaism was not only based on the prophetic books, but went back to Moses' work – "Mosaism" and "prophetism" were regarded by him as two interrelated and connected stages of development:

"Prophetism, with its peculiar directions born of the conditions of the time, was thus the second phase of development, the second concentric circle, which wrapped itself around the first, Mosaism, and its periphery beyond the same, until at last it embraced all mankind, but gathered them around Israel as its centre" (Philippson, 1885, p. 766; own translation).

While Philippon accepted without hesitation that the Book of *Isaiah* was written by several authors,¹⁰⁰ he considered Moses, with the exception of a few passages, to be the sole author of the *Pentateuch* and thus stood in contrast to many Reform rabbinical authors. This becomes visible, for example, in the tabular overview of the biblical books, their chronological classification, and the assignment to certain authors in the “Allgemeine[n] Einleitung zur heiligen Schrift” (General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures) to his biblical work. Here Moses is named as the author of the Torah, with the exception of the “Prophetic Discourses 4 M. 22-24”, which are assigned to Balaam (Philippon, 1858, p. XII). Thus Philippon follows a determination already found in the *Babylonian Talmud*. There it is stated in the tractate *Bava Batra* (14b): “*And who wrote the books of the Bible? Moses wrote his own book, i.e., the Torah, and the portion of Balaam in the Torah, and the book of Job. Joshua wrote his own book and eight verses in the Torah, which describe the death of Moses.*” Again, chapters 23 and 24 of *Numbers*, which are assumed not to belong to the *Pentateuch*, are assigned to Balaam, and it is pointed out that the last eight verses of *Deuteronomy* deal with Moses’ death, and consequently could not have been written by him; Yehoshua ben Nun, who as Moses’ successor (*Deuteronomy*, 31, 7) led the people of Israel into the promised land of Canaan, and after whom the book of *Joshua* is named, is named as the author.

For Philippon, however, the reason for this special position of Moses was not only derived from the Jewish scriptural tradition, but in his understanding had a decisive theological reason (cf. on the following remarks Kohler, 2019): Philippon was convinced from an early stage and probably as the first in a series of Jewish thinkers of the 19th and early 20th century that *ethical monotheism* was the central distinguishing feature of Judaism, which qualitatively set it apart from all other belief systems (and also from Christianity). The postulate of a monotheistic God, he argued, was the foundation of all absolute ethical truths, and only monotheistic belief guaranteed that humanity would ever be united in an Eternal Peace or, in the religious language of Judaism, in the kingdom of the Messiah. Philippon insisted, unusually enough for a representative of liberal Judaism, that Israel’s pure monotheism had been the product of supernatural revelation and not the result of accidental human speculation. In his three-volume theological *opus magnum*, *Die israelitische Religionslehre* (Philippon, 1861, 1862, 1865), he argues more precisely that revelation is a supernatural event that defies explanation, but that the conceptual monotheism derived from it may well have been the result of redaction of the *Jewish Bible*. Philippon sees the decisive events in God’s revelation of his name to Moses (*Exodus*, 3, 13-15) as well as his revelation on Mount Sinai (*Exodus*, 19-24); only with and through these revelations to Moses does God become the

¹⁰⁰ Thus Philippon writes concerning chapter 40, with which *Deutero-Isaiah* begins: “The following 27 chapters (40-66.) therefore form a special part, entirely separate from the preceding” (*PB*, vol. 2, p. 840; own translation).

representative of the eternal ethical laws that underlie all changes. The divine self-revelation is insofar for Philippon not simply an arbitrary narrative mode of the *Jewish Bible*, but an inherent basic principle of the monotheistic faith, and it is testified and guaranteed by the person and authorship of Moses.

I suspect that Philippon thus turned against a questioning of the Mosaic revelation already found and widespread in Baruch de Spinoza's (1632-1677) and Luther's work, but also in the Enlightenment. Spinoza was probably, in the context of Enlightenment philosophy, the first to profane and relativise the legal order associated with Moses in his *Theological-Political Treatise* of 1670. Already in the introduction we can read:

“Once I had understood this, I sought to know why it was that the Hebrews were called the chosen of God. When I saw that this was simply because God had chosen a certain part of the earth for them where they could dwell in safety and prosperity, *realized that the Laws revealed by God to Moses were nothing but the decrees of the historical Hebrew state alone, and accordingly that no one needed to adopt them but the Hebrews, and even they were only bound by them so long as their state survived*” (Spinoza, 1670, p. 9; emphasis W.H.).

In this perspective, Moses is no longer a prophet, but merely one among many secular lawgivers, which in turn means that the Torah of Moses is not a legal order that goes back to God, but a human legal order (*nota bene*: according to biblical and rabbinic teaching, it is not Moses, but God who is the lawgiver), which is merely aimed at the particular concerns of the ancient Israelite community. This makes rabbinic Judaism, which is dedicated to the cultivation of the written and oral Torah, virtually a relic contrary to reason and modernity.

With this view, Spinoza not only broke with the Jewish-rabbinic position, but also corresponded to Luther's ideas – which made it so easy for the mostly Protestant Enlightenment thinkers of the 18th century to pick up on him (cf. Schulte, 2002 pp. 52-55). In his extremely influential sermon “Eine Unterrichtung, wie sich die Christen in Mosen sollen schicken” (An instruction on how Christians are to send themselves in Moses) from 1526, Luther states:

“Not that one should force or be forced by it, but (as I have said before) the emperor should take an example from it, make a fine regiment out of Moses, just as the Romans have led a fine regiment, just as the *Sachsenspiegel* [the oldest law book of the German Middle Ages; W.H.] after which the land is kept. The people do not owe obedience to Mosi. *Moses is the Sachsenspiegel of the Jews*” (Luther, 1526, pp. 377-378; own emphasis and translation).

Accordingly, the Mosaic Law has no other validity than the profane legislation of any country; only the “New Covenant” is universally valid, through which the Mosaic Law is not only to be radically particularised, but ultimately completely overcome and dismissed.

For Philippson, on the other hand, Moses – and not the arch-father Abraham, to whom the other monotheistic religions can also refer (cf. Kuschel, 2001) – was the central and decisive figure for Judaism: he is regarded by him as the author of the Jewish basic scripture, as the first translator, and as the one who precisely through this established the continuity and unity of the Jewish tradition based on divine revelation. Philippson can find support for this position in the biblical narrative, since the epitaph of Moses at the end of the Book of *Deuteronomy* states:

“And there hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face; in all the signs and the wonders, which the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land; and in all the mighty hand, and in all the great terror, which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel” (*Deuteronomy*, 34,10-12).

The central position of Moses in the editorial history of the *Jewish Bible* has led to the fact that the Torah does not end with the Book of *Joshua* after the taking of the land (which already plays an important role in the Torah as a promise), so that it is not a *Hexateuch*, but in fact a *Pentateuch*. With the death of Moses a caesura is set, and Joshua and in general the (mainly “front”, but also “back”) prophets cannot be regarded as his successors. The Torah stands opposite to what follows it, and in this respect it is a very distinct and fundamental greatness – and the same is true of Moses. Moreover, it is true that by separating the epitaph of Moses from the Book of *Joshua*, the promise of the land is relativized in favour of the gift of salvation in the Torah revealed at Sinai. The end of the Torah shows a peculiar openness, with which both the inhabitants of Judea and the Jews in exile can feel addressed – that is, *all* of Israel.

The frontispiece found in the first volume (cf. fig. 13) of Philippson’s bible represents, as it were, this theological and biblical high esteem for Moses, whose significance was so massively attacked in the historical-critical biblical research of the 19th century, and in this respect can be understood as an “author portrait”. And can we not also understand the special significance that Freud accorded Moses, not only in his late work (Freud, 1939a), as an echo of the early reading of the *Philippson Bible* with its central figure? But reflections on this question must be postponed to the fourth and fifth chapter, and we want to deal thoroughly with Freud’s religious education beforehand.

Chapter 3

The “holy language” of the Bible: Freud’s Jewish religious education in elementary and high school

“... that the recitation of the Bible in the original language must form the basis and starting point for all religious instruction...”
(Hammerschlag, 1869, p. 3; own translation)

I. Freud’s Attendance at a Jewish Private Elementary School

Introduction: Did Freud attend elementary school at all?

We began both the introduction and the first chapter with a sentence from Freud’s *An Autobiographical Study* supplemented in 1935, and this sentence should now be repeated again because of its significance for the chapter that now follows: “My deep engrossment in the Bible story (almost as soon as I had learnt the art of reading) had, as I recognized much later, an enduring effect upon the direction of my interest” (Freud, 1925d, p. 7). Up to now, the focus has been on Jacob and Sigismund Freud’s joint reading of the *Philippson Bible*, which is implicitly addressed here, but the question has remained open as to what reference this sentence contains to Freud’s scholastic-religious socialization process, which followed the early joint reading of the Bible or went parallel to his father’s teaching (after the mother had started earlier) – this will now be investigated in more detail. The question to be asked here is what overarching objectives religious education followed, what content Freud took up in his school-religious education process on the basis of which textbooks and teaching aids, and what significance was attached to the reading of the Bible in this process, how the curriculum of the lessons developed historically and what role the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition played in this process, but also how Freud’s knowledge of Hebrew stood and how his repeated statements that he had never learned Hebrew are to be understood against the background of the findings also collected in this chapter and whether they are plausible. While we know relatively much about Freud’s time at the Gymnasium (see below), what is known so far about his early school years is much rarer, and the historical factual situation is considerably more uncertain.¹⁰¹ Yes, it is even questionable whether Freud attended an elementary school at all

¹⁰¹ In addition, the topic of Freud’s attendance at elementary school is either mentioned only very cursorily in the literature (see, for example, Alt, 2016, p.43) or not at all because of the lack of reliable information. For example, in Christfried Tögel’s *Freud Diary*, which aims to record all available data on Freud’s life, there is no reference at all

before the Gymnasium or was not rather taught at home, and it is still unclear, if this should be true, by whom he was taught there, by his father or by his mother. It is precisely the divergent statements of Freud's family members and himself about all these questions that have caused some confusion and ambiguity. Let us turn first to the question of possible teaching by Freud's parents. Freud himself writes in his "Curriculum vitae" written in 1885 to obtain his *Privatdozentur* at the University of Vienna: "I received my first instruction in my *father's house* [...]" (Freud, 1960b [1885], p. 125; own emphasis and translation). If we take this statement literally and assume instruction not only generally in the "father's house" but directly by the father, then it can be taken as a renewed and additional confirmation of the assumption that Freud learned to read at the same time as he began attending school, or perhaps even before, through his father by reading the *Philippson Bible* together and acquired basic knowledge of the Bible. This statement is supported by an utterance of Freud's eldest sister Anna Freud-Bernays (1858-1955), found in her memoir essay "My Brother Sigmund Freud", published shortly after Freud's death, which also contains an assertion about the time of Freud's enrolment in school: "My *father* taught him [Sigmund Freud – W. H.] privately until he entered high school" (Freud-Bernays, 1940, p. 336; emphasis W.H.). It is striking, however, that in her memoirs,¹⁰² which she wrote down in the early 1930s, i.e., about a decade earlier, Freud-Bernays again emphasizes that Freud did not attend elementary school, but otherwise arrives at a different assessment of who did the teaching: "My *mother* taught him herself at home throughout his elementary school years, so that when he entered the Gymnasium at the age of ten, he attended a public school for the first time" (Freud-Bernays, 2004, p. 15; own translation and emphasis). While the first quote mentions (exclusively) the father, who is said to have taught Freud until high school, the second quote mentions (exclusively) the mother. That *only* Freud's mother taught him seems extremely unlikely, especially against the background of the contexts discussed in this book: we have been able to sufficiently prove that Freud's common reading of the *Philippson Bible* was initial and of central importance for his educational career. This is by no means to say, however, that Freud's mother did not also teach him. Indications of this and of a possible division of labour between Freud's parents, and perhaps also of a chronological sequence, can certainly be found, and in large numbers, in Freud's writings and letters, which will be

to such a possible attendance (<http://www.freud-biographik.de/Freud%20-%20Diarium.pdf> – last accessed 10.10.2020; cf. also Gay, 1998, p. 46, who only briefly mentions Freud's time at the Gymnasium).

¹⁰² In the German typescript that forms the basis for Freud-Bernays's text „My Brother Sigmund Freud“ and that is preserved in the Edward Bernays Collection of the Library of Congress (see Freud-Bernays, 2004, p. 265, FN 171; own translation), it says: „Before children went to grammar school, they had to attend elementary school from the age of 6 to 10. But Sigi never went to an elementary school; father decided to teach him privately, and when Sigi was ten years old, he came straight to the humanistic Gymnasium in the Sperlgasse, where he was always first in his class for eight years“ (ibid., p. 211).

presented and discussed in chapter four in connection with considerations of his relationship to his mother.

But how are we to evaluate the repeated statements of Freud's sister that Freud did not attend elementary school, but was enrolled in school only later, when he entered the Gymnasium? These clearly contradict Freud's own repeated statements: For example, he adds the following half-sentence to his statement from the "Curriculum vitae" that he had received his first lessons in his "father's house", which also contains a chronological order: "[...], *then* attended a *private elementary school* and entered the Leopoldstadt Real- und Obergymnasium in the autumn of 1865" (Freud 1960b [1885], p. 125; own translation and emphasis). In the main text of his *An Autobiographical Study* (Freud, 1925d, p. 7; emphasis W.H.) we also read: "When I was a child of four I came to Vienna, and I went through the *whole of my education there*. At the 'Gymnasium' [Grammar School] I was at the top of my class for seven years; I enjoyed special privileges there, and had scarcely ever to be examined in class." In the original German it says even more clearly: "Als Kind von vier Jahren kam ich nach Wien, wo ich *alle Schulen* durchmachte" (ibid., S. 34; own emphasis). Freud emphasizes here that he went through "all" the schools and implicitly lists the Gymnasium as one of several, that is, at least two schools. If Freud's sister were correct and Freud had not attended any (private) elementary school, then we would have to assume that he knowingly or unknowingly made false statements at this point. It seems to me that there are no comprehensible or even remotely plausible reasons for such an assumption. But it could also be – we will have to discuss this variant in the course of the chapter – that Freud only attended the final grade of primary schools and was previously taught by his parents.

Perhaps, however, there is a way to defuse the contradiction in Freud's and his sister's statements, if not to resolve it: For this we must note that Freud emphasizes that he had been to a "*private elementary school*", and that Anna Freud-Bernays thinks that Freud attended a "*public school*" for the first time when he entered the Gymnasium. This could mean that although Freud did not attend a public school at the beginning of his school career, he did attend a private elementary school, and perhaps also that the domestic instruction by the parents, which Anna Freud-Bernays witnessed directly, preceded this and then continued parallel to it (and first by the mother *and* then by the father). The answer to the question of whether there is new archival evidence of attendance at an elementary school will be postponed until the end of this subchapter, and will be noted here in advance: If Freud attended a private elementary school, then this *must* necessarily have been a *Jewish* school.

“... then attended a private elementary school” – Freud’s early religious-school socialization

In his study *Freud as Student of Religion: Perspectives on the Background and Development of his Thoughts* (Rainey, 1975, pp. 35-60), which still points the way ahead but has not yet been received at all in the German-speaking world, Ruben Rainey dealt thoroughly with Freud’s religious instruction – his initial and so far only findings will be taken up here and partly specified and corrected as well as supplemented and expanded by further research. Rainey was able to show, with regard to Freud’s early school attendance (*ibid.*, pp. 35-41), that in the period in which this fell, schooling from the 1st grade of elementary school onwards was compulsory in Austria – and within this framework, of course, religious instruction was also compulsory (this one perhaps even to a special degree – see below). From this it can be concluded that Freud was not only taught privately by his parents (for then, at great expense, this instruction would have had to take place at home in all subjects with the appropriate teaching aids over the entire period of the four years). However, it must be said more precisely with regard to religious education that, as Freud’s later religious education teacher Samuel Hammerschlag shows, compulsory participation in it has applied explicitly or “according to the wording” (Hammerschlag, 1873, p. 63; all quotations from Hammerschlag’s essay are in the author’s own translation.) since the “Gymnasial-Codex” of 1829 only to the grammar schools. For the elementary schools, Hammerschlag continues, there had been no need for a corresponding legal regulation, since most of the Israelite communities had their own confessional schools or the Jewish parents had been induced by the nature of the public elementary school system “to have their children taught privately in elementary subjects” (*ibid.*). The assessment that religious instruction was *de facto* obligatory for the elementary school years is further supported by the fact that a “Decret der Studien-Hofcommission” of April 30, 1822 for Vienna decreed that the examination results of private instruction had to be entered in the main report of the elementary school (*ibid.*). For admission to a secondary school, proof of religious instruction was thus mandatory – which will be further confirmed later when we deal with the rules and regulations for admission to the *Gymnasium*.

For Jewish pupils in Vienna there were now several possibilities to fulfil this obligation and to obtain the obligatory qualification in religion for attending a secondary school: They could attend a public and that meant a “Christian” elementary school and receive the Jewish religious instruction either (1.) through a private tutor, or they attended (2.) the religious instruction in the corresponding classes of the (and non-public) religious school of the Israelite religious community of Vienna, founded in 1812 (see below), or else (3.) they went to one of several *private* Jewish elementary

schools which offered a full curriculum and within this framework also religious instruction and were more or less supported in this by the religious communities.

Until one year before Freud's presumed enrolment in 1861,¹⁰³ there were no *public* Jewish elementary schools besides the schools just mentioned that taught the entire subject matter of all subjects (and we will see later for what reasons the Israelite religious community, which on the part of the state had been called upon to do so several times, always found it so difficult to establish one): When Freud was six years old, the "Erste öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterreal- (Volks- und Bürger-) Schule (First Public Israelite Main and Lower Real (People's and Citizens') School)" was founded in Vienna in Leopoldstadt (Untere Donaustrasse No. 27) for the school year 1862-63 (cf. on these details the two first annual reports of this school by Pick & Szántó, 1863 and 1864 – see below) – but what exactly "public" meant in this and also in other cases will have to be examined later. In any way, however, in the existing system religious education was under the supervision of the *Kultusgemeinde*, which, as will be shown in a moment, led to the existence of relatively uniform teaching materials and a relatively uniform curriculum. Thus, while Jewish religious instruction took place privately until 1862, even before that time there were teachers at the secondary schools, such as the *Gymnasien*, who were not only supported by the *Kultusgemeinde*, but were actually approved or "authorized" (R. Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 19) to teach the Jewish children of the city publicly and belonged to the college of the respective schools (see below).

When Rainey (1975, p. 39) assumes that the aforementioned "Erste öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterreal- (Volks- und Bürger-) Schule" was "a likely choice" for Jacob Freud for his son Sigismund, this is not compatible with the presumed year of Freud's enrolment, and it also contradicts Freud's own explicit statement that he attended a *private* elementary school. If we follow Gerson Wolf's (1876, p. 179) reflections on the reasons for the decision to send children either to a public or to a private (Jewish) elementary school, the decisive factor was often that the pupils on average learned more in the general subjects at a public school, but that due to the overcrowding of some of these schools, it was almost a blessing for the parents, who were in a position to make material sacrifices for their children, to be able to send them to a private elementary school. There, according to Wolf, it was better possible not only to consider the "middle class" ("Mittelschlag"), but also to give special support to certain, presumably particularly gifted pupils. This could mean, however, that Jacob and Amalia Freud were anxious to enable their highly gifted son Sigismund to receive such support and were prepared, despite their notoriously difficult financial situation, to pay the necessary school fees (the amount and form of which, however, could

¹⁰³ Only later, when we can determine precisely when Freud entered the Gymnasium, will we be able to determine the year of Freud's entry into elementary school – for which we also need a reliable indication of the length of elementary school attendance (see below).

not be ascertained). Perhaps Freud's parents were concerned with this choice that the general education take place at a Jewish school, and within this framework also the Jewish religious education.

First, however, before asking again in which of the schools Freud may have received his religious instruction, the general system of elementary schools as Freud found and experienced it in whatever form at the time of his school attendance will be examined in more detail, primarily on the basis of the available contemporary literature – this includes questions about its embedding in the general school system, the teaching materials used in it, the curriculum taught there, and the place of the Bible and the Talmud in his instruction. We will then turn to the history of Jewish elementary schools in Austria (and only in this framework can more detailed information about the possible school Freud attended emerge). Particularly helpful in clarifying all the above questions are certain contemporary sources, which will be discussed here in detail: in addition to the two works by Samuel Hammerschlag “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien (The programme of the Israel. Religious School in Vienna)” (Hammerschlag, 1869) and “Israelitische Religion” (Hammerschlag, 1873), the research of the teacher (and later inspector of the Jewish religious schools in Vienna), historian and chronicler of the Viennese Israelite religious community and the Israelite schools Gerson Wolf (1823-1892) is also part of this.¹⁰⁴ Wolf himself played a decisive role in the reform of the system of elementary schools, and because of the eminent importance for our topic, his works, which deal either wholly or in part with the history and structure of Jewish religious education in Vienna, will be briefly mentioned here in overview (the more precise bibliographical information can be found in the bibliography):¹⁰⁵

- (1861). *Geschichte der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien (1820-1860)* (*History of the Jewish Community in Vienna (1820-1860)*).
- (1867). *Zur Geschichte des Unterrichts der israelischen Jugend in Wien. Mit Benützung von archivalischen Documenten.* (*On the History of Teaching Israeli Youth in Vienna. With the use of archival documents*).
- (1876). *Geschichte der Juden in Wien (1156-1876)* (*History of the Jews in Vienna (1156-1876)*).

¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, there is no biography of Gerson Wolf. *Wikipedia* has the following brief entry, which is reproduced here without verification:: “Gerson Wolf initially wanted to become a rabbi and studied in Vienna. From the mid-1850s he worked as a religious teacher for the Jewish community in Vienna. As part of this job, he took over the supervision of the Jewish religious schools in Vienna. Gerson Wolf published numerous writings, mainly dealing with the history of the Jews in Bohemia, Moravia and Austria. He died in Vienna at the age of 69 and was buried in the old Israelite section of the Vienna Central Cemetery (Group 20, Row 21, No. 11)” (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerson_Wolf; last accessed May 21, 2020; own translation).

¹⁰⁵ Despite intensive research, only one other recent and detailed study on the Jewish elementary schools of Vienna could be located in addition to the work by Rainey (1975) already cited (Yanovsky, 2013).

In order to understand the position of Jewish schools in the overall educational system of Austria at the time, it is helpful to begin with some information on the general history of elementary schools (see also the overview in Engelbrecht, 1986, pp. 107-146 and Judson, 2018, pp. 39-42, 65-66, 128-129). In the report book *Oesterreichisches Volks- und Mittelschulwesen in der Periode von 1867-1877 (Austrian Elementary and Secondary School System in the Period 1867-1877)*, the teacher and author Alois Egger von Möllwald (1878, p. 5f.) describes that since the year 1805 the Austrian elementary school system had been under the norms of the “Politische Verfassung der deutschen Volksschulen” (Political Constitution of German Elementary Schools) and had originally been established primarily for the peasant population. It was only with the reform movement of 1848 that there had been significant changes and improvements: Elementary school inspectors had been appointed, teacher training had been raised, regular teacher conferences had been introduced, and as a result the number of schools had increased noticeably. This is the historical background for the development of the following obligatory teaching contents at all elementary schools, which Egger von Möllwald cites in his text:

“The obligatory subjects to be taught in every elementary school are: Religion, language, arithmetic, the most valuable knowledge from natural history, geography and history with special consideration of the fatherland and its constitution, writing, geometric forms, singing, gymnastics. Girls are also to be instructed in female handicrafts and domestic science” (ibid., p. 7; own translation).

Even though this information refers primarily to the period after 1867, it nevertheless allows conclusions to be drawn about Freud’s time at school, which was only a few years ago; the general teaching content described in this way is unlikely to have changed. What is striking about the list is that religion is the first school subject mentioned, which certainly speaks for its generally assumed importance: the two denominations or religions that were numerically predominant in the Austrian Dual Monarchy, Catholicism and Judaism, were assigned the task of conveying the state-supporting ideas of morality (“moral teaching”) within the framework of the religious education for which they were responsible. Regarding “religious education” itself, Egger von Möllwald notes: “The distribution of the subject matter among the individual yearly courses is determined by the church authorities (*boards of the Israelite religious communities*) according to § 5 of the Reichs-Volksschulgesetz” (ibid., p. 8; own translation and emphasis). Even if the bracketed mention of the Israeli religious communities presupposes and documents a dominance of the Christian (largely Catholic) religion, all “confessions” were nevertheless considered formally equal with the Volksschulgesetz of 14 May 1869.

Due to the central importance of the respective supervising Israelite religious communities and the increasing state control, the taught contents were quite homogeneous. Samuel Hammerschlag, Freud's admired teacher of religion in the Gymnasium and mentor (see below), states in his already mentioned overview article on "Israelite Religion" in the *Bericht über österreichisches Unterrichtswesen. Aus dem Anlaß der Weltausstellung 1873 (Report on Austrian education. On the occasion of the World's Fair in 1873)*, he states that the ministerial decree passed on April 22, 1853, provided that in Israelite religious education "pupils of the same age and educational level should be united" and that "lesson plans" were to be worked out, which then had to be approved by the respective "Stadthaltereien departments" (Hammerschlag, 1873, p. 63).

This was the immediate historical prerequisite for what Hammerschlag elaborates in his text in the next step, namely which *teaching materials* were now increasingly uniformly used and prescribed. Before he names and briefly explains the textbooks in detail, he emphasizes the central religious objective of their selection: In the Jewish elementary schools, first of all, "since the service of the Israelites is still held in Hebrew everywhere in Austria, the youth must be taught the skill of reading Hebrew, furthermore the understanding of the most important pieces of prayer" (ibid.). Only then could one proceed in the higher classes of the elementary schools "to the reading of the most outstanding passages from the Pentateuch" (ibid.).

The central position of the teaching of Hebrew, thus emphasized, is further revealed by the following list of "reading primers and language books" that were used in the classroom (cited here in Hammerschlag's rendering; ibid., pp. 63-66):¹⁰⁶

1. „Neue hebräische Lesefibel für israelitische Volksschulen (New Hebrew Reading Primer for Israelite Elementary Schools)“. Wien. k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag 1862
2. „Hebräische Fibel für israelitische Volksschulen (Hebrew Primer for Israelite Elementary Schools)“. Wien k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag 1870
3. „Hebräische Fibel (Hebrew Primer)“ edited by the Moravian-Silesian Teachers' Associations. Wien 1869
4. Redlich J.: „Hebräisches Sprach- und Lesebuch (Hebrew Language and Reading Book)“. Wien, k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag, 8th edition 1871
5. Fuchs Rudolf „Erstes hebräisches Sprach- und Lesebuch (First Hebrew Language and Reading Book)“ Wien, k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. 3rd edition 1872
6. Fuchs Rudolf „Vierzehn Wandtabellen (Fourteen Wall Tables)“. Wien. k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag

¹⁰⁶ The following list follows Hammerschlag's information verbatim; therefore the first names are not written out and the bibliographical information is partly incomplete.

7. Fuchs Rudolf „Hebräisches Lehr- und Lesebuch“ für die zweite Classe israelitischer Volksschulen („Hebrew Textbook and Reader“ for the second class of Israelite elementary schools). Wien, k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag 1870
8. Fuchs Rudolf „Hebräisches Lehr- und Lesebuch“ für die dritte Classe israelitischer Volksschulen („Hebrew Textbook and Reader“ for the third class of Israelite elementary schools). Wien k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag 1871
9. Fuchs Rudolf „Hebräisch-deutsche Vorlegeblätter (Hebrew-German preliminary sheets)“. This list is followed by the naming of four other books that deal with the basic biblical material, the main prayers and Jewish history:
 10. „Pentateuch“, published in the k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag Wien
 11. „Gebetbuch (Prayer book)“, edited by the Moravian-Silesian Teachers' Associations, Wien 1873, 2nd Edition
 12. „Biblische Geschichte zum Gebrauche israelischer Volksschulen (Biblical History for the Use of Israeli Elementary Schools)“. Wien, 1872. K. K. Schulbücher-Verlag
 13. Wolf Dr. G. „Die Geschichte Israels für die israelische Jugend (The History of Israel for Israeli Youth)“. Wien, 3rd edition, 1871 (cf. Wolf, 1871)¹⁰⁷

First Excursus: Language Primer, Biblical History, and History Book – Three Textbooks from the Religious Education Classes of the Time of Freud's Elementary School Attendance

Before we examine the central position of Hebrew instruction, which is already apparent in this list, the reasons given for this and the historical background, a closer look at three of the textbooks listed is informative as a first step.

Let us begin by taking a closer look at one of the language primers mentioned above. This is the *Hebrew primer* published by Rudolf Fuchs in the first edition in 1869, which was originally

¹⁰⁷ In the *Verzeichnis der zum Lehrgebrauche in den Volks- und Bürgerschulen allgemein zugelassenen Lehrbücher und Lehrmittel. (Geschlossen am 15. Mai 1879.) (List of Textbooks and Teaching Aids generally approved for Use in Elementary and Secondary Schools. (Closed on May 15, 1879.))* under the item “I. Lehrbücher (Textbooks)” there is another listing of textbooks for Jewish religious instruction, some of which have the same titles: “In hebräischer Sprache. *Hebräisches Sprach- und Lesebuch für den ersten Unterricht in den Volksschulen* von J. Redlich. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher Verlag. Gebunden 16 kr. *Hebräische Fibel* von Rudolf Fuchs. 1. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. 1. Abtheilung: Die Leselehre [Die dürfte das gleich zu besprechende Buch von Fuchs sein]. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher Verlag. Gebunden 16 kr. 1. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. 2. Abtheilung: *Gebete und Schöpfungsgeschichte*. Gebunden 20 kr. *Die Thora und die Sprache* von Rudolf Fuchs. 2. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 53 kr. *Hebräisches Lesebuch* von Rudolf Fuchs. 3. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 56 kr. *Hebräisches Lesebuch* von Rudolf Fuchs. 4. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 47 kr. *Hebräisches Lesebuch* von Rudolf Fuchs. 5. Stufe des Unterrichtes im Hebräischen. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 54 kr. *Pentateuch (Lesebuch für Israeliten)*. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 30 kr. *Hebräische Fibel für Blinde*. Wien. K. k. Schulbücher-Verlag. Gebunden 2 fl. 20 kr.

published by the k. k. Schulbücher-Verlag (it is available to the author in the 30th edition of 1911, unchanged in content – see fig. 14 in the appendix). This primer is a “Leselehre”, which presumably corresponds either to the textbook mentioned under point 3 in Hammerschlag’s list (the date of publication and the title speak for this) or to the “Lese- und Sprachbuch” mentioned under point 5 (the division of the volume into two “Abtheilungen” speaks for this). Although the first publication does not date directly from Freud’s elementary school years, it does at least coincide with the decade in which he attended school. Due to the large number of editions, it can be assumed that it was a widely distributed textbook, and it can therefore serve as an example of the pedagogical impetus and the (religious) objectives of Hebrew instruction at the time. The exemplary significance of this reading primer is further supported by the fact that Rudolf Fuchs (1826-1914), who had been a teacher at the Viennese Talmud-Thora School (see below) since 1862, was regarded as an author of standard school works¹⁰⁸ and is represented in Hammerschlag’s list with no less than five titles. The *Leselehre* begins with “preliminary remarks” by the author (they are found without a page reference on the back of the title page, and the following quotations from them are therefore not specifically identified bibliographically; all citations are own translations), in which he formulates general instructions about its use. In a first point, which is only brief, Fuchs explains how the primer is to be used in school, namely with the help of “analogous wall charts” (these are probably the “wall tables” mentioned in point 6 of Hammerschlag’s list of teaching aids). He adds that on the pages with “foreign letters” (this means with Latin letters), which serve as “appeal signs”, reference is made to the respective blackboards. This is followed by longer explanations about the use in “private lessons”, which was obviously widespread and had to be specially taken into account: In the first three lessons, the vowels and the punctuation were to be taught (in Hebrew, which is a consonantal script, the dots and dashes under the consonants decide which vowel it is in each case). The consonants would then be practiced phonetically according to the similarity of their sounds or the dissimilarity of their forms. Fuchs justifies this with a certain pedagogical consideration: “By arranging the letters according to the organic relationship of the sounds, a certain clue is given to the still untrained thinking ability of the tender child [...]”. The following sheets contains a “gradual

¹⁰⁸ The *Bibelarchiv-Vegelahn*¹⁰⁸ contains the following biographical entry on his person: “Rudolf Fuchs (1826-1914), seventh of eight children, like so many Jews of his generation, laboriously and ambitiously improved himself socially, but without losing his religious roots. Quite the contrary: after eight years of study at the yeshiva in Pressburg and a few other jobs, Rudolf Fuchs became a teacher at the Vienna Talmud Torah School in 1862, with which he remained associated for decades. Through this task he was inspired to write numerous teaching materials for Jewish religious education. His primers and textbooks became standard works in Austrian schools and continued to be reprinted long after his death. In addition to this successful activity as a pedagogical writer, Rudolf Fuchs was also rabbinical secretary in the Leopoldstadt with Dr. Moritz Güdemann, and later, after his appointment as chief rabbi, also with him in the inner city. Through his family he may also have had contact with a prominent Jewish family in Vienna: his younger brother, with whom Rudolf Fuchs had lived for a time, the Viennese silk merchant Leopold Fuchs, was related by marriage to the Ottakring brewer Ignaz Edler von Kuffner” (<https://archiv-vegelahn.de/index.php/bibelarchiv/authoren/item/759-fuchs-rudolf> – last accessed 18 May 2020; own translation).

continuation” of these learning steps, “the frequent repetition of which cannot be recommended enough”.

The letters shown on the following pages are all *printed letters* and not letters for cursive writing (even in Hebrew, printed and cursive writing are clearly different). From this it can be concluded that this textbook was intended to teach the *reading* of printed matter and *not writing* – it is therefore in fact, as with the other language primers included in the list of teaching aids, purely a *Leselehre*, a “*reading*”-textbook. This is supported by another fact: The first group of letters to be learned comprises the labial sounds. The letters are thus taught according to phonetic groups and not according to alphabetical order. The fact that it was a matter of learning the correct pronunciation is also evident from the fact that the pronunciation of the vowels in particular was taught on the basis of German vocalisation. Finally, with regard to the pronunciation taught, it can be said that it is that of the Ashkenazi Jews and not that which is used, for example, in Israel today.¹⁰⁹

That Fuchs was primarily interested in learning Hebrew in order to practice the “holy scriptures” or to be able to learn to *read* and recite religious (and not profane) texts is shown by the fact that he already emphasizes in the “Preliminary Remarks” that the “naming of the highest being” should always be punctuated. The religious meaning of learning to read the Hebrew language in Fuchs’ understanding can be read very well in the back part of the primer. Starting on page 25, texts from the readings of divine services (“At the raising of the Torah”, “On holidays”, “At the proclamation of the new moon”) are printed. Fuchs writes in a prefatory note: “The following reading exercises are to be repeated often; they are to become the property of the children, so that they can participate in the public service” (ibid., p. 25). And at the end of the book there is a “collection of words” under the headings of “The Human Being”, “Creation”, “The Domestic Family”, “Properties”, “Colours”, “Time”, “Food” and “The Garden”, and even now Fuchs emphasizes that the translation of these words is suitable “to facilitate the next Bible lessons”.

In summary, it can be said that the acquisition of language in the religious education of the elementary school did not follow an end in itself, but was entirely oriented towards the practice of the ability to read and speak: the reading of the Bible, if possible in its Masoretic version, as well as active and understanding participation in the divine service can be regarded as the actual and overarching, ultimately religious objectives of the entire instruction. In contrast, the learning of Hebrew script and grammar are not on the agenda (see Hammerschlag’s rationale below). Fuchs’ “teaching of reading” is perhaps most comparable to an aid in learning a foreign language. We can now also better understand why Freud was unable to read his father’s *Widmungsschreiben* to his

¹⁰⁹ I owe the insights formulated in this paragraph to the suggestions of Gadi Goldberg.

35th birthday, written in *cursive*, needed a translation (see Chapter 1), and this cannot be a clear indication that Freud never learned Hebrew.

The *second* book to be mentioned in this digression is the work mentioned under item 12 of the list of textbooks, whose complete title page of the first edition *Biblische Geschichte. Zum Gebrauche der israelitischen Schulen Kaiserthum Österreich. Gebunden in Leinwandrücken 38 Neukreuzer. Wien. Im k. k. Schulbücher-Verlage 1861 (Biblical History. For the Use of the Israelite Schools of the Austrian Empire. Bound in Canvas Spine 38 Neukreuzer. Vienna. Published by the k. k. Schulbücher-Verlage 1861)*. After the title page, on an inserted page, there is the following statement, probably by the publisher, which clarifies the official character of the book: “In the public schools, with the exception of special authorizations by the Ministry of Culture and Education, only the prescribed books bearing the stamp of the publisher of schoolbooks are to be used [...]”. The unnamed author then introduces his book with the following remark, which directly addresses the addressees or readers and formulates the objective of the volume:

“Dear children! The biblical story contained in this booklet is a short and coherent narration of the events contained in the Bible or the Holy Scriptures, appropriate to your age” (ibid., p. 1; own translation).

Obviously, it was particularly important to those responsible for religious education, in addition to the direct reading of the *Pentateuch*, to bring the entire biblical story closer to the pupils in a child-oriented and coherent retelling of a little more than 250 pages – presumably also out of the insight that reading the biblical scriptures represents a high degree of difficulty for children of primary school age and is not sufficient on its own to be able to absorb the extensive material in a sustainable way. On the one hand, this shows once again that access to the Bible was probably a decisive goal of religious education. On the other hand, this textbook also shows the progress in the development of the curriculum, the teaching materials and the pedagogical mediation – which, however, can only be substantiated later in comparison with the quality of the textbooks in the time before the school reforms that were enforced shortly before Freud’s enrolment in school. In order to allow at least a small insight into the book and its structure, the table of contents should be reproduced here:

“Introduction

The biblical story

The Bible

Divine origin of the Bible

Rich content of the Bible

Soothing effects of the Bible

The order of the holy scriptures

Division of the Bible

The harmony in the Bible

The Community Centre of the Bible

Use of the biblical story

I. Main part. The beginning of all things. [...]

II. Main part. History of the primitive world. From Adam to the calling of Abraham. From the year of the world 1 to the J. d. W. 1865. [...]

III. Main part. History of the Patriarchs. From Abraham to Joseph. From the year of the world 1948 to the year of the world 2309; 360 years. [...]

IV. Main part. History of Israel during the stay in and during the exodus from Egypt. From the Death of Joseph to the Song of Praise at the Red Sea. From the year of the world 2309 to the year 2493. [...]

V. Main part. History of Israel under Moses, before the revelation of the divine law. From the praise of Israel at the Red Sea, to its arrival at the mountain of God Sinai – in the spring of the year 2493.

VI. Main Part. History of the Revelation of the Divine Law. From the promulgation of the Ten Commandments to the departure of Israel from the wilderness of Sinai, from the spring of the year 2493 to the spring of the year 2494.

VII. Main Part. History of Israel under Moses after the revelation of the divine law. From the departure from Sinai to the arrival at the Jordan. From the I. d. W. 2494 to the year 2532. [...]

VIII. Main part. History of Israel under Joshua and the Judges. From Joshua to Saul. From the year of the world 2533 to the year of the world 2900. [...]

IX. Main Part. History of the undivided kingdom of Israel. From Saul's elevation as king to the death of Solomon. From the year of the world 2900 to the year 3010 [...].

X. Main part. History of the Kingdom of Ephraim. From the year d. W. 3010 to the year 3268; 258 years. [...]

XI. Main part. History of the kingdom of Judah. From the year of the world 3010 to the year 3402; 392 years. [...]

XII. Main part. History of the Babylonian Captivity. From the year of the world 3402 to the year 3452; 50 years. [...]

XIII Main part. From the year of the world 3452 to the year 3564; 112 years” (ibid., pp. 254-262; own translation).

The *third* textbook, which is now to be considered a little more closely, is the book for history lessons by Gerson Wolf *Die Geschichte Israels für die israelische Jugend (The History of Israel for Israeli Youth)*, which was published in a first edition in 1856 and has undergone nine further editions. In the first edition the book covers 250 pages and is limited completely to the as it were historicizing reproduction of the biblical stories respectively their orderly insertion into the history of Israel, which is told up to the destruction of the Second Temple in the year 70 CE, thus into the post-biblical time. The introduction of such a history book into the classroom represents a modernizing step, as Hammerschlag (1869, p. 5) points out: a thorough knowledge of Jewish history could not be acquired, or could only be acquired with great difficulty, by reading the Bible alone, and was accordingly unknown to earlier generations (this remark thus also applies to the book on biblical history presented last). In the introduction of such history books, the historicizing biblical scholarship, which increasingly prevailed in the 19th century, may have played a greater role (cf. chapter 2).

Freud presumably read this book in its first edition at school (or in private lessons with his parents); the second edition was published in 1866, i.e. after his elementary school years (Freud transferred to the Gymnasium in 1865 – see below). It was not until the third edition that a “Kurzer Abriss der Geschichte der Juden seit der Zerstörung des Tempels unter Titus bis auf die neueste Zeit (Brief Outline of the History of the Jews since the Destruction of the Temple under Titus to the Latest Times)” (Wolf, 1871, pp. 251-295; all quotes from the book follow my own translation) was added on about 45 pages, and still later, from the fifth edition, which appeared in 1876, it was delineated as a second part with its own page count. The 250 pages of the first edition tell very vividly and plastically mainly the Biblical story or stories: they begin with the “Urgeschichte der Menschheit (Prehistory of Mankind)”, extending from the account of the Creation to the death of Moses (ibid., pp. 1-74), followed by a short section on “Josua” (ibid., pp. 75-84), one on “Die Zeit der Richter (The Time of the Judges)” (ibid., pp. 85-108), another, much longer one on “Königsthum in Israel (Kingship in Israel)” (ibid., pp. 109-205), and finally one on “Die Babylonische Gefangenschaft (The Babylonian Captivity)” (ibid., pp. 206-241).

At the end of the book Wolf adds a revealing “Schluß (Conclusion)” (ibid., pp. 241-250). There he immediately emphasizes the universal and above all the ethical significance of Judaism, which he turns against the widespread social tendency towards separation and segregation of Jews: “Israel’s profession was not to live apart on a certain part of the earth. Its calling was to live up to the names

it bore: to be ‘Hebrews’, models of human virtue, nobility of soul, and devotion to God” (ibid., p. 241). The people of Israel are thus given the task of carrying ethical monotheism and the medium of its transport, the Bible, “out to all people” (ibid., p. 241). Indeed, Israel’s greatest achievement, he argues, was that it had always preserved the “Holy Scriptures”, which were regarded by all peoples as the greatest treasure and source of knowledge. After this assurance, he gives general and basic information about the *Jewish Bible*, the Tanakh, for the students, and Wolf then deals especially with the Book of *Job*, the story of which is retold in detail on a full six pages. It seems that Wolf wants to bring Job into play in conclusion as an exemplary Jewish figure who, with resilience, endured so much suffering and yet did not allow himself to be dissuaded from his faith in God, with whom he confidently wrestles. The message to the young Jewish students should have been clear: they should be aware of the impending hostilities and identify with Job in a firm trust in God.

Freud did this early on and in an idiosyncratic way, which can be well seen in the juvenile letters to his friend Eduard Silberstein (1856-1925) (Freud, 1989a), written during his late school years and his years of study (1871-1881). In these letters, in which God alone is mentioned 54 times and the Bible is quoted nine times (cf. Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 73-79 and Rizzuto, 1998, p. 145), there are at least two concise references to the Book of *Job*; they come from letters written in 1873 and 1875, i.e. at a time when his school reading and religious education, which had ended in 1873 with Freud’s Matura, were only a short time ago.

Freud (1989a, p. 37) writes to Silberstein on August 16, 1873:

“Yesterday, when I had to suffer an Egyptian darkness for an hour because I could not lay my hands on flint or matches and because, as the Book of Job puts it, I cannot send lightnings to make light for me, I thought up the following conversation in the sphere of light which I shall now impart to you, as far as I can remember it.“

Freud alludes here, in an ironic refraction that expresses both his distance and his familiarity with the biblical story, to chapter 38, verse 35 in the Book of *Job*. There God confronts Job with his powerlessness and the limits of his human capacity. In Gerson Wolf’s rendering, this passage reads, in the broader context of the story, “I laid my law upon him, and set bars and doors before him, saying, hitherto shalt thou come, and no further; and here shall the defiance of thy waves be broken. [...] Send forth thou the lightnings, and they go and say: Here we are[?]” (Wolf, 1871, pp. 247-248). Freud also refers to Job’s story in a letter of 30 January 1875. He reports to his friend that a journal planned with other friends has “fallen asleep”: “It was I who delivered the death blow; it had been ailing for a long time and I took pity on its suffering. I gave it life and I have taken its life away, so blessed be my name, for ever and ever, Amen” (Freud, 1989a, p. 86). The verse referred to here is

found in the book of *Job* (1, 21), which reads, “And he said; Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, And naked shall I return thither; The LORD gave, and the LORD hath taken away; Blessed be the name of the LORD.”¹¹⁰ Here it is the other way around: Freud does not identify with the powerless Job, but with the almighty God who can give and take life. In this late adolescent vacillation between depotency and omnipotence, Freud’s ambivalent attitudes toward God and toward his religion are perhaps particularly well revealed. But the Bible quotes also show how naturally Freud knew how to deal with the biblical material. For him, the biblical references are not only a literary stylistic device, but familiar interpretive foils that open up and produce meaning and allow him to express his feelings and attitudes towards his Jewish origins as well. It is precisely his (ironic) distancing and dissociation from the Jewish religion that takes place in the use of his central medium, the Bible.

After this digression, let us return to the list of textbooks for religious education in elementary schools documented by Hammerschlag. What is striking about this list is above all the outstanding importance of language acquisition that is evident in it: nine of the 13 titles listed concern the teaching of Hebrew and come before the books that cover the other subjects and contents (prayers, *Pentateuch*, history of Israel). In his 40-page essay “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien” (The Program of the israel. Religious School in Vienna) (Hammerschlag, 1869) Hammerschlag retrospectively formulated the necessary justifications for this and explained the historical background. On the first pages of his essay, he repeatedly speaks of the “basic view that the teaching of the Bible in the original language should form the basis and starting point for all religious instruction” (ibid., pp. 1 and 3; all quotes from the essay follow my own translation). Hammerschlag and also other persons responsible for religious education at that time gave such extraordinary weight to the acquisition of Hebrew because they wanted to counteract a tendency that was also widespread in the Austrian Enlightenment (since the end of the 18th century): The “imperative regulation of the Jewish school system by Emperor Joseph [the enlightened Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790) - see below].” (ibid., p. 6) had namely led to the fact that Jewish school instruction also had to follow a “pattern” that had been developed for the other denominations. Hammerschlag counts first and foremost among these that now, according to the specifications of the responsible authorities, instruction had to take place with the help of “systematic textbook[s]”, i.e. catechisms, also in the Jewish schools, “where they had been almost unknown until then” (ibid.)

¹¹⁰ In Wolf (1871, p. 245) this verse is quoted as follows: “Then Job got up, tore his outer garment, had the hair of his head cut off, threw himself down on the ground, stooped down, and said: Naked I came out of the womb, naked I will return there again. God gave it, God took it away, the name of the Lord be praised. In all this Job sinned not, nor spake any foolish thing against God. (Cap. 1.)”

– later we will deal briefly with such a textbook. The form of instruction associated with it had been permeated by a rationalism “which believed that it could master all objects of the soul’s activity with its rational, sober conception” and for which there was no longer anything “imponderable” and “incomprehensible” (ibid.). In the sphere of influence of this method, which had started from the Jesuit Order, only that had been valid which could be reproduced as clearly as possible in the memory, and it had no longer been about the formation and strengthening of the “soul faculty” (ibid., p. 7). Bible study, on the other hand, was now considered outdated, was associated with a form of Judaism considered outmoded, and “receded more and more into the background” (ibid.). Gerson Wolf (1861, p. 138) made yet another very important argument that should be mentioned in this context: “But at the moment when the knowledge of Hebrew ceases to be common property and becomes the property of individuals, the hierarchy is finished with skin and hair” (ibid.). This names a central feature of rabbinic Talmudic Judaism and its inherent form of learning: The meaning of the text is not predetermined and pre-written, but arises only in the idiosyncratic relationship to it and must be found by creating it. Such a relationship to the text is only possible in a non-hierarchical teaching and learning relationship and is supported by the structure of the Hebrew language (cf. Hegener, 2017).

In the course of his description of the historical development, Hammerschlag states that the tendency outlined in this way could only be broken through in the 1830s. Important for this were, on the one hand, Jewish scholars who did not want to “leave the Bible to others” (Hammerschlag, 1873, p. 8) and for whom it was important to put an end to its neglect in Jewish religious education. On the other hand, under the influence of Pestalozzi’s pedagogy, more and more importance was attached to the fact that the pupils were able to work out the contents to be taught independently. From this it resulted for the religious education that for example “the lecture of the story of Joseph in the dramatically living dress” (ibid., p. 9) was much better suited to awaken the understanding of the divine providence than rational formulas from the catechism (one has to remember here the first chapter of this book, in which also Freud’s identification with the biblical figure of Joseph is investigated). It was recognized that such Bible teaching had to become again the “basis of the entire religious education of youth” (ibid., p. 10).

In order to achieve this goal, however, it is absolutely indispensable to access the Bible in the original language. Hammerschlag cites three main reasons for this: First of all, through the in-depth study of the language, the students would gain a much better and ultimately completely different approach to understanding the Holy Scriptures, which they would otherwise cursorily read through like any other book of fiction. With the knowledge thus acquired, they could, secondly, not only passively follow the liturgy and the divine service in general, but participate in it in the full sense;

and finally, what Hammerschlag emphasizes most of all, they could develop a “consciousness of togetherness” that would connect them with the “whole Jewry”, the “brothers in faith” (ibid., p. 11) who live scattered over the earth. Gerson Wolf (1861, p. 138; own translation) made another very important argument: he reminds us that in Judaism every person can be an “interpreter of the law” and that in this respect there is no distinction between laymen and clergymen. “But at the moment when the knowledge of Hebrew ceases to be common property and becomes the property of individuals, the hierarchy is done with skin and hair.” This identifies a central feature of Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism and its inherent form of learning: The meaning of the text is not predetermined and pre-written, but arises only in the idiosyncratic relationship to it and must be found by creating it. Such a relationship to the text is only possible in a non-hierarchical teaching and learning relationship (cf. Hegener, 2017).

In retrospect, Hammerschlag notes with satisfaction that for four decades, i.e., since the 1830s, the Bible has been taught in the original language and that the curriculum, in place since 1858, “features later Jewish history as an integral part of the subject matter” (Hammerschlag, 1873, p. 13). He then devotes some space to justifying the extended language instruction and the resulting reduction of the material of the other subjects or contents. Hammerschlag first emphasizes the difference between learning one of the classical languages (Greek, Latin) and Hebrew. Learning Hebrew was not an end in itself, but served as a “means to a higher, superordinate end” (ibid., p. 31), namely to become familiar with the *Pentateuch* and the language of prayer – and exactly this could be confirmed by the analysis of the three textbooks (see the preceding excursus). Especially important was the liveliness of the lecture, which was not to be mixed with grammar exercises, since it drew the attention of the students away from the material. Everything in these lessons, as much becomes clear now, was ultimately directed towards a religious purpose and related to the internalisation of the Holy Scriptures and prayers.

Hammerschlag then deals with the fact that with the central position of language acquisition in the “teaching material for the four [sic!] elementary school classes, an essential reduction had occurred” (ibid., p. 34). Now it was only possible to teach “fragments of the Pentateuch” (ibid., p. 35). The *4th Book of Moses*, for example, had been “eliminated from the lesson plan of the elementary school” (ibid., p. 36) and was now transferred to the middle school. There, however, it was no longer possible to treat the prophetic books adequately; and the *Proverbs* and the *Psalter* could also be presented only to a limited extent. But even in the higher classes of the secondary schools, Hammerschlag hastens to point out, the study of the *Pentateuch* is still the central content of instruction. At the end of his remarks he emphasizes the importance of teaching post-biblical history.

Referring to Freud, we can now say that he was included in a Reformed religious system of instruction in which the thorough acquisition of the Hebrew language was the central objective. With him a special access to the *Jewish Bible* was to be imparted, which was not exhausted in the absorption of an arbitrary educational commodity. Access to the Bible in the “original language” was regarded as the decisive prerequisite for the development of a strengthened religious self-confidence and a consolidated Jewish identity. One wanted, as Hammerschlag aptly emphasizes, with the mediation of the Bible in the Hebrew language to prevent that a “kind of Vulgate” (ibid., p. 12) was created, i.e. that the Jewish access to the Bible was aligned and blurred with the Latin-Catholic understanding of Scripture. Only with a return to the Bible in its “original language”, so was the conviction of Hammerschlag and the other responsible persons of the Jewish Religious Community, the Jewish pupils become aware of their specific history, aesthetic language form, ethics and tradition and, even if they should later become areligious, identify with it as Jews and bring it into the Christian dominant culture – after all, the Hebrew-language *Jewish Bible* is over the centuries the indisputable core of the Jewish tradition and at the same time, although differently compiled and interpreted (see introduction), part of the Christian canon and thus, as it were, a bridge between the cultures and religions (cf. on this also R. Cohen, 2002).

Presumably Hammerschlag, Leopold Breuer, Gerson Wolf and their comrades-in-arms were also reacting to a growing uncertainty by returning to the Bible in the “original language”: due to the influence of Reform Judaism and the tension in which it stood with other currents in Judaism, none of the traditional religious-cultural forms (language, liturgical procedures, religious arrangement of the central events of life history, such as birth, marriage, death, etc.) was any longer binding and sustainable, and this gap could only be filled by the study of the Bible as far as possible, or at least also in its Masoretic version. In the last chapter we saw that the Jewish-German *translations* of the Hebrew-language Bible, as they have increasingly emerged since the early nineteenth century, were developed precisely not for worship use (in the synagogue the Masoretic text is used exclusively) and have attempted in a complementary way to strengthen Jewish identity by creating more literal translations with their own language against the prevailing Protestant translations of the Bible. For Freud, it can be said with some plausibility that he read both the Hebrew and the German versions of the Bible and that the study of the Bible became a central inner point of reference that was decisive for his self-understanding as an (areligious) Jew.

With compulsory language instruction, which in this way was mainly geared to the Bible and had far more than just preparatory value for its synagogal use, the Jewish educational system in Austria, and presumably especially in Vienna, occupied a middle position between the traditional system in Eastern Europe and the Protestant-Enlightened, massively tradition-critical approach in Prussia /

Germany, which knew no compulsory religious instruction for Jewish children (Hammerschlag also refers to this in his essay; Hammerschlag, 1873, pp. 19-20) and relied heavily on teaching through catechisms and the German language (see below). This probably also shows the specific cultural mediating function of the Habsburg Empire, which spanned between the Mediterranean-northern Italian territory via Vienna and Prague to Galicia and Krakow, and was much more dependent on balancing the different traditions than, for example, Prussia (cf. Judson, 2018).

The curriculum of the elementary school

However, we know not only the list of textbooks, but also, from a total of three different sources, the curriculum in the Viennese elementary schools, which has been obligatory since the reforms of religious education, so we can relatively well understand how the contents contained in the individual textbooks were divided among the respective (four) school years. The broad agreement of the information in these three sources also confirms that a uniform curriculum was used in the elementary schools. Gerson Wolf, in his *Geschichte der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien (1820-1860)* (Wolf, 1861 pp. 144-150), listed the curriculum for the first time with an enumeration of the contents of the lessons for both the four elementary school classes (separated into boys and girls) and the eight Gymnasium and Unterrealschule classes. The second, only very cursory rendering of the curriculum is found in the first two annual reports of the “Erste öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterreal- (Volks- und Bürger-)Schule“, which also included an elementary and a middle school (Pick & Szántó, 1863, pp. 17-19 as well as 1864, pp. 23-26 – see above). Also Samuel Hammerschlag, this is the third reference, in the appendix of his essay “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien” of 1869, documented the curriculum on 11 pages (numbered with Roman numerals): Pages I-V comprise the plan for the elementary schools (again separated into boys and girls), pages VI-XI that for the Unterrealschule, the Gymnasium and the Realgymnasium. Hammerschlag’s rendering is the most detailed and differentiated, but I have nevertheless chosen to reproduce the earliest version of Wolf’s curriculum, since the latter published his account immediately during Freud’s school years and his details are therefore probably closest to what Freud experienced in his religious education classes. I will, however, add some details from the other two sources (Hammerschlag and Pick & Szántó) for the boys’ lessons in square brackets in each case:

- if possible, information from Hammerschlag’s essay on teaching biblical history¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Whether these biblical passages were added to the lesson plan in the years after 1861 is probable, but can no longer be determined with certainty; they do, however, document the deliberations and efforts of Hammerschlag, whose voice was authoritative in this matter.

- for each school year from the book by Pick & Szántó (1863, pp. 23-26) the hitherto missing data on the number of hours of Jewish religious instruction in the elementary schools.

The prayers, which are written in the original Hebrew, are reproduced here in the English translation in order to enable readers who do not know Hebrew to understand them at least according to their titles (see also the following excursus with some explanations about the meaning of the Jewish prayers).¹¹² The English translation of the prayer titles follows the [Das] *Gebetbuch der Israeliten* (Sachs, 1878) translated into German and explained by Michael Sachs.

Elementary school classes.

A. Boys.

First Class.

First semester.

a) Reading Hebrew.

b) Translation of the prayers: *Hear Israel; And you shall love the Eternal; Kedusha* [Sanctification]; *Table Prayer* to “...who feeds all things”.

[Hammerschlag: Biblical History: From Creation to Noah.]¹¹³

Second semester.

a) 1. B. M. [*1st Book of Moses*], Cap. 1, 2.

b) Prayers: Repetition of the prayer pieces learned in the first semester; the translation of *My God! The soul...* and the following blessings until *May it be your will*.

[Hammerschlag: Biblical History: From Noah to Isaac]

[Pick & Szántó for I grade: Hebrew language and religion, Bible in the original text: 6 hours weekly].

¹¹² Gadi Goldberg also provided this translation into German which in turn has been translated into English here. A first English translation of this curriculum can be found both in Rainey (1975, p. 40), who refers to the curriculum of the first public Israelite secondary and lower secondary school (and elementary and middle school) for the school year 1862-63 mentioned in the previous footnote, and in Rice (1990, pp. 50-54), who also uses Wolf's report as a basis. Both reproduction, however, are incomplete and erroneous. In the work presented here, as far as we can survey the literature, this is the first time since the publication of the original text in 1861 that a complete rendering of the curriculum has been found in the literature on Freud's biography.

¹¹³ In order to give an impression of how the curriculum of the elementary school is documented in comparison in the *Zweiter Jahresbericht der ersten öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterrealschule (Second Annual Report of the first public Israelite Haupt- und Unterrealschule)*, here is the information for the First Class in the school year 1863-64: “*Hebrew language and religion*. The reading of Hebrew; some important pieces of prayer were translated. The pupils were trained in reading the daily, as well as the Sabbath and feast day prayers, so that they would also be able to pray at the public service. Bible in the Urtext 1. B . M . Ch. 1 . 2. In suitable passages the simplest religious terms appropriate to the boyhood of this class were developed” (Pick & Szántó, 1864, p. 28; own translation).

Second Class.

First semester.

a) 1. B. M., Cap. 3, 4 (to v. 18). 6, 7, 8, 9 (to v. 18), 11 (to v. 10), 12 (to v. 10), 13, 14, 15.

(b) Prayers: *Hear Israel; And thou shalt love the Eternal; And it shall come to pass; And the Eternal said; God of our fathers; Thou art mighty for ever; Kedushah* [sanctification].

[Hammerschlag: Biblical History: From Isaac to Joseph.]

Second semester.

(a) 1 B. M., cap. 17. (to v. 11), 18, 19 (to v. 30), 21 (to v. 22) 22, 23, 24, 25 (v. 19) 27, 28, 29 (to v. 30).

b) Prayers: *How Lovely are Thy Tents; The Eighteen Prayer* from “*We Thank Thee*” to the end; *Table Prayer* to “*And Build Jerusalem*”.

(c) Grammar: gender, number, casus, article.

[Hammerschlag: Biblical History: From Joseph to Jacob’s Death.]

[Pick & Szántó for II. Class: Hebrew language and religion: 6 hours (weekly)]

Third grade.

First semester.

a) 1. B. M., Cap. 32 (v. 4), 33, 35 (to v. 21) 37, 39 (v. 20), 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 (to v. 18).

(b) Prayers: [*The Eighteen Prayer* from] “You graciously bestow” to “We thank You”; *It is up to us*.

[Hammerschlag: Biblical History: From Moses to Joshua.]

Second semester.

a) 1. B. M., Cap. 44 (v. 18) 45, 46 (to v. 8 u. v. 28), 47, 48, 49 (v. 28), 50. 2. B. M., Cap. 1, 2, 3, 4 (to v. 18) 5, 6 (to v. 13), 11, 12.

b) Prayers: *Praise be to Him at Whose Word the World Came into Being* to *King Who is Glorified in Songs of Praise; Praise the Eternal to Be Blessed; To the Lord, the Most Blessed*.

[Hammerschlag: Biblical history: from Jusa to the time of the kingdom].

c) Grammar: Suffixes of thing words, Kai, Niphal

[Pick & Szántó for III class: Hebrew language and religion: 5 hours (weekly)].

Fourth Class.

First semester

(a) 2nd B. M., cap. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 (v. v. 12), 22 (to v. 15 u. v. 1119), (to 23, 24, v. 12), 31 (v.16,v. 1912);(to32,v.33,2034u.

b) Prayers: *Lord of the world; Praised be the Eternal in all Time; And David Praised; Closed thou the Covenant; With Great Love.*

c) Biblical history: from the birth to the death of Moses.

[Hammerschlag: Narratives from the History of the Israelites: Saul, David, Solomon, Division of the Kingdom, Elijah, Elisha, Destruction of the First Temple, Daniel, Esther, Maccabees, Destruction of the Second Temple]

Second semester.

a) 3. B. M., Cap. 23, 24, 25, 26 (to v. 14). 4. B. M., Cap. 6 (v. 22), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (v. 32), 16, 17, 20, 21 (to v. 10), 22, 27, 32.

b) Prayers: (*Evening prayer for the days of the week; And it came to pass when the ark of the covenant was opened (taking in and taking out of the Torah).*)

c) Grammar: Pronomina, Hitpael (From the *Shlomim*).

d) Biblical history: from Joshua to the kings.

[Pick & Szántó for IV. Class: Religion and Biblical History: 5 hours (weekly)]

B. Girls.

First Class.

a) Biblical history: from the creation of the world to the time of the kings

b) Reading Hebrew and the translation of the prayers: *Evening Prayer for the Days of the “eek; And it Came to Pass when the Ark of the Covenant was Opened (lifting in and out of the Torah).*

Second Class.

a) Biblical history: from the time of the kings to the destruction of the second temple.

b) Prayers: *Hear Israel; And thou Shalt Love the Eternal; And it Shall Come to Ppass; God of our Fathers; Thou art Mighty forever; Kedushah [sanctification]; Table Prayer until “...who feedeth all things”.*

Third Class.

a) Readings in German translation from:

Isaiah, Cap. L, 2, 5, 6, 11, 58,

Jeremiah, cap. 1, 8, 9, 17, 31,

Ezekiel, cap. 17, 18, 37,

Hosea 6, Joel 3, Amos 18, Jonah 2, Micah 6, Zephaniah 3, Chagi 2, Zechariah 5, 8, Malachi 1.

At the same time the history of the time in which the prophets lived is to be taught.

From the Psalms: cap. 1, 6, 8, 15, 23, 49, 90, 91, 92, 93, 107, 139, 145.

From the Proverbs of Solomon: Cap. L, 4, 6, 9, 11.

From 14, 17, Job: 23, 31. cap. 31, 38, 39.

b) Prayers: *The Eighteen Prayer* from “We thank Thee” to the end; *And it came to Pass when the Ark of the Covenant was opened* (lifting in and out of the Torah); *Lord of the World*; *It is up to us*.

Fourth Class.

a) History: From the destruction of the second temple to the conclusion of the Talmud, combined with an anthology of the most important sayings from the “Proverbs of the Fathers”.

(b) doctrine of faith and morals.

c) Prayers: *The Hallel* [hymn of praise]; *Our Father, Our King!*; *So let Your fear come; Holy King!*

Second (short) Excursus: The Jewish prayers

Because of the great importance that was obviously attached to the learning of prayers in the curriculum of religious education in the elementary school, let us add at this point a few basic remarks about Jewish prayers and the selection made. First of all, it should be generally noted that the liturgy of Judaism is repeatedly and rightly referred to as its theology: What Jews believe they formulate in prayer, and the prayers (and not, for example, catechisms or magisterial proclamations) are therefore a special access to the respective contents of faith (cf. on this the essays in Homolka, 2005). From a historical point of view, prayer, which was already important in biblical times (if we think of the Psalms, for example) alongside sacrificial service as a spontaneous invocation in the relationship with God, has been accorded an even greater role since the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. Since the temple service was now no longer possible, the teaching house and the synagogue became more and more the focus of community life, and the influence of the priests disappeared completely. One could say that words replaced ritual performance and that temple and sacrificial service were replaced by Torah learning and prayer: “The synagogue [...] was the house of *Torah study and prayer*, but also a focus of social and cultural life” (Stern, 1976, p. 285; my emphasis). For the preservation of Jewish existence, which had now become stateless and templeless, the reading of the Holy Writs as well as liturgy and prayer became the decisive medium of self-assurance. And it is precisely this kind of focus, which has remained binding in Judaism across all

differentiations since this time, that can also be found in the curriculum of religious education in the Viennese primary school: The pupils are to learn to read the Hebrew language in order to be able to study the Torah in its Masoretic version and to say the prayers in the original. The Bible and prayer are seen as the unifying and sustaining elements.

In Judaism, prayers are traditionally said three times a day: in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening (often, however, the afternoon prayer and the evening prayer merge). On the Sabbath and the other feast days and holidays, an additional, specific prayer (“*Mussaf*”; English: “Addition”) is said. Two prayers are of particular importance in the Jewish doxologies: This is on the one hand the “*Shmone Esre*” or “Eighteen Prayer”, which is always said in the middle of the service and depicts central contents of the Jewish faith. The prayer originally consisted of 18 blessings, which were later supplemented by an additional one (it was included as the 12th prayer and is directed against the “slander” of the heretics), and is also called “*Amida*” (Hebrew for “standing”), since it is recited standing up. In Freud’s school days, the “Eighteen Prayer” was taught in three semesters in the elementary schools of Vienna: petitions 18 and 19 in the second semester of the second grade, petitions 4 through 17 in the first semester of the third grade, and petitions 18 and 19 again in the second semester of the third grade. The fourth petition (*Binah*) Jacob Freud also mentioned in his dedicatory letter for his son’s 35th birthday (see Chapter 1), and petitions 18 and 19, taught twice in religious education classe.

The second no less important prayer in Judaism, which is recited before the “*Shmone Esre*” in the morning and evening prayer, is the “*Shma Israel*” (“Hear Israel”), which is followed by biblical verses (*Deuteronomy*, 11, 13-21 and *Numbers*, 12, 37-41) and which can be considered the Jewish confession of faith. As can be seen from the documented curriculum, this prayer was also an integral part of the lessons in the primary schools at the time of Freud’s childhood.

From the list of prayers in the curriculum it is evident that the pupils of the primary school in Vienna learned a wide range of prayers: these included the daily prayers, but also table prayers and above all the central prayers of worship. These prayers were not only intended to enable them to participate in the daily family-religious processes and in the religious life of the congregation; by learning the prayers and practising them in the respective contexts (family, congregation, school), they also performatively consolidated their Jewish identity and became familiar with the most important contents of Judaism in this way (in addition to studying the Torah).

If we now look at the curriculum as a whole, we find the previous impressions and results confirmed. The lessons began with the learning of the Hebrew language and first translation exercises; they were continued throughout the whole semester with the reading of selected pieces

from the *Pentateuch*; for the possibility of full participation in the services and congregational life, the most important prayers were continuously translated and could thus be particularly well internalized; the learning of grammar had a relatively minor and rather subordinate place in the curriculum; the study of Jewish history, taking up the biblical material but arranging it more systematically and including post-biblical history, seems to have had an increasingly important place in the teaching. But the limitations also become clearer: while the boys' lessons do not go beyond *Leviticus* and the prophetic books, the *Psalter* and the historical works of the *Jewish Bible* play no role, these pieces are just given a central role in the girls' curriculum, but the *Pentateuch* is omitted there altogether.

If we pick up the thread of our previous reflections on the central position of Hebrew in the teaching of Jewish elementary schools, we can now add further suppositions. Perhaps those responsible attached such great importance to the teaching of Hebrew because it was supposed to help compensate for the fact that Hebrew was largely no longer taught by the parents of the pupils and their environment. In the course of the increasing Jewish assimilation, Hebrew had to be taught and learned like a foreign language. As Hammerschlag has pointed out, this meant that there was not much room left in religious education for other subjects, namely biblical studies and history lessons.¹¹⁴ The study of the biblical scriptures was of necessity limited to the *Pentateuch*, and even this was not read in its entirety, but only the first three or four Books of Moses. For the boys, however, who in the patriarchal world of Judaism of the time were regarded as the future guarantors of the Israelite communities, knowledge of the foundational stories contained in them was understood as the core content of the entire curriculum and as the indispensable prerequisite for the formation of a Jewishly determined identity despite progressive assimilation. Gerson Wolf also emphasizes this when he writes: "Biblical history, moreover, always formed an *integrating* subject of religious education in Vienna" (Wolf, 1876, p. 178; emphasis and translation W.H.).

We can note that the deeper penetration into the narrative theology of Judaism unfolded in the Torah was obviously more highly valued in Austria and Vienna than the more dogmatic teaching of a Jewish catechism, as was more the case in the aftermath of the Jewish Enlightenment in Germany / Prussia. There, under the overwhelming influence of Protestantism, Judaism became much more of a confessionalized religion with articles of faith and catechisms (cf. Schulte, 2002). Meyer (1988, p. 23) summarizes the efforts of Jewish educational reform in Germany since the end of the 18th century thus:

¹¹⁴ Our analysis of Fuchs' reading primer also revealed that the Hebrew language was taught like a foreign language in religious education (see the first digression).

“Instead of the customary immediate immersion in sacred texts, the Maskilim suggested that Judaism be taught like other religions, by means of a catechism, so that the Jewish child would know what it was that Jews believed. This more orderly study of Judaism, some thought, would necessarily affect the way the next generation regard its heritage. The children would learn to distinguish between the essence of their faith and those customs that were inappropriate as ‘a garment from a different time and place.’”

Gerson Wolf (1861, p. 110) adds that exactly this development had led to a “neglect of Bible study”, through which “the actual lifeblood [of Judaism – W.H.] had been completely cut”. For the boy Sigismund Freud, the religious education that was held in such high esteem and centrally placed in the Viennese primary schools tied in with the reading of the Philippson Bible that he had begun together with his father and / or went parallel with it – and this was true even if Freud had only attended one (final) grade. When he speaks (in the German version of the text) of an “frühzeitige Vertiefung in die biblische *Geschichte* (early immersion in biblical *story*)”, this sentence also reflects the emphasis of the religious program of the Austrian elementary schools of the time.¹¹⁵

Let us come back once more to the constrictions of the teaching that have been stated. On the one hand, this concerns, as has been seen, the selection of biblical books: one could say that the parts of the *Jewish Bible* were no longer treated in their unity as the *Tanakh* and, in particular, the prophetic books (*Nevi'im*) were missing, at least in the lessons for the boys, which are also so frequently represented in the quotations from Jacob Freud’s entries in the *Philippson Bible*. Another narrowing becomes particularly apparent when we compare the religious education program that Sigismund Freud underwent with that experienced by his father some 40 years earlier in a very different cultural context. Unlike then in Galicia, now under the assimilated conditions in Austria in the mid-19th century, the study of the Talmud was all but absent. The Talmud was no longer part of the educational canon, either in elementary schools or in secondary schools, and it was only accorded historical significance (in the context of history lessons). In the history book *Die Geschichte Israels für die israelitische Jugend (The History of Israel for Israelite Youth)* by Gerson Wolf (1871, pp. 255-257; see above), which was authoritative for elementary schools and which Freud in all probability also read during his school years, the Talmud is dealt with on only three pages (out of a total of 303).

According to widespread opinion, the Talmud in particular, in its content and in its own form of pedagogical mediation (cf. Hegener, 2017, especially pp. 231-238), no longer fitted in with the

¹¹⁵ Gerson Wolf (1871, p. 20) states: „While in Prague, Pest, etc., the teaching of the Bible in the original text was not among the obligatory subjects, in Vienna, ever since the religious school was established, the Bible was taught in the original text at all times“.

enforced programs of modern education, bourgeois culture, and the state's demands on education. This is also recalled by Gerson Wolf (1867, p. 9) in his *Geschichte des Unterrichts der israelitischen Jugend in Wien (History of the Teaching of Israelite Youth in Vienna)*: already at the time of the reign of the enlightened Emperor Joseph II, the teaching of the Talmud in class had been considered "harmful" and completely unsuitable as a basis for the demanded introduction of a "moral doctrine" for instruction. In his textbook *Die Geschichte Israels für die israelitische Jugend (The History of Israel for Israelite Youth)*, Wolf (1872, p. 288) writes: "He [Joseph II – W.H.] considered Judaism, especially as it was formed in the Talmud, to be a paragon of foolishness, and therefore he sought to limit the study of the Talmud". Joseph II's reforms, as well as Joseph's tolerance policy in general, exemplify the elements of a "Dialectic of Enlightenment": "in addition to their emancipative moments – such as the lifting of occupational restrictions, the opening of institutions of higher education to Jews, and the abolition of discriminatory labels and practices – there were also a number of restrictive aspects" (Sadowski, 2010, p. 14; own translation). These included "tendencies towards the standardization, regimentation and control of Jewish life in all important areas" (ibid.), such as, above all, the struggle against the traditional *Cheder* school system and the Talmud in the area of education (see also the detailed discussion in the chapter on the history of Jewish elementary schools in Vienna).

Later, too, the educational authorities had blamed the Talmud for the unsuccessfulness of their efforts to organize a state-regulated elementary or normal school education for Jewish children, and "their efforts were directed against the Talmud, which they wanted to purify or abolish altogether" (Wolf, 1872, p. 17). Accordingly, one decree had stated:

"Where there is a German school, no Israelite youth shall be admitted to Talmud classes unless he can prove with the certificates of the German teacher that he has attended the German school properly and has made use of the instruction given by the latter" (quoted in Wolf, 1861, p. 117).

The study of the Talmud was associated with the traditional Jewish school, the Eastern European "Chederwesen", especially widespread in Poland, of which Wolf also says disparagingly that it had not yet been possible to abolish it completely, for this "unedifying" and "unscientific" study was still rampant in "Hungary and Galicia" (Wolf, 1867, p. 18).¹¹⁶ Jacob Freud, under the conditions of a

¹¹⁶ Samuel Hammerschlag, interestingly enough, expresses himself much more positively about the Talmud when he writes: "Admittedly, it must not be overlooked that through the sharpness of intellect and the logically ordering sense, which give Talmudic literature and individual Bible commentaries held in its spirit their peculiar character, the teacher, who just completely mastered the subject matter to be presented by him, the way was paved in many respects and the method was marked out, which, besides many incorrect things, nevertheless contained many things that would stand up brilliantly even before the judge's chair of today's didactics" (Hammerschlag, 1869, p. 5).

still preserved Eastern Jewry, had very probably gone through exactly this “Chederwesen” in Galicia and, especially at the secondary *Kahal* school, had already intensively studied the Talmud since the age of eight.¹¹⁷ Bible and Talmud studies, written and oral tradition, still belonged inseparably together in the time of his Eastern Jewish influenced religious socialization and had not yet been torn apart, as in Vienna 40 years later.

In order to make this rupture more historically understandable, some brief remarks are included here (more detailed in Hegener, 2017, chapter 3). Since the 18th century, the Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition has been increasingly criticized in the European-Christian as well as in the Jewish Enlightenment and finally rejected as hostile to progress and emancipation. Especially the Jewish Enlightenment thinkers, who strove for recognition as Enlightenment thinkers and at the same time wanted to remain self-confident Jews, were under enormous pressure in this process to abandon their previous religion, which had been shaped by the Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition. They did not do this, or at least not completely, but they paid a very high price for their civic recognition, namely that of an increasing *confessionalization* of their religion. Jews were expected to profess a loyalty to a Christian-based state and to accept the theological presuppositions on which it was based. More concretely, this meant that especially in the lands that had become Prussian, they were expected to conform to Protestantism and its confessional culture. Judaism was now to be nothing, if anything, but a biblically based creed, and the most important part of its post-biblical tradition, namely its oral part, written down and summarized in the works of the two great *Talmudim* (the *Palestinian* and the *Babylonian Talmud*), was to be abandoned as inappropriate. Especially in the second generation of the Jewish Enlightenment *after* Moses Mendelssohn, the all-too-understandable desire to be at home led to an open break precisely with Talmudic thought and *halakhah*, i.e. the tradition that had been authoritative since the destruction of the Second Temple, as well as to the demand for and implementation of a turn to or rather a reference back to the Bible to the exclusion of Rabbinic-Talmudic exegesis. To Enlightenment thinkers such as Saul Ascher (1767-1822), Lazarus Bendavid (1762-1832) or David Friedländer (1750-1834), the Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition appeared to be, as it were, catholic and thus only “contrary to modernity, obstructive to emancipation, and ossified” (Schulte, 2002, p. 67; own translation).¹¹⁸ In the words of Richard Schaeffler, the development of Judaism in the Age of Enlightenment can be formulated as follows: “Enlightenment offered freedom to the Jew, but self-dissolution to Judaism” (Schaeffler, 1992, p. 116; own translation).

¹¹⁷ Sadowski (2010, 204-234), in his study of Herz Homberg, traces the “struggle and *cheder*” that already raged between the various Jewish groups in Galicia at the end of the eighteenth century.

¹¹⁸ We can also find this rejection of the Talmud and its identification with Catholicism in Heinrich Heine: “As Luther had overthrown the Papacy, so Mendelssohn overthrew the Talmud [...]. By so doing he destroyed Jewish Catholicism, for such as Luther had destroyed Christian Catholicism. The Talmud is, in fact, the Catholicism of the Jews” (Heine, 1835, p. 193; see Chapter 2).

The Jewish Enlightenment thinkers increasingly criticized that the Bible had been neglected due to the preponderance of the Talmudic tradition and pleaded for its rebirth. They wanted to transform the traditional ancient text and create a “Modern Jewish Bible” (Levenson, 2011), not least with the help of translations. The “Holy Scriptures” thus became, in a sense, the “Book of Books” (Shavit & Eran, 2007), which now became not only a religious, but for many a (sometimes even exclusively) cultural-worldly point of reference (these developments were considered in detail in the last chapter). The modernized biblical texts were seen as bridges into mainstream Christian society, they were understood as “carriers of a universal-human message” (Grözinger, 2009, p. 346; own translation), and the Talmudic tradition was partly written off as particular and outdated. And with the study of *halakhah*, the exegetical methods prevailing in midrashic interpretation as well as in the *Mishnah* and Talmud were also abandoned. Thus, in the course of the (Jewish) Enlightenment, if we try to summarize these developments, a *dogmatization*, *theologization* and *confessionalization* of Judaism took place.¹¹⁹

In the 19th century, the Talmud also experienced an ambivalent evaluation in the newly founded *Wissenschaft vom Judentum*. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), the founder of this movement, delivered the sentence: “Until the Talmud is overthrown, nothing can be done” (quoted in Stemberger, 1982, p. 313; own translation). But there were definitely other voices that wanted to give full recognition to this tradition and claimed precisely the rabbinic literature for the pending reform. Thus Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), who along with Zunz was probably the most important scholar in the field of the *Wissenschaft vom Judentum* and who represented moderate positions within the reform movement, declared against both the Christian rejection of the Talmud and a reifying view of the tradition that prevailed in Orthodoxy:

“And as one proceeds with the Bible, so then with the Talmud and the Rabbinical writings far worse. I do not mean to say that one entirely overlooks and rejects the many beautiful and truly good things spoken of in them; but one also does not at all want to acknowledge the actual idea first underlying them, although pushed into the background by the sorrow of the times. For the principle of tradition, to which all Talmudic and rabbinic literature owes its origin, is nothing other than the principle of constant further education and development in keeping with the times, than the principle of not being slaves to the letter of the Bible, but of

¹¹⁹ Let us also mention that in this rejection of Talmudic-Rabbinic Judaism, large sections of the Jewish Enlightenment were in agreement with the most progressive sections of the non-Jewish Enlightenment. In 1781, Christian Wilhelm Dohm, a Prussian reform official and Protestant, wrote his influential paper, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (*On the civic improvement of the Jews*). In this writing, Dohm, who probably for the first time did not resort to obviously anti-Judaic prejudices and understood the catastrophic situation of the Jews not as a punishment for their God-murdering actions but as a consequence of massive social discrimination, called on the Jews to “reform” their religion and to abandon the Talmud and the entire oral tradition in order to be able to adapt to the demands of bourgeois society (cf. Schulte, 2002, p. 179).

continuing to bear witness according to its spirit and according to the genuine consciousness of faith that pervades the synagogue. Therefore Judaism quite well recognizes the office of an oral teaching, which, according to the spirit and according to time, knows how to revive, restore, and regenerate the written word, which would have to fade away in the constant stagnation of death, always anew with the peculiar spirit” (Geiger, 1835, pp. 348-349; own translation).¹²⁰

The anti-rabbinic tendency was also reflected institutionally in the state-regulated synagogue orders that emerged during this period (cf. Zink, 1998). Thus, the former members of the people of Israel became “church members” who were no longer bound by a law and its interpretation within the framework of the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition, but only to their confessional faith and cultivated a common “cultus”. Whereas since ancient times the rabbis had had almost nothing to do with worship, but devoted themselves to the interpretation of the texts and the law in the house of teaching, they now became special office bearers, “religious teachers”, “pastor” and Israelite “theologians”, who had to concentrate on worship, were responsible for religious instruction and had to carry out the “Confirmation” of 14-year-olds. This alignment with Christian tradition was also reflected in the internal arrangement of synagogues: Meyer (1988, pp. 40-43) shows how, for example, in the Seesen synagogue, the lectern of the reader was moved from its traditional position in the centre closer to the Torah cabinet, where a raised pulpit had been erected for the sermon. Latin inscriptions now adorned the building in addition to Hebrew, and an organ was installed. “Taken as a whole, the structure made a social statement: Jews worship as do Christians; they are their equals in religion as in civil life” (ibid., p. 41).

Through all these developments, we can conclude, perhaps what is now called “Judaism” in a unifying analogy to “Christianity” came into being. What is meant by this is a “religion” with clear and religiously confessional definitions and demarcations, which should no longer have anything to do with a previously authoritative, rather cultic-ethnically determined affiliation to the people of Israel (cf. especially Batnitzky, 2011). What first emerged from a Christian external perspective (“Judaism” as a “religion”) was adopted by Reform Judaism as a self-definition and self-designation (cf. also Barton & Boyarin, 2016, who have shown in a further historical perspective that the category “religion” originated in late antiquity, is a thoroughly Christian product and “Judaism” is a Christian foreign designation).

¹²⁰ Scholem’s judgement that the “Science of Judaism”, despite all its achievements, had “a breath of the funeral” and was based on “their original intention of liquidating, spiritualizing and de-actualizing Judaism” (Scholem, 1959, p. 307), must be relativised in its polemical sharpness and one-sidedness. This movement has “definitely resisted the theological, historical and political delegitimation of Judaism” and “appeared precisely with the claim to give it back its original vitality and creative potency” (Buchholz, 2011-2020, p. 9; own translation).

School teaching was also massively affected by this tendency towards confessionalization and dogmatization: The teachers employed there were supposed to teach a fixed material, if possible on the basis of catechisms, and to impart certain universal moral concepts; in doing so, they often no longer attached particular importance to the transmission of Hebrew, but accepted the dominance of the German language, and the biblical material was no longer developed in the unity of written and oral Rabbinic tradition. This development, which was characteristic above all for Prussia / Germany, but which had also found expression in the time of the Austrian Enlightenment under Emperor Joseph II, was partially broken or mitigated in the course of the 19th century in religious education in Austria and especially in Vienna. With his admission to the Jewish elementary school, Freud received instruction in which the Hebrew language and the reading of the Bible in the “original language” had once again been given central importance, and he learned these materials and approaches against the background of a reading of the *Philippson Bible* begun together with his father and was still indirectly influenced by the latter’s Eastern Jewish Talmudic studies (cf. Chapter 1).¹²¹

The prehistory of this special position of Austrian religious education will now be recounted in more detail in a concluding section on Freud’s attendance at a Jewish elementary school, and, as announced, the question can be raised again as to whether there are any further clues as to which elementary school he might have attended and to what extent.

On the history of Jewish elementary schools in Vienna

In answering the question of how the outlined curriculum of Jewish religious instruction in the Viennese elementary schools, together with the modernized teaching materials, developed, the already mentioned works of Gerson Wolf (1861, pp. 108-150; 1867, 1876) are of particular relevance; they offer the best insight into the tense process of enforcing the state of religious elementary school education that Freud experienced. Wolf, too, demarcates the system of elementary schools from the mid-nineteenth century from two directions: on the one hand, his works contain quite a few polemical devaluations of the form of instruction, which he describes

¹²¹ It is worth noting at this point that in the complete catalogue of Freud’s library compiled by Davies & Fichtner (2006), there is a Hebrew edition of the *Babylonian Talmud (Talmud bavli)* from 1924-25, as well as the German edition of the *Babylonian Talmud* from 1929-30, edited by Lazarus Goldschmidt, which is the first translation into a modern language ever (both editions are listed in the catalogue / on the CD-Rom under the numbers 3405 and 142). The catalogue also contains several works on the history of Judaism (each with full bibliographical details): for example Abraham Geiger’s then already older account *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte* from 1865 (number 1490), but also Josef Kastein’s more recent survey work *Eine Geschichte der Juden* from 1933 (number 1983) as well as the *Jüdisches Lexikon. Ein enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens aus den Jahren 1927-30* (number 1942).

sweepingly and pejoratively with the word “cheder” (see above). There, he says, “all sorts of flourishes and artificial figures were made in the dust”, and “illusions and hallucinations” arose in this “unpleasantness” (Wolf, 1861, p. 110), which had to be overcome. But then, on the other hand, he criticizes no less harshly that in the “so-called Enlightenment” one extreme was merely exchanged for another: “The teaching of Hebrew was mostly excluded, and German religious books were introduced. An attempt was made to work out Jewish dogmatics in order to fortify the faith” (ibid.). Only with the gradual enforcement of a newer system of elementary schools in the 1850s, Wolf can be understood to have succeeded in striking a balance and making the Bible (again) the basis of religious instruction.

But before that, a few explanatory words on the enlightened Austrian educational policy under Joseph II, which Wolf addresses here and which forms the background of the developments in the nineteenth century (cf. on the following information Yanovsky, 2013, pp. 26-32). It expresses the whole ambivalence and “Dialectic of the Enlightenment” between liberation from traditional ties and the attainment of political rights on the one hand, and the tendency to eradicate entire strands of tradition on the other. On 2 January 1782, Joseph II issued a “Toleranzpatent für Juden in Wien und Niederösterreich (Patent of Tolerance for Jews in Vienna and Lower Austria)”, granting Protestants and Jews greater freedom to practise their religion and introducing measures to reform the education system. This included extending compulsory education to all Jewish children and breaking the dominance of the previous Jewish school system. So says the decree:

“Since We aim to make the Jewish Nation more useful and usable to the State mainly through better instruction and enlightenment of their youth and through application to the sciences, arts and crafts, We graciously permit and order the tolerated Jews in those places where they have no German schools of their own to send their children to the Christian normal and secondary schools in order to learn at least reading, writing and arithmetic in these.”¹²²

Now it was the case that Jewish boys in particular had very well learned to read before, and to read religious texts in the original Hebrew. In accordance with the goal of abolishing the Hebrew and Yiddish languages in public documents and in public-political exchanges, Jewish children were to be encouraged to learn and use primarily the German language. It was precisely in educational policy that Joseph II saw an essential means of fundamentally changing, if not dissolving, traditional Jewish life, which had been shaped by the Hebrew and Yiddish languages and the Talmud, in order to better integrate and “improve” Jews as useful members of society. Long before

¹²² Quoted here in English translation from the following source: https://www.jku.at/fileadmin/gruppen/142/Toleranzpatent_fuer_Juden_in_Wien_und_in_NOE.pdf.

Jewish religious communities were allowed to establish public synagogues, they were asked to help provide schooling for Jewish children for this very reason.

The Tolerance Patent of 1782 had the consequence that there were now two possibilities for the schooling of Jewish children: either the Jewish religious communities now founded their own “Normalschulen”¹²³ with their own Jewish teachers, which were under the control of the state educational institutions, or the Jewish children – especially in those places where there were no Jewish “Normalschulen” – were placed in the general “Christian” schools with the express permission and approval of the state. The founding of public Jewish “normal” or “elementary” schools was a point of contention for many decades and triggered intense debates both within the Jewish communities and among the responsible state authorities – in Vienna, the first such public Jewish primary schools was founded only in 1934 (!) (ibid., pp. 235-238). For the state authorities, who were primarily concerned with imparting general and secular content in a way that was as useful as possible for the monarchy, the question arose at the beginning, for example, whether the prerequisites for founding Jewish “Normalschulen” existed at all if suitable teaching materials or textbooks were not even available. For the Jewish communities, on the other hand, the question was a much more fundamental political one: Which option promotes acceptance, which rather anti-Semitism? But also: With which option can the independence of the Jewish religion be secured and preserved? These considerations were even far more relevant and decisive than the equally pending question of whether the community, which had to pay for the founding and maintenance of the schools itself, could afford to do so.

Let us now look more closely at how these developments were reflected in Vienna. The prehistory of the new Viennese system, as experienced by Freud with the described curriculum and new teaching materials in the 1860s, began in 1813. Since that time, according to Wolf (1861), a *religious school* with, among other things, a two-class (sic!) normal or elementary school had existed¹²⁴ in the Austrian capital and, as a private institution, was in a very poor condition, as were all elementary schools in Austria in general, which thus fell short of the objectives formulated by Joseph II’s reforms. Despite these imperfections, the Viennese religious school represented an acceptable compromise between the state authorities and the Jewish religious community (cf.

¹²³ “Normalschulen” were established in the 1770s as a four-grade school type for the larger provincial capitals of the Habsburg monarchy and differed from the smaller schools that had only one or three grades and were known as “Trivialschulen”. Later, the »Normalschulen« became standardized public elementary schools with a modern curriculum and a focus on a general education curriculum (Yanovsky, 2013, p. 19). Engelbrecht (1984, p. 99) has pointed out that the word “norm” was chosen to emphasize the goal of a standardized, uniform state education.

¹²⁴ Although the Jews of that time had been forbidden to own “real estate”, the Emperor had made an exception for the purchase of a school building, and the representatives of the religious community had then purchased the “Dempfingerhof” (formerly “Pempflingerhof”) at Katzensteig No. 598 (since 1827 Seitenstettengasse No. 4) for fl. 80,000 and fl. (abbreviation for florin, the name for the Austrian guilder) 10,000 key money and built the religious school there (Wolf, 1876, pp. 125-126).

Yanovsky, 2013, pp. 33-34): The latter was able to prevent the emergence of a “Normalschule”, with the danger of “separatism” on the part of Jewish pupils and the Jewish community (see below), and at the same time a Jewish educational institution was created that comprehensively provided for religious instruction. In addition, it was guaranteed that the teachers of the religious school (and also the private teachers) were trained according to state guidelines, as well as that the pupils were taught in the public elementary schools (or also here by the private teachers) with the accepted methods and in German.

Even before the establishment of the religious school, Wolf continues in his historical outline, the children were left to their parents alone to impart Jewish religious knowledge, and the grade in the School record was not filled in for this subject if there had been no religious instruction. In the grammar school classes, the pupils had to be examined by the headmaster every six months in the subject of religion on the basis of a textbook. There had been no compulsory school attendance for the religious school founded at that time, and instruction had “only been given on days and hours when attendance at Christian schools was not prevented” (Wolf, 1861, p. 116). Wolf complains that until 1849 a higher official of the police directorate and the school superintendent had to be present at the examinations at this school; only then were the examinations transferred to the responsibility of the school or the religious community. The objective of the teaching in this religious school was formulated with a clearly anti-Talmudic tendency.

“The purpose of the Israelitic religious school is that the religious instruction is *not given in the Talmudic-Rabbinic manner formerly common among the Israelites*, but that the religious instruction is given in accordance with the fatherly and wise intention of the highest state administration, according to the prescribed textbooks, with the use and allegiance of appropriate scriptural passages, and that the Israelitic youth is deeply imprinted with lectures appropriate to the high subject matter, acting on the mind as well as on the heart, in a manner consistent with their present upbringing and education” (cit. *ibid*, S. 120; emphasis W.H.).

The textbook that was consistently used in religious instruction and prescribed by the state was the 182-page *Bne-Zion. Ein religiös-moralisches Lehrbuch für die Jugend israelitischer Nation* by Naphtali Herz Homberg (*Bne-Zion. A Religious-Moral Textbook for the Youth of the Israelite Nation*) (see also Wolf, 1876, pp. 123-125 and the study by Sardowski, 2020). This book, which on the one hand was used as a “gesetzliches Lehrbuch (legal textbook)” (Homberg, 1812, p. X) and on the other hand was also used to examine marriage applicants by the respective district officials, was quickly considered inadequate and outdated due to its lack of scope as well as quality and thoroughness in the treatment of its contents. This book is a form of catechism that was

authoritative for instruction for a long time and later came under so much criticism (see above). In order to give at least an impression of this book, which is very general, provides little specific insight into the biblical material and nothing at all about Jewish history, the table of contents with its nine sections is reproduced here (ibid., pp. XII-XIV; own translation):

“First Section. Of man, his nature and destiny (pp. 1-17).

Section Two. Of the knowledge of God from created things, and what we can know of God by reason (pp. 18-42).

Third Section. Knowledge of God, His attributes, and His will by revelation or by the teachings of sacred Scripture (pp. 43-51).

Fourth Section. Of the Ten Commandments (pp. 52-93).

Fifth Section. Of the Duties which the Knowledge of God and His Will Imposes on Us (pp. 93-115).

Sixth Section. Of what man owes to observe against himself (pp. 115-140).

Seventh Section. Of the dependence of men on each other, and of the duties arising therefrom (pp. 141-155).

Section Eight. Of the closer relations and connections of man, and the duties arising therefrom (pp. 155-169).

Ninth Section. Of the duties of man as a citizen (pp. 169-182)”.

Already with this mere listing, the contrast to the chronologically later textbooks discussed above becomes striking, in which completely different emphases are set and which, despite the limitations described, made a real access to the Jewish tradition possible. It was not until 1856 that Homberg’s book was no longer prescribed as a religious textbook by ministerial decree, and other and better textbooks gradually emerged that could then be used for expanded and modernized instruction. Above all, as was increasingly criticized, there was a lack of sound Hebrew instruction (and the corresponding teaching materials), which would have enabled the pupils to read and understand the “Bible in the basic text” as well as the “Hebrew prayers”.

But now back to the religious school, which included pupils of¹²⁵ all school types and also other groups of trainees and had the following structure:

- The I. class corresponded to the first, until then three classes of the elementary school (subject of the lessons: six blessings from the Hebrew prayer book).

¹²⁵ Yanovsky (2013, pp. 32-33) provides the following data on the number and composition of the pupil body: in 1822 there were 225 school-age children (of whom 130 were boys and 95 girls) and in 1826, of 135 pupils, 27 were girls and 108 boys.

- The II. Class II consisted of students from the 1st and 2nd grades of the Gymnasium and the *Realschule* (subject matter: 2nd and 3rd chapters of *Genesis*, religious education, content or names of the 24 books and the 13 articles of faith).
- Class III comprised the pupils of the 3rd and 4th grammar school classes and those of the secondary schools (subject of the lessons: *Deuteronomy* (2, 23 – 4, 21, doctrine of the divine attributes).
- The IV. The so-called *Präparanden* and the pupils of the 5th and 6th grammar school classes (subject of the lessons: “the most important teachings of the Revelation and the miracles, of the Mosaic Law, of the worship of God, of worship in specie, of immortality, of the Messiah and the Resurrection” (ibid., p. 122)).
- The V. class was attended by the craftsmen (subject of the lessons: repetition lesson in the German subjects, one hour of religious instruction with the 10 commandments and 13 articles of faith).
- The VI. Finally, class VI was available for the girls, who were prepared for the examination and received private lessons (subject of the lessons: Introduction to Religious Education, of God’s attributes, the 10 Commandments – sections II. and IV. from the textbook *Bne-Zion*).¹²⁶

This division of classes remained in place until 1849, when a new division became necessary, mainly because the first class – that is, the class that comprised the three elementary school classes – became disproportionately large due to the increasing number of pupils in the context of increased immigration. The teachers working in the religious school also pleaded for an expansion of the program (this concerned primarily the biblical material) and deplored the private instruction that was left to teachers who had neither the necessary pedagogical skills nor sufficient theological knowledge. It was important for the further improvement of the structure and content of the lessons that in 1835 Leopold Breuer (1791-1872), the father of Josef Breuer, took up teaching in the religious school and in the course of this activity wrote several textbooks (see below).¹²⁷ In his “employment decree” the Israelite religious community demanded from him the formulation of a detailed curriculum and saw the learning of Hebrew as the “main thing” so that the pupils could “translate” the Pentateuch:

“It seems desirable that a detailed curriculum be presented on this subject; in the meantime, we provisionally determine in this regard: for the students of the first three German classes,

¹²⁶ Wolf gives the following statistical information on the extent of school attendance: “In 1822 there were 225 school-age Israelite children in Vienna, including 130 boys and 95 girls” (Wolf, 1876, p. 138).

¹²⁷ From the scattered references in Wolf’s books one can gather that there were the following teachers at the religious school until 1876: In the early phase Salomon Herz and Joseph Veit, until 1829 Isaak Noah Mannheimer (who married Amalia and Jacob Freud – see 1st chapter), then Joseph Levin Saalschütz (1801-1863), from 1848 to 1857 Leopold Breuer, since 1857 Samuel Hammerschlag and since 1852 Gerson Wolf.

the understanding of the Holy Scriptures in the original language is considered the main matter. Within this time frame, the pupil is to be brought to be able to translate the Pentateuch [...] completely. The same applies to the most important and worthiest prayers” (quoted in Wolf, 1861, p. 120; emphasis W.H.).

But after this brief sketch of the structure of the religious school and its development, let us return to the description of the interrupted (pre-)history of the elementary school: In October 1821 and in May 1822, due to the inadequate conditions, the government had given the first “concession for an elementary school” and had inquired whether the Viennese Israelite religious community wanted to found a public “German trivial and secondary school” in addition to the religious school (ibid., p. 111). Now came the first of several rejections of such a move by the state authorities. The board of the Vienna Israelite Religious Community rejected the request on the grounds that they only wanted to establish an (extended) religious school which would cover the teaching of religion and morals as well as some knowledge of the Hebrew language and the Bible. The Jewish pupils could also be accommodated in the Christian schools and those who would be taught privately could take their half-year and full-year examinations at a special secondary school (St. Anna). Thus, if possible, one wanted to prevent all instruction (and not only religious instruction) from taking place at a Jewish elementary school. Put a little differently still: One wanted the Jewish children to receive instruction in the general education subjects together with the Christian children and only the religious instruction to take place at the one Jewish religious school.

For the first time, a clear reservation against a public or general state Jewish elementary school manifested itself here (see above), which had such a lasting effect that it took more than 20 years for a new proposal to emerge from the ranks of the board of the Israelite religious community itself in 1844. A memorandum was prepared in which several reasons were given for this step: First, the previous elementary schools were bad. Secondly, the Christian principle prevailed in the Christian schools, and it was the duty of the Israelites to strengthen the Jewish element. Finally, thirdly, it was pointed out that the political pressure had been so great and that this could only be alleviated by “giving the Jews a greater preponderance in scientific matters” (ibid., p. 112). But this plan was also dropped, since it was feared that the establishment of special elementary schools would promote “separatism”. There was obviously a great concern that old prejudices could be reinforced by schools separated according to religious affiliation, and this concern seems to have been greater all along than the criticism of the only poorly developed religious instruction in the religious school. This position was then also temporarily adopted by the Court Chancellery, which on August 6, 1829, determined: “that the Jewish youth receive instruction in the Christian school and that its

tendency is obviously directed towards bringing the Jews into public-spirited agreement with the rest of civil society [...]” (quoted in Wolf, 1876, p. 127).

Wolf then reports that in 1854 the Ministry of Education decided by decree to expand the program for elementary school instruction, and that from that time on it consisted of four classes rather than just three (Wolf, 1861, p. 136). During these years, Gerson Wolf, who had been entrusted with teaching duties since 1852, presented a considerably expanded program that included Hebrew as an “obligatory subject” (ibid., p. 135) of instruction, and the curriculum presented developed. Also in 1854 (May 2), and again on December 19, 1855, the City of Vienna requested the Jewish Community to establish a model school. However, the Jewish Community of Vienna again reacted to this with reluctance and rejection. They still feared “separatism” and hoped that existing anti-Semitic prejudices could best be eliminated by Christian and Jewish children living together or learning together. It was also believed that the wealthier Jews would still prefer to hire private teachers (“Hofmeister”, “Hauslehrer”) to educate their children and that the Jewish population, which was scattered and living in poverty, could not be reached with such an offer. However, all these reservations were not accepted by the City of Vienna, and the Jewish Community was asked to establish two Jewish elementary schools, one in the city itself and one in the Leopoldstadt, which at that time was still a suburb and where a particularly large number of immigrant Jews lived (including the Freud family). But the board of the Jewish Community continued to see the social position of the Jews threatened by the establishment of Jewish elementary schools. Wolf reports that even those who had been on the board in favour of the establishment of the elementary school had become suspicious and had harboured the suspicion “that one wanted to confine the Jews to a school ghetto” (Wolf, 1876, p. 176). This suspicion was further fuelled by the fact that Emperor Franz Joseph had signed the first Concordat with the Roman Pope in 1855, which granted the Catholic Church full supervision over both primary and secondary education. The Jewish board prevailed in this situation, and once again no Jewish elementary school was founded.

In the face of this perplexing situation, the government began to “take a peculiar path” (Wolf, 1867, p. 31): on a “most liberal basis” it had given more and more “pedagogues who had asked for it the concession to establish Israelite teaching and educational institutes” (ibid.). In 1867, i.e. more than 10 years later, Wolf states: “[...] there are three Israelite schools here which have the right to issue certificates valid for the state: Dr. J. A. Pick and S. Szántó for elementary and lower secondary school, J. Löw and Talmud-Thora for elementary school and numerous Israelite private institutions” (ibid., p. 32). In 1876, in his *Geschichte der Juden in Wien (1156-1876)*, he adds: “For the time being, he [the board of the Jewish Community Vienna – W.H.] grants an annual subsidy of fl. 1000 to the aforementioned Talmud-Thora school” (Wolf, 1876, p. 179).

We can conclude from the available evidence and assuming that Freud attended a primary school for the entire four years and was enrolled at the age of 5 ½ (for the justification of the assumption of this point in time see below), conclude that there was with some certainty only one of the three state-licensed, “public” elementary schools which, although not directly run by the Kultusgemeinde, were subsidised by it, namely the Orthodox Talmud Torah School, which placed more emphasis on Talmud study (see Rainey, 1975, p. 54), was founded in 1851 by Yitzschak Löb Freistadt (Yanovsky, 2013, p. 36), may have originated from the synagogue of the “Beth Hamidrasch Talmud Torah” (“House of Learning Talmud and Torah”) association, which was founded in 1850, was located at Malgasse 16 in the Leopoldstadt (cf. on this Martens, 2016, p. 6), and was financially subsidised by the community (see above). It is not impossible, but also not very likely, that Jacob and Amalia Freud sent their son Sigismund to this school: On the one hand, Freud’s statement that he had been to a *private* elementary school speaks against this, and also that Jacob Freud had *outwardly* broken away from Orthodox Judaism (his nevertheless continuing *inner* connection with traditional, rabbinic and Hasidic Judaism, however, does not completely exclude this possibility). The “Erste öffentliche israelitische Haupt- und Unterreal- (Volks- und Bürger-) Schule“ in the Leopoldstadt, Vienna, already mentioned at the beginning of the chapter (cf. on this information the first two annual reports of this school by Pick & Szántó, 1863 and 1864), was opened only for the school year 1862-63.¹²⁸ In addition, there was the school run by “J. Löw”, which is also out of the question due to its ascertainable characteristics: we know about this school that it was opened as a private “Hauptschule” (secondary school) in 1861; German was the language of instruction in this school, but it had a focus on the “French language” (I take this information from the *Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet der Statistik*, 17. Jg., III. Heft, 1870, p. 38).¹²⁹ In addition to these schools, there were the elementary school classes in the old-established religious school of the Kultusgemeinde and apparently “numerous Israelite private institutions”. Based on her research, Yanovsky (2013, p. 38) states that in 1869 there were seven state-approved private elementary schools that were allowed to issue officially recognized certificates of religious instruction. However, there were other private elementary schools without state recognition and also schools for young Jewish women (the only state-recognized of these schools was run by Caroline Szántó, Simon Szántó’s sister-in-law). The unrecognized private elementary schools were often criticized for their Orthodox orientation and their disregard for secular curricula and modern pedagogical methods, and were frowned upon as “Winkelschulen”. According to Wolf (1867, pp. 33-34), one of these schools was even closed by order of the Viennese magistrate.

¹²⁸ Pick and Szántó’s school was probably the largest Jewish school in Vienna, employing 22 teachers in 1869 (Yanovsky, 2013, p. 38).

¹²⁹ I owe the reference to this source to Christfried Tögel (mail from 7.12.2020).

Apart from this, there is another indication in an essay by Renée Gicklhorn (1965, p. 18; own translation), which reports the following:

“Sigmund Freud, born in Freiberg (Příbor) in Moravia in 1856, came to Vienna in 1860¹³⁰ and attended elementary school here. The otherwise very informative family chronicle, however, does not report which. At that time there were only 2 Jewish private elementary schools in the 2nd district of Vienna, one in the parish of St. Johann (Praterstraße) and the second of St. Leopold (Große Pfarrstraße). They were maintained – at that time there were only denominational schools – by the Israelite Cultusgemeinde. Freud’s parents lived in Pfeffergasse, thus in the district of the parish of St. Leopold.”

This information has not yet been verified, so that for the time being we cannot provide any information about the “private elementary school” that Freud attended. However, we have succeeded in finding the first archival evidence of Freud’s religious instruction, presumably at a “private elementary school”. To this end, it is necessary to state the following: The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) took over holdings of the Vienna Jewish Community in the 1950s, which include the following catalogue: “Unterricht – Religionsunterricht, Kataloge (Zensurbücher), Hauptkatalog (enthaltend die Zensuren der in den Schuljahren 1861/62 – 1867/68 am öffentlichen Religionsunterricht teilnehmenden und der privat unterrichtete Volksschüler)” (message of 10 June 2020 from Mrs. Susanne Usulu-Pauer from the *Archiv der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien*). There, in an unspecified book, the following entry is found (The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP), A-W-1616 – see fig. 15 in the appendix):¹³¹ On this sheet, which documents the “private” religious instruction from the school year 1864/65, Freud’s name (presumably “Freud Sigis” or also “Freud Sigm”) is clearly visible in the fifth line. The name of the parents or father might have been correctly given as “Jak” (Jacob), but under the heading “Geburtsort und Vaterland (Place of birth and fatherland)” it says “Jassi”, a town in Romania, and not Freiberg or Příbor. Christfried Tögel has informed me in an email of 7 December 2020 about the city of Jassy and its importance for the Freud family:

“Freud’s uncle Josef lived in Jassy and came to Vienna in 1861. His daughter Deborah was born in Jassy in 1846, and he had at least one other son about whom virtually nothing is

¹³⁰ In fact, the Freud family moved to Vienna as early as October 1859.

¹³¹ I would like to thank Dr. Yochai Ben-Ghedalia and Dr. Miriam Caloianu of the CAHJP for sending me the photographic print reproduced below on June 11, 2020. As I myself was unable to travel to Israel / Jerusalem due to the Corona pandemic, Chaya Herr did the further research for me. She looked meticulously through the relevant files, but unfortunately found no further references or evidence of Freud’s attendance at a private primary schools. My sincere thanks go to Chaya Herr for this work.

known. In some sources his first name is given as ‘Son’. This boy would at least theoretically be a candidate for entry into the ‘Religions-Classe’.”

“Son”, however, fits neither the entry “Sigis” or “Sigm” nor “Jak” as indication of the father; it is therefore more probable to assume Sigmund Freud. That there was confusion between Jassi and Freiberg (Příbor) due to kinship relations is at least conceivable.

There are two more details to be found in the document: For the teaching year 1864/65, which was Freud’s last of his pre-school years, the grade very good (“sg” – sehr gut) is given, and at the top of the sheet the word “Privat” can be found. This last indication can be interpreted as a listing of students from a class in a private elementary school. Presumably, this documentation was necessary for proof of instruction and as a prerequisite for attending the Gymnasium and was usually issued by the religious school or in the course of a public examination (cf. Yanovsky, 2013, p. 33; see below).

One possibility that can be deduced from this document and which has already been mentioned is that Freud did not attend all four years of primary schools, but possibly only the last one, the 4th grade from the autumn of 1864 onwards, in order to be able to acquire the certificate required to attend the Gymnasium. Christfried Tögel (mail of February 28, 2021) favours this variant and additionally assumes that Freud could have been a pupil of the elementary school for boys at Obere Augartenstr. 68 in this class. The Jewish Community of Vienna provided the teachers for religious instruction at this school and assumed the costs if they were not borne by the public purse (cf. Heimann-Jelinek et al., 2007, p. 54). According to Tögel, the main argument in favour of this school was that the Freud family had moved from Weißgärberstraße to Pillersdorfsgasse in the spring of 1864, and from there it was only 500 metres to the school. Tögel goes on to say that three of the classmates mentioned on the report card for the religious class had a considerable age difference: Richard Fechner had been born in 1852, Gustav Fischer in 1854, and Alfred Fischhof in 1855. If one were to add Freud, there would be a four-year age difference. From this one could conclude that pupils of any age had been admitted to this school in a corresponding class; the main thing had been that they had taken the examination at the end of the 4th grade. This variant, however, would presuppose that Amalia and / or Jacob Freud took over the teaching of all subjects in the first three grades and waived the possibility of schooling, which does not seem very likely to me. If one assumes that Freud did not attend all the classes of an elementary school, then it would finally also be conceivable that he did not attend one but two or three classes (and then the school of Pick and Szántó would also move back into the realm of possibility).

The preliminary conclusion from all these considerations is that, although we still do not know for sure which school Freud actually went to and for how long, we find confirmed by the document our assumption that he was at a *private* elementary school and did not go to any of the three “public” schools or to the classes of the religious school of the Israelite religious community (which he would then have had to attend a public “Christian” elementary school). We can also say that in each of the above cases Freud was taught the state of a modernized curriculum via newly developed textbooks, which enabled him to acquire basic knowledge of the Hebrew language, the *Jewish Bible*, the central Jewish prayers, as well as Jewish history. To be more precise, it can be said that in religious education he learned to *read* Hebrew, but presumably not to write it. The pedagogical teaching was no longer oriented towards the stubborn acquisition of catechetical knowledge, but was primarily concerned with an intellectually and emotionally appealing approach to the biblical-Jewish tradition and the consolidation of a Jewish identity conveyed through it. Such a form of scholastic learning could be directly connected with the instruction he experienced with his mother and especially with his father, when he began with the latter to read in the *Philippson Bible*. Excluded from his religious education, however, was Talmud instruction of the kind Freud’s father still experienced in the context of Eastern European Galician Judaism; but we have been able to show that Jacob Freud gave him the basic textual and world access of the Talmud in a joint study of the Bible (cf. Hegener, 2017).

II Freud’s grammar school years

The Leopoldstädter Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium

While we are not yet able to state which elementary school Freud attended, the research situation concerning his Gymnasium years is much better. In this case, let us begin with the end: we know from several letters and the minutes of this examination that Freud passed his Matura examination at the Leopoldstadt Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium “mit Auszeichnung (with distinction)” in the summer of 1873. On June 16, 1873, he writes to his friend Emil Fluß about his having passed the written examination:

“If I were not afraid to write out the most unworthy joke-word of our joking century, I might cheaply say: ‘The Matura is dead, long live the Matura’. But the joke pleases me so little that I would rather the second Matura [the oral part of the examination – W. H.] were also already over” (Freud, 1969a, p. 118; own translation).

On July 10, 1873, he continues his report to his friend Eduard Silberstein after having also passed the oral examination: “I take the liberty of informing you herewith that, with God’s help, I passed my examination yesterday, July 9, 1873, and that I was awarded a matriculation certificate with distinction” (Freud, 1989a, p. 19). An excerpt from the minutes of the Maturitäts-Prüfung, which confirms this information, can be found in the (unnumbered) pictorial part of the German volume with youth letters to Eduard Silberstein (ibid.); in this document, it should be briefly added at this point, the grade “excellent” is given for the examination in *Religionslehre*. The minutes also contain information about the number of school classes as well as the total time spent at school: “all 8 classes” and “1865 – 1873” (ibid.).

With these unambiguous details, on the one hand, a misdating can be corrected: There are not a few authors (such as R. Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 18 or Sterba, 1974, p. 169) who erroneously assumed that Freud did not start school in 1865, but only in 1866. On the other hand, from there, in retrospect, and assuming that he attended all four grades there, it is possible to calculate when Freud entered the Volksschule: if we assume the year 1865 for enrolment in the Gymnasium – Freud was 9 ½ years old in the fall of that year – and also take into account the statement by Gerson Wolf (1861, p. 136) that the elementary school had been expanded to four grades since 1854 (the curriculum was also designed for this span), then Freud was admitted to one of the “Privatvolksschule” at presumably already 5 ½ years of age in the school year 1861-62.

Concerning the history and structure of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium, it can be briefly summarized (cf. for the following information Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 18; Knoepfelmacher, 1979b, p. 286; Bauer, 1989, pp. 7-14)¹³² that it was initially located on the second and third floors of the Braun-Radislowitz Foundation House at Taborstrasse 24, close to the streets where the Freud family lived between 1865 and 1873 (Pillersdorfgasse 5, Pfeffergasse 1, Glockengasse 30 and Pfeffergasse 5). It was not until 1877, i.e. after Freud’s school days, that the grammar school moved into the new building planned seven years earlier at Sperlgasse 2 (in the jargon of the pupils it was therefore also called “Sperlaeum”) and was nationalised in 1897 (this information can be found in R. Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 18). The initial conditions in Taborstraße were very cramped: lessons were given in two classes with 65 and 45 pupils, and there was only one drawing room. In 1868 a senior class was introduced for the first time and the school was renamed “Leopoldstädter Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium”. In 1865 the newly founded school was one of only four grammar schools in Vienna – and this with a total population of about 550,000 (today the density of grammar schools in

¹³² Important information on the history of the school can also be found on the website of the Sigmund Freud Gymnasium Vienna: <https://www.freudgymnasium.at/index.php/schulorganisation/geschichte#close> (last accessed: 11 June 2020). There you will find, among other things, a short, information-rich text on the history of the Gymnasium, written by Walter Jahn, the current director of the Sigmund Freud Gymnasium.

Vienna is about five times as high). While two of them were church-organized, the Leopoldstadter Gymnasium belonged to the two secular schools (cf. Armstrong, 2010, pp. 38-39).

Instruction in the Gymnasien in Austria had been given over the period of eight school years only for some time: On September 16, 1849, the Ministry of Education, which had been newly created the previous year, extended the school period by two school years by means of the “Entwurf der Organisation der Gymnasien und Realschulen in Oesterreich (Draft of the Organization of the Grammar Schools and Secondary Schools in Austria)”. In a departure from the previous model of Jesuit schools, the foundations for the modern Gymnasium system were laid with the now eight-class Gymnasium, which was divided into a lower and an upper school (cf. Engelbrecht, 1986, p. 147). This was accompanied by a reorganization of the educational processes: the so-called “philosophical propaedeutic”, the two philosophical years that until then had to be attended at the universities and were obligatory for subsequent studies there, were now integrated into the upper school of the Gymnasium. On the one hand, this had the effect of upgrading the degree (Matura) and, in general, the school form of the Gymnasium; on the other hand, the subject-teacher system already common in the philosophical courses now also became customary for the entire teaching. All this led, as one can easily imagine, to a considerable increase in the quality of teaching.

Freud thus not only experienced a reformed elementary school education, especially in the subject of religion, but also came into contact with a modernized grammar school system and entered a newly founded school that had an additional special feature as a *Realgymnasium*: this type of school allowed students to choose between a humanistic and a scientific-technical focus after the fourth grade (lower school) by creating two parallel tracks. “This also relieved parents of the worry about the final career choice of their children, who were only 10 years old” (R. Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 19; own translation). It was obviously also this innovative character of the school that attracted some “extraordinary” (ibid.) teachers: these included, for example, the well-known botanist Alois Pokorny (1826-1886), the historian Emanuel Franz Adam Hannak (1841-1899), the geographer and politician Viktor Ritter von Kraus (1845-1905) and, last but not least, the already frequently mentioned Samuel Hammerschlag (see below).

The admission requirements that were relevant for Freud should also be briefly mentioned here: In the annual report of the Gymnasium for the school year 1866/67, it is demanded that “pupils must provide a certificate of the fourth grade passed with good success and the birth or baptismal certificate of the completed 9th year of life”.¹³³ Both regulations again make it probable that Freud had previously attended an elementary school: presumably Freud needed special permission, since

¹³³ I take this quote from the annual report of Leopoldstadt High School printed in the Sigmund Freud Papers of the Library of Congress: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/mss39990.04919/?sp=4&r=0.018,0.218,0.799,0.402,0> (own translation).

in 1865 he had not reached the age of 10 that was actually required for his enrolment (cf. on this also Knoepfmacher, 1979b, p. 287), and perhaps in Freud's case such an exception was only possible because he could provide evidence of particularly good grades and evaluations. One could therefore also say, conversely, that without a successful visit to an elementary school, such an early enrolment would probably not have been possible. Such attendance had to be certified in the form of the fourth grade report card, which in this context is a second piece of evidence that Freud must have been to such a school before – and perhaps the excerpt printed above about graded attendance at religious instruction in the school year 1864/65 (fig. 15 in the appendix) served as part of the required report card.

It has been pointed out again and again that Freud acquired a solid humanistic education in his grammar school years and showed a special talent in the linguistic subjects, that is, in German and classical philology. He was very soon able to read Latin and Greek authors in the original, and he voluntarily read quite a bit more than was provided for in the curriculum. In accordance with the program of a classical humanistic education, the lessons included the ancient languages Greek and Latin and the reading of the most important authors of antiquity in the original. Eight hours per week were allotted for Latin instruction over the entire eight school years, and six hours per week for Greek instruction over six years (cf. Sterba, 1974, p. 168). Sterba, in his essay “The Humanistic Wellspring of Psychoanalysis”, documented the program of instruction in the classical languages between 1868 and 1873 in which Freud participated (ibid., pp. 169-170). According to this, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Tacitus were read and studied extensively in Latin lessons, and Xenophon, Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles and Plato in Greek lessons. For male Jewish pupils in particular, the acquisition of a classical education thus imparted was a privileged opportunity for assimilation and promised access to certain academic professions, such as medicine (cf. Armstrong, 2010).

Freud's religious education in grammar school

Freud's Jewish religious instruction, which he received from his teacher Samuel Hammerschlag, is far less well known and respected. However, it must be specified that these lessons did not take place at the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium for the entire years, because in the first five years of Freud's time at the Gymnasium there were no Jewish religious lessons at all at this school. In the *Siebte[n] Jahresbericht des Leopoldstädter Cummunal-Real- und Obergymnasium in Wien* (Pokorny, 1871, p. 81), for the school year 1870/71, there is for the first time mention of “Israelite religious instruction” throughout all eight school years at Samuel Hammerschlag, and in the

Zehnte[n] Jahresbericht des Leopoldstädter Cummunal-Real- und Obergymnasium in Wien (Pokorny, 1874, p. 35) it is noted that Hammerschlag was admitted to the college in 1871 – which presumably refers to the school year 1870/71.¹³⁴

In the time before Hammerschlag's entry into the Leopoldstadt Gymnasium, Freud, like his Jewish classmates, will very likely have attended religious instruction at the Religious School of the Viennese Religious Community and there obtained the necessary certificates of successful participation in this instruction (cf. also Rainey, 1975, p. 41).¹³⁵ There was no other possibility for the pupils; private schools or private tuition for Jewish grammar school instruction are not known. Hammerschlag had been a teacher in the religious school since 1857 (Wolf, 1876, p. 183) and taught in the school year 1868-69, i.e. in the year before his change of employment at the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium, as the notices in the *Bericht der Religionsschule der israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien über die Schuljahre 1868 und 1869* indicate (1869, p. 46), there the pupils of the gymnasia from the first to the sixth grade – the curriculum in the religious school was thus not designed for eight, but for six grades (see below).¹³⁶ Now this means that Freud had religious education not only in the period 1870-73, but throughout the entire grammar school period, and also that Hammerschlag was his religious education teacher throughout this period. So it is neither true that Hammerschlag was “Freud's teacher from the 1st to the 8th grade” (R. Gicklhorn, 1965, p. 19; own translation) in the Gymnasium, nor that he taught Freud only from 1870-73, which is what Fichtner, for example, assumes in his two essays of 2007 (p. 168) and 2008 (p. 63) on Hammerschlag and Freud.

The curriculum of the religious education of the eight grammar school classes is also available in several variants:

- In the annual reports of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium (Pokorny, 1871, p. 74; Prokorny, 1872, p.66; Prokorny, 1873, p. LV) the briefest and coarsest overview can be found.
- Samuel Hammerschlag, this is the second reference, also listed in the appendix of his essay “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien” of 1869 the curriculum for the six (see above) classes in the Unerrealschule, the Gymnasium and the Realgymnasium on pages VI-XI.

¹³⁴ Fichtner (2008, p. 63) assumes that Hammerschlag arrived at the Leopoldstadt Gymnasium in October 1870.

¹³⁵ Since the “Gymnasial-Codex” of 1829, as Hammerschlag (1873, p. 63; see above) reminds us, participation in religious instruction was obligatory in the Gymnasium.

¹³⁶ In the *Bericht* (p. 46; own translation) it is stated that at that time there were four teachers at the religious school (Jelinek, Wolf, Güdemann and Hammerschlag), and “in the 6 grammar school classes and the 6 (in the 2nd semester 1868/69 only in 3) secondary school classes, furthermore for the teacher candidates and candidates S. Hammerschlag taught”.

- Finally, Wolf's book *Geschichte der Israelitischen Cultusgemeinde in Wien (1820-1860)* (Wolf, 1861, pp. 147-150) contains an overview of the full program of all eight classes.

Here again, for the sake of uniformity, we shall begin with Wolf's version; then the curriculum according to Hammerschlag shall be reproduced, since the information there gives rise to further points of view; and in addition, the contents of the last two school years (7th and 8th grade) from the annual reports of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium shall be mentioned, since they are either missing in the other two lists or are only very briefly presented.

Let us begin with the transcription of the curriculum according to Wolf (1861, pp. 147-150) – even now the Hebrew details are reproduced throughout the English translation of Gadi Goldberg's translation into German (italics):

“1st High School and 1st Lower Secondary School Class.

First semester.

Deut. 5: Cap. 1, 3 (v. 23 to end), 4-15 incl.

Prayers: Psalms 92, 93, *Evening prayer for the Sabbath.*

Second semester.

5. B. M. Cap. 16-20, 21 (to verse 9), 23 (from v. 20 to end), 24,

Prayers: From *The Soul of All Living Things* to *Be Blessed.*

The basic teachings of the Mosaic religion, the attributes of God and the doctrine of providence and duties towards God, are to be linked to the relevant passages in the 5th B. M., as far as this offers the opportunity, and are to be made comprehensible to the pupils.

2nd high school class and 2nd lower secondary school class.

First semester.

Joshua: Cap. 1, 2, 7, 9, 22, 23, 24.

Judges, Cap. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Prayers: *Be blessed to Morning Prayer for the Sabbath* incl.

Second semester.

Samuel I., cap. 1, 2 (to v. 11), 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 20.

Samuel II, cap. 1, 6, 7, 12.

Prayers at the lifting in and out of the Torah.

The omitted chapters are to be read aloud to the students as far as their content allows, and care is to be taken that they gain a perfect knowledge of the historical material contained in the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel 1 and 2.

3rd high school class and 3rd lower secondary school class.

First semester.

Kings I., cap. 3, 8 (to v. 10), 12, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Kings II, cap. 2.

Prayers: *Muṣaf Prayer* [additional prayer] *for the Sabbath and for Rosh Chodesh* [the first of the month].

Second semester.

Kings II, 4, 5, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

Prayers: *Afternoon prayer for the Sabbath*.

Here, too, in a similar way, the teaching of history is to be connected with the teaching of the Bible, and the pupil is to be made acquainted with the history of the period treated of in the books of Kings.

4th high school class and 4th high school class.

First semester.

Proverbs Sal.: Cap. First 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

Prayers: *Prayer for the three pilgrimage feasts*.

Repetition of the Pentateuch: 1. B. Moses to *This is the Lineage*.

Second semester.

Proverbs Sal.: 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 31, (v. v. 10).

Prayers: *Muṣaf Prayer* [additional prayer] *for the three pilgrimage feasts*.

Repetition of the Pentateuch: 1. B. M. of *This is the Lineage* until the end of the B.

The Proverbs of Solomon, in so far as they offer opportunity, are to be taken as a basis for the duties to one's neighbour and to oneself, as well as for the special duties, and are to be made comprehensible to the pupils.

5th high school class and 5th high school class.

First semester.

Repetition Psalms: Cap. L, 2, 8, 19, 23, 33, 84, 90, 92, 93, 135, 136.

Repetition of the Pentateuch: 2nd B. M. to *legislation*.

Prayers: *Prayer for Rosh ha-Shanah* [the New Year].

History of the Jews from the Babylonian Exile to Simon the Maccabean.

Second semester.

Psalms: cap. 113-119, 137, 146, 147, 148, 149.

Repetition of the Pentateuch: From *Legislation* to *Territories!* incl.

Prayers: *Muḥaf Prayer* [additional prayer] for *Rosh ha-Shanah* [the New Year].

History: From Simon the Macc. to the death of Herod.

6th high school and 3rd high school class.

First semester.

Psalms: 104, 105, 106, 107, 120 to 134, 139.

Review of the Pentateuch: From *On the Eighth Day* to *When You Sit Up*.

Prayers: *Muḥaf Prayer* [additional prayer] for *Yom Kippur* [the Day of Atonement].

History: From the death of Herod to the conclusion of the Talmud.

Second semester.

Isaiah: Cap. 1, 2, 6, 11, 12, 40.

Jeremiah: Cap, 9, 31.

Repetition of the Pentateuch: 4th B. M. to end.

Prayers: *Ne'ilah prayer* [closing prayer for the Day of Atonement].

History from the conclusion of the Talmud to Moses Mendelssohn.

7th and 8th grade high school classes.

Individual chapters from the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are explained and expounded from the higher scientific standpoint.

The preparands

receive instruction in the Bible in the original text and in religious doctrine in the first year; in the second year these subjects are taught further and the methodology of the same. The preparands receive instruction in biblical history and in the teaching of religion and morals.”

The grammar school curriculum of the six-class religious school of the religious community in Hammerschlag's version (1869, pp. VI-XI) is reproduced in the appendix as a photographic print, which Dr. Domagoj Akrap of the Jewish Museum Vienna kindly made available to me (see fig. 16 in the appendix).

Finally, for the 7th and 8th grades we find the following information in the *Achte[n] Jahresbericht des Leopoldstädter Cummunal-Real- und Obergymnasiums in Wien* (Pokorny, 1974, pp. 66 and 67):

“VII class. [...] Religion, israel. Selected pieces from the Pentateuch and the Prophets. History of the Jews: from the conclusion of the Talmud to (inc.) Maimonides. After Cassel, Guide for teaching Jewish history. S. Hammerschlag. [...]

VIII Class. Selected pieces from the book of *Job*. History of the Jews: from Maimonides to the end of the 17th century. According to Cassel's Guide. S. Hammerschlag.”

If we take a closer look at the curriculum, we can see that even before “religious education” and history lessons, the emphasis was clearly on the reading of the Bible. While the reading in the elementary school was still limited to the *Pentateuch* (and thereby to the first four Books of Moses) (see above), this also now has priority and is often repeated, but at the same time a broadening takes place: Writings from the other two parts of the *Jewish Bible* (*Nevi'im* and *Ketuvim*) are now also read. These include excerpts from the historical books (*Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and the *Books of Kings*), from the “poetic books” or the *Sifrei Emet* (*The Proverbs of Solomon*, *Psalter* and *Job*) and finally also from some, namely the great scriptural prophets (*Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*). The pupils have thus obtained an in-depth insight into the *Jewish Bible* in one part, and an equally representative one in another. Even now, however, it must be noted that the study of the oral, i.e. Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition of Judaism took place only to a limited extent (*Mishnah* and Talmud appear only briefly in the history lessons of the 5th and 6th grade in Hammerschlag's curriculum and in the 7th grade in the report of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium).¹³⁷

Now the question has to be raised in which version the biblical books were read. We do not know which Hebrew-language Bible was used in class, but in the *Achte[n] Jahresbericht des Leopoldstädter Cummunal-Real- und Obergymnasium* (Pokorny, 1872, pp. 61-63; cf. also Rainey, p. 45) a German-language Bible edition for Jewish religious instruction is mentioned in the list of teaching materials for the individual subjects. It is (reproduced here with the full title) the *Kleine Schul- und Haus-Bibel. Geschichten und erbauliche Lehrstücke aus den heiligen Schriften der Israeliten. Nebst einer Auswahl aus den Apokryphen und der Spruchweisheit der nachbiblischen Zeit* (*Small School and Home Bible. Stories and edifying teachings from the sacred writings of the*

¹³⁷ We will discuss the two textbooks that appear in the versions of the curriculum (Breuer and Cassel) below.

Israelites. Together with a Selection from the Apocrypha and the Proverbs of Post-Biblical Times), which was written by Jacob Auerbach and published in two volumes or two “divisions” by Brockhaus Verlag in Leipzig (cf. also Bechtold, 2005, pp. 297-318, Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 274-275 and https://www.bibelpedia.com/index.php?title=Auerbach,_Jakob). The first “division”, published in 1858, is devoted to “Biblische[n] Geschichte [Biblical History]”, the second “division”, published in 1854, contains “Lesestücke aus den Propheten und Hagiographen (Readings from the Prophets and Hagiographers)”. On about 700 pages in total, the two volumes mainly contain pieces from the *Jewish Bible*, but also some writings that, according to Jewish understanding, do not belong to the biblical canon or are apocryphal (excerpts from the Book of *Tobias* and the two *Books of Maccabees* in the *Septuagint*), a collection of teachings and sayings from post-biblical times, and a map of Palestine. For both parts the subtitle reads: “Edited according to the basic text (Nach dem Grundtext bearbeitet)”.

Brief quotations from the preface of the first volume are given here in order to make clear, at least in outline, the intentions of the author and translator:

“In editing the present ‘Biblical History’ I have set myself the task of providing a comprehensible textbook and reader for the more mature youth, which can also maintain its value for adults.

If one agrees that it would not be appropriate to use a complete translation of the Bible as a textbook, even apart from well-known pedagogical reasons, then we need a treatment which, far from introducing the views of the author into the sacred documents or tearing apart their inner organism, points to them in terms of content and external arrangement and introduces them with the author’s own words.

The selection has been made in such a way that the book contains much more than needs to be read in school or could even be sufficiently processed, but only such pieces that the pupil can also read on his own and which are suitable to be read aloud in the family circle” (Auerbach, 1858, pp. V, VI and VII; own translation).

Like the textbooks in the elementary school (see above), this Bible adaptation and translation also had the task of bringing the biblical material closer to the pupils in an appealing and age-appropriate form and to encourage them to read the biblical stories independently, if possible – in this respect, it testifies to the increased pedagogical steps that were taken in this direction in the 19th century (see also chapter 2). The study of this translated Bible, however, should not, it seems to me, replace the actual reading of the Masoretic text, quite the contrary. This Bible work is, as Auerbach himself

notes, a “Bible translation that wants to guide to the understanding of the original” and is “completely subordinate to it” (ibid., p. VI; own translation).

But what are the indications for reading the Bible in the original Hebrew and for teaching Hebrew in the grammar school? In an essay on Samuel Hammerschlag, Fichtner writes: “He was not, however – as can often be read (so already in Jones 1960, 42 and 198) – Freud’s Hebrew teacher, for Freud, as he repeatedly asserts, never learned Hebrew” (Fichtner, 2007, p. 168; own translation).¹³⁸ It is certainly correct to say that Hammerschlag was not Freud’s Hebrew teacher, but his *religion teacher*. However, Fichtner derives two unfounded conclusions from this: First, that Hammerschlag was the teacher in the religion class does not mean that Hebrew played no role there. Perhaps this erroneous conclusion is also due to the fact that Fichtner (2008, p. 63) evidently only consulted the abridged version of the curriculum in the annual reports of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium for his research on Hammerschlag, in which there is actually nothing to be read about a Hebrew class. Let us, however, look at the report given by Hammerschlag in his essay “Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien” and if we also take into account the high esteem in which he holds Hebrew for Jewish religious instruction (see above), we must come to a different conclusion. In the first three school years, translations of prayers and exercises in Hebrew grammar were provided in each semester; and in Wolf’s work, moreover, there are “Repetitions of the Pentateuch” for the 4th, 5th, and 6th grades, with the contents written out in Hebrew, so that we may assume that the respective sections were read in the original Hebrew (especially since these details do not fall under the Bible material otherwise indicated). While this is not a full Hebrew class, it assumed and further developed the knowledge that the students had learned in elementary school classes. Above all, it was again a matter of being able to read the *Jewish Bible* (especially the Torah) in its Masoretic version and to say the prayers in the original.

Freud would not have been able to follow these parts of the lessons and would not have received such excellent evaluations (such as the aforementioned first-class evaluation in his Matura examination) if he had not brought along a basic knowledge of Hebrew and deepened it further in the Gymnasium. Therefore, secondly, Fichtner’s conclusion that Freud never learned Hebrew also seems to me to be hasty. Rather, we must assume that Freud received at least a rudimentary form of Hebrew instruction in seven of his total 12 years of schooling and acquired basic knowledge of the language and its grammar and, above all, reading skills – and then, for whatever reason (see Chapter 4), “forgot” it again. To take what might be called a middle position between the extremes (blanket rejection of any knowledge of Hebrew on Freud’s part and the assertion of a complete

¹³⁸ No less categorically, Fichtner states elsewhere that Freud “had not learned Hebrew and could not read Yiddish” (Fichtner, 2006, p. 119; own translation).

acquisition of language and writing), we can justifiably say, on the basis of the evidence gathered in this chapter, that although Freud probably could not write Hebrew and his knowledge did not reach an advanced level, religious instruction in both elementary and high school enabled him to read biblical texts reasonably or sufficiently well.

Moreover, it is very possible that Freud's father Jacob, who spoke and read Hebrew fluently, also imparted at least fragments of it to him in their shared reading of the *Philippson Bible*. More important, moreover, than the extent of his knowledge of the language is the imprint of his way of thinking, living, and also of religion associated with that language (see Chapter 1). This fits with Freud's communication to Jehuda Dvosis-Dvir, the translator of two of his writings into Hebrew, in a letter from December 1930, in which he declares, "My father spoke the *holy language* as well as German or better" (Freud 1990s, p. 44; emphasis W.H.).¹³⁹ As a matter of course, he calls Hebrew the "holy language" at this point (cf. also on this Chapter 4), and one can already hear in this statement the resonance of his father's voice and the deep imprint of Jewish tradition. It is all the more surprising then to read the continuation of this letter: "He let me grow up in perfect ignorance on everything concerning Judaism. Only as a mature man was I angry at him for it" (ibid.). It is no less surprising that Freud so rigorously and frequently denied ever having learned or known Hebrew himself. Thus, in a more frequently quoted statement from a letter to Abraham Aaron Roback, a U.S. psychologist and promoter of Yiddish, he emphasizes:

"It may interest you to hear that my father did indeed come from a Chassidic background. He was forty-one when I was born and had been estranged from his native environment for almost twenty years. My education was so un-Jewish that today I cannot even read your dedication, which is evidently written in Hebrew. In later life I have often regretted this lack in my education" (Freud 1957e, S. 227; here in translation from Freud 1960a, p. 394).

If one takes into account the importance, often enough emphasized in this chapter, that those responsible for religious education in Freud's time attributed to the acquisition of the Hebrew language, the following remark of Freud's is also most curious:

"In the time of my youth our free-thinking religious instructors set no store by their pupils' acquiring a knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature. My education in this field was therefore extremely behindhand, as I have since often regretted" (Freud, 1925b, p. 291).

¹³⁹ In the preface to the Hebrew edition of *Totem and Taboo*, Freud writes in the same vein: "No reader of [the Hebrew version of] this book will find it easy to put himself in the emotional position of an author who is ignorant of the language of holy writ, who is completely estranged from the religion of his fathers – as well as from every other religion – and who cannot take a share in nationalist ideals, but who has yet never repudiated his people, who feels that he is in his essential nature a Jew and who has no desire to alter that nature" (Freud, 1934b, p. XIV).

This last statement in particular is puzzling for many reasons, not least because Freud maintained a very close relationship with his most important religion teacher, Samuel Hammerschlag, which went far beyond a usual teacher-pupil relationship. Hammerschlag, who played such an important role in the rediscovery of Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible in the reform of religious education, was born in Bohemian Leipa in 1826 and grew up in poor circumstances (his father Moses was a stocking winder – for this and other details see Fichtner, 2008). As a gifted pupil, he was allowed to attend the Gymnasium and subsequently studied history, philosophy and probably also classical philology in Prague. In Vienna, he was first a teacher at the religious school of the Jewish Community from 1857 and then, but only for a short time, an employed teacher at the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium, for he had to resign from teaching at the end of the school year 1872/73 because he became progressively hard of hearing. If we look at Hammerschlag's essay on "Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien" of 1869, especially his benevolent statements about the Talmudic and Prophetic traditions, we get the impression that he was a moderate supporter of Reform Judaism.

A special relationship between Freud and his teacher seems to have developed early on, which is clearly expressed in several of Freud's letters to his fiancée Martha Freud: On December 13, 1883, he writes: "The old man has namely been touchingly fond of me since time immemorial" (Freud and Bernays, 2013, p. 497).¹⁴⁰ On January 10, 1884, Freud speaks "of the deep-rooted sympathy that has existed between the good old Jewish teacher and myself since the grammar school years" (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 58). On March 7, 1884, in the same vein, "There is such a secret sympathy between us, and we also got into very intimate conversation" (ibid., p. 186). On May 1 of the same year we can read, "we spoke in great confidence [...]" (ibid., p. 302). And on August 18, 1885, there is talk of the "old" Hammerschlag, "to whom I have stood like a son for years" (Freud & Bernays, 2019, p. 558). In summary, Hammerschlag was a paternal figure for Freud; on the one hand, this put him in line with his father, but on the other, his relationship with Hammerschlag was arguably a far less ambivalent one (see Chapter 4). Perhaps this is why he was able to speak of himself (Breuer) and Hammerschlag as "comrades in faith (Glaubensgenossen)" (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 56) and feel a deep Jewish attachment to him, which was essentially conveyed in religious education through the eminent importance of the Bible in its Hebrew version.

Hammerschlag had probably already invited Freud to his family in his last year at school. In the years that followed, he received a very warm welcome and support (not least financially – cf. ibid., p. 56, p. 64), also from Hammerschlag's wife Betty (1827-1916), who ran a lunch table for young

¹⁴⁰ The bridal letters between Martha Bernays and Sigmund Freud are now available in German in an elaborate edition, with the exception of a final volume. Until now, there has been no English translation of the complete correspondence, so I have decided to translate the letter quotations in this and the next chapter from this edition.

students and doctors. Fichtner (2008, p. 64) is probably quite right to suspect that Hammerschlag was impressed by Freud's shrewdness and was also comfortable with his perky, provocative way of talking about religious matters. Freud may also have been able to temper the stridency of his rejection of his father's religion, which was particularly pronounced in his grammar school days (see Chapters 1 and 4), through contact with Hammerschlag, and through him learned to retain his "respect" (Freud, 1960a, p. 365) for, and deep attachment to, Jewish religion and tradition. In 1904 Freud published an obituary of Hammerschlag in the *Neue Freie Presse*, in which he speaks with high regard of a "paternally solicitous friend" – he never paid tribute to any other of his school teachers in this way. There it says about his religious education:

"S. Hammerschlag, who relinquished his activity as a Jewish religious teacher about thirty years ago, was one of those personalities who possesses the gift of leaving ineradicable impressions on the development of their pupils. A spark from the same fire which animated the great Jewish seers and prophets burnt in him and was not extinguished until old age weakened his powers. [...] Religious instruction served him as a way of educating towards love of the humanities, and from the material of Jewish history he was able to find means of tapping the sources of enthusiasm hidden in the hearts of young people and of making it flow out far beyond the limitations of nationalism or dogma" (Freud, 1904e, p. 255).¹⁴¹

Third Excursus: Two Textbooks in Religious Education at the Gymnasium – David Cassel's and Leopold Breuer's Guides

Two religious education textbooks appear in the various versions of the curriculum and deserve further attention in conclusion. The first textbook, which will be discussed very briefly here, is David Cassel's *Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur. Nebst einer kurzen Darstellung der biblischen Geschichte und einer Uebersicht der Geographie Palästina's* (*Guide to Teaching Jewish History and Literature. Together with a brief account of biblical history and an overview of the geography of Palestine*), which was published in 1868 in the first edition in Berlin by the Louis Gerschel Verlagsbuchhandlung – it is mentioned for the VII. and VIII. grade in the annual report of the Leopoldstädter Gymnasium. It has been the history book in religious education classes, and again it is striking that biblical history is the central point of departure and reference for the historical account (and was probably chosen by those in charge for that reason). In

¹⁴¹ It must remain here with these brief remarks; in the fourth chapter we will return to the significance of Hammerschlag for Freud's religious socialization and for his relationship to religion.

the preface to the first edition, Cassel (1869, p. V; own translation) writes about the background of the creation as well as the orientation of his work:

“The booklet which I hereby place in the hands of teachers and learners has arisen from the lack of such a guide, which I myself have felt, and from attempts to remedy it during the lessons themselves.

The preceding summary of biblical history, knowledge of which is assumed before using the main section, is suitable first of all for a repetition of the same to be done at a higher level; however, it can also serve as a basis for teaching biblical history in the hands of a skilled teacher, where no special teaching material has been introduced for this discipline and where the possibility of an extensive reading of the biblical books themselves (in the original or a transcription) is available. That I in this overview the time calculation after creation.”

In order to give a cursory insight into the book, the table of contents (ibid., pp. V-X) is also reproduced here in abbreviated form:

“Contents.

The biblical (pre-exilic) time in brief overview.

First period of creation until the Flood

Second Period. From the Flood to Abraham

The Table of Nations

Third Period. From Abraham to the immigration of Jacob in Egypt

Fourth Period. The Israelites in Egypt

Fifth Period. The Israelites in the desert

Sixth Period. From the Immigration into Canaan to the Establishment of the Kingship

Seventh Period. The three kings Saul, David, Solomon

Eighth Period. The divided empire until the mutual dissolution

A. The Kingdom of Israel (Ten Tribes Realm)

B. The Kingdom of Judah

History of the Jews.

First main part. From the Babylonian exile to the dissolution of the empire by Titus.

First Period. The Jews under foreign sovereignty. [...]

Second Period. The Jews under their own rulers. [...]

A. The Hasmoneans. [...]

B. The Herodians. [...]

Second main part. The Jews in the Dispersion.

First section. The Jews in the Roman Empire until its Fall. [...]

Second section. The Jews in the New Persian Empire. [...]

Third Section. The Jews in the Countries of Islam in Asia and Africa. [...]

Fourth Section. The Jews in Europe until towards the end of the Middle Ages. [...]

The Land of Palestine (in Biblical Times)."

Finally, the second textbook mentioned will be discussed in more detail. The exact, partly Hebrew title is *Or Torah wener Mitzvah. Israelitische Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre. Leitfaden beim Religionsunterrichte der israelitischen Jugend (Israelite Faith and Duties. Guidelines for the religious education of Israelite youth)*, which was published in 1851 in a first edition (under a different title; see below) by U. Klopff sen. and Alex. Eurich, and is here quoted after the fifth edition of 1876 (see fig. 17 in the appendix). The author is Leopold Breuer, the father of Freud's (temporary) friend, colleague, and important mentor Josef Breuer (for the history of the relationship and the rift between Freud and Breuer, see Chapter 4). Leopold Breuer had been a teacher at the Vienna Cultusgemeinde since 1835 and was the successor to Josef Lewin Saalschütz; he remained in this position until 1857 and rendered outstanding services to the school, including the establishment of the school library. Breuer was, as Wolf (1876, p. 138) points out, a "teacher from the top of his head to the bottom of his feet." He was probably born on November 8, 1791 in Karlsburg in Hungary (cf. Hirschmüller, 1978, p. 19) and attended the *Yeshiva* in Pressburg / Bratislava. There he was a student of one of the most famous Talmud teachers of the early 19th century, namely Rabbi Moses Schreiber (1762-1839), also called *Chatam Sofer* (*Chatam* is an acronym for *Chidusche Torat Moshe*, "Insights into the Torah of Moses") (cf. on this Rice, 1990, pp. 95-98). Wolf (1861, p. 128) describes Leopold Breuers development from a contemporary perspective as follows:

"Raised in poverty and misery, he came, as was the custom at that time, to the 'Yeshiba' in Mattersdorf, where Mr. Moses Sopher served as rabbi. When he came to Pressburg, where his name became a celebrity in the Talmudic field, the young Breuer moved with him and was engaged in the study of the Talmud. In the midst of the Pressburg atmosphere, under the views

of that time, which asserted themselves in the most blatant manner in the circle in which Breuer moved, it nevertheless occurred to the boy, who was striving for knowledge, that there were sciences besides the Talmud, and he therefore moved to Prague at the age of 13. There, attention was also paid to the profane sciences.

Breuer remained here until 1815, eager to make up for what he had missed in his youth. In that year he went to Vienna as an educator, and remained in this profession until 1835. A man of very strict principles, he earned the reputation that he was always concerned to fulfil his duties to the fullest extent. During the short time he lived in Pest as an educator, from 1830-1832, he succeeded in persuading the board of the community to establish a school. He did all the preparatory work for it, and before he left Pest, the school was built. In the school year 1835/6 he took up the post as second religious teacher of the local parish.”

In Pest he vehemently campaigned for the rights of Jews with a memorandum and, in addition to his work as a private teacher, dealt with questions of Bible exegesis, pedagogy and the history of religion (cf. Hirschmüller, 1978, p. 20). In Vienna, at the religious school, Breuer then endeavoured to develop better textbooks and himself wrote several that were recommended by the Ministry of Education – including the one under discussion here for the Gymnasium classes:

“In 1848 Mr. Breuer published a Biblical History, which broke off at Elisha. In 1852 appeared a 2nd increased edition, and in 1860 appeared the 3rd edition, where the history of the Jews is told up to the conclusion of the Talmud. In 1851 appeared ‘Or Thora’, a guide to religious instruction, and in 1854 followed the second, increased and improved edition of this book (recommended by the Unterr. Minist.)” (Wolf, 1861, p. 130).

The first edition of the book for high school classes was still entitled *Or Torah wener Mitzvah. Leitfaden beim Religionsunterricht der israelitischen Jugend*, and was expanded in the second edition in 1855 by a second part, the “Mosaic Law”, and now also contained a “Pflichtlehre” (Doctrine of Duties). Only in subsequent editions were the two parts integrated and the book was now called *Or Torah wener Mitzvah. Israelitische Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre. Leitfaden beim Religionsunterrichte der israelitischen Jugend*. In this book, Breuer attempts to give an overview of the essential elements of the Jewish religion in just under 170 pages. Before we want to deal with a classification of the textbook and its contents, the table of contents is also roughly reproduced here for initial orientation (Breuer, 1876, pp. VII-X; the following citations are own translations):

“First section
The universe

Man in his outward appearance
The spiritual dispositions of man
The moral endowments of man

Second section

Of religion in general
From the revelation in particular
The Ten Commandments

Third Section

The biblical or sacred writings
Contents of the Torah

Fourth Section

The Basic Doctrine of the Mosaic Religion
Of the unity of God [...]

Fifth Section

The biblical doctrinal concept of divine providence [...]

Section Six

The biblical doctrine of the attributes of God [...]

Seventh Section

The Biblical Doctrine of the Nature, Dignity and Destiny of Man
The doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the reward and punishment after death
Of the future kingdom of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead

Appendix

The 13 Articles of Faith of R. Moses Ben Maimon, as an overview of the whole Israel.
Doctrine of Faith

Eighth section

Of the worship of God in general

Of the inward worship of God [...].

From the outward worship of God [...].

The Mosaic Law

Introduction.

Meaning and division of the Mos. tablets of the law

First paragraph

Of the ritual and ceremonial laws

From the oral laws

From the holidays and festivities

Of sin and the means of atonement

Conversion

Prayers and exercise of charity as means of reconciliation

Nachmos. Feast and mourning days

From the food law

Of the *Tephilin*, *Zizis*, and *Mesusoth*.

The Mos. Moral Law

Introduction

Concept and Classification of the Moral Law

Second section

Of the duties of neighbour

Concept and classification of the same

Of the duties of justice [...]

Of duties of truthfulness in general [...]

Of the duties of charity in general [...]

Third Section

Of man's duties towards himself

Concept, justification and classification of the same

Self-respect, the condition of a truly moral life, and the root of self-obligations [...]

Self-love [...]

Fourth Section

Of the special duties

extent of the same

Of family duties [...]

Of the duties of the members of a state [...]

Duties of the members of a congregation [...]

Of the duties of friendship [...]

Of the duties against benefactors [...]

Of the various estates and the mutual duties of employers and servants

Ordinances in the Torah against Cruelty to Animals.”

In the preface to the fourth edition, Breuer feels compelled to formulate a justification for the publication of such a book and to defend it against objections, presumably mainly from the orthodox side:

“The objections which were generally made against systematic religious textbooks for Israelite youth, such as: such were not grown on Jewish soil; they were either harmful if they taught something other than the Bible, or in the other case, superfluous in addition to Bible instruction, and the like – have been refuted by time and experience. One has come to the realization that many things, even in the field of worship, such as: preaching, confirmation, etc., many things have come to light as religious needs of the time, which have not grown on Jewish soil, at least not in this form, and that Bible instruction in the original language, especially to the relatively small extent in which it can be given today, does not meet the needs of our time” (ibid., p. III).

Breuer further argues that especially the doctrine of duties serves this need very well: its task is to trace back the general human duties to rational and religious-moral principles, and furthermore to show that especially the “Mosaic moral law” is based on these principles. This is the classical argumentation of Liberal Judaism, which, contrary to corresponding objections that were not lacking even in the Enlightenment, emphasizes the decisive contribution of the Mosaic law to the development of a universal and rationally justifiable morality and ethical monotheism. But Breuer at the same time stresses that the ritual law, which occurs in the Bible in the same category with the

moral law, is of “greatest[r] importance”, and he moralizes it by emphasizing that it protects (especially the less educated classes) from “demoralization” (ibid., p. IV). The emphasis on ritual law is rather typical of Orthodox Judaism, and it could perhaps be said that Breuer, under the auspices of an ethical monotheism, attempts to maintain the unity of Law-Torah (religious and moral law) and Ritual-Torah (ceremonial laws) that had been broken by the movements of Enlightenment and Reform Judaism and the process of confessionalization of Judaism.

It is worthwhile to look at Breuer’s remarks on the “Ritual and Cermonial Law” in more detail. Their general purpose, so he explains in the second part about “The Mosaic Law”, was the “self-sanctification”, the “elevation of the spirit, ennoblement of the mind, transfiguration of life, approach to God” (ibid., p. 82). But several times he also has to emphasize that the rituals are not self-explanatory and often the more detailed explanations for them are missing in Scripture or are just general. In order to be able to understand them more concretely and to wrest them from the arbitrariness of the individual, Breuer comes at this point to speak of the importance of the “oral tradition”, i.e. above all of the great works of law of the Mishna and the two *Talmudim* (*Babylonian* and *Palestinian Talmud*) (ibid., pp. 83-85). Besides the written tradition (Torah) Judaism had always recognized the oral tradition, which also originated from Moses. Unlike in some parts of Reform Judaism, the Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition is not rejected, but integrated knowledgeably (here Breuer’s early Jewish education becomes noticeable).

All sections of the *Guide*, moreover, are always punctuated with biblical quotations and full of Hebrew words and phrases, so that one can say in summary that Freud became acquainted with the entirety of Jewish tradition with this textbook: the biblical text in its “original language”, written and oral tradition, Law- and Ritual-Torah. If one compares Breuer’ textbook with the earlier catechisms (see above), one recognizes the immense progress in content and pedagogy – and this progress characterizes the entire religious education that Freud experienced over 12 years.

Chapter 4

Why Freud lost his faith, forgot his knowledge of Hebrew, and was still able to remain a Jew with the help of the biblical and Talmudic tradition

“But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible – many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction” (Freud, 1926j, pp. 272-273).

Introduction

After the extensive excursions on the religious-historical classification of Philippon's biblical work in the long history of Jewish and Christian Bible translations as well as on Freud's religious education in the last two chapters, it will now be a matter of taking up the hitherto still loose threads, especially of the first chapter, to bundle them and to examine more systematically how Freud's relationship to Judaism developed. To this end, for example, we must address the question of why he, who according to our research so far almost certainly learned at least rudimentary Hebrew and could read it in print, always claimed otherwise. And across the board, we should ask more precisely how Freud's repeatedly highlighted unbelief came about, how his relationship to Jewish tradition became tense throughout his life, and what role the *Jewish Bible* played in this. Thus, this study does not ask a blanket question about Freud's relationship to his Judaism, but rather seeks to give central consideration to, and bring to bear, the fact that this took different forms over the course of his development. In this way, the author wishes to avoid a widespread approach that attempts to answer the question of Freud's Jewishness on the basis of certain selected quotations and episodes that are often presented without their more precise contextual and temporal anchoring. Such attempts remain unsatisfactory because they neglect the very developmental dynamics inherent in this subject and consequently can at best offer snapshots.

Moshe Gresser (1994), in his thorough study *Dual Allegiance. Freud as a Modern Jew*, he took this developmental approach into account like no other author in this field of research and proposed to view Freud's relationship to his Jewishness within the framework of episodes that can be temporally delimited from one another. Gresser assumes an early period between 1856 and 1906, a middle period between 1907 and 1922, and a late period between 1923 and 1939. For reasons that will

hopefully become clear in the course of the presentation, I will start from a first developmental period up to 1900, i.e. up to the publication of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, combine Gresser's two further periods into one, and set my own accents in filling them with content by attempting to connect a biographical-temporal-historical, a theoretical-psychoanalytical, and a religious-historical perspective. In order to make this history of development, which inevitably contains speculative hypotheses about psychodynamic connections, comprehensible and also vivid, I will quote in detail from the now extensively edited material of the Freud letters, from his writings, and from other documents of Freud's biography. A special focus in this account will be Freud's early childhood, in which essential coordinates of his relationship to his Jewishness were formed, as well as his development up to the death of his father and the writing of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which can be regarded as a formative period in the constitutional process of psychoanalysis. The later developments, on the other hand, take up much less space and are traced only in broad strokes, above all to show how Freud succeeded towards the end of his life in appropriating, up to a certain limit, those parts of the Jewish tradition and of his father's heritage that had hitherto remained opposed – this concerns primarily his parents' Eastern Jewish origins and Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism.

Taken as a whole, the developmental process of Freud's Jewish identity can be understood as a movement of sustained influence and alienation, of destruction and reparation, or even of hostile rejection and rapprochement – thus, even now, the tension between fidelity and betrayal already described many times in this book and guiding the reflections can be assumed, in which the breaking of tradition appears as an inherent feature of the continuation of tradition. But there are also moments of irretrievable loss in this course of development that elude any dialectical movement.

I. 1856 – 1900: Between faith and unbelief

A confusing family constellation

In order to be able to answer the questions we have just posed about the developmental dynamics of Freud's relationship to his Jewishness in an even approximate and somewhat plausible way, we need, as a first step, as precise an insight as possible into his early life story. In it are laid out the fundamental characteristics that were decisive for the shaping of his Jewish identity. When Sigismund Schlomo Freud came into the world on May 6, 1856, his father Jacob Freud had already been a resident of Freiberg (Příbor) for a little over 10 years: At the beginning he lived there with

his first wife Sally Kanner (1829-1852)¹⁴² and his two sons from that marriage, Emanuel, born in 1833, and Philipp, who followed in 1834, and after Sally's death with his second wife and Freud's mother, Amalia Malka Nathanson, born in 1835 in Brody, a town located in eastern Galicia. After living for a time in Odessa as a young girl, Amalia moved to Vienna with her parents and was still at an almost adolescent age (the age of her two later stepsons) when she met and married her husband, 20 years her senior, in late July 1855. The acquaintance had probably come about because Jacob Freud was in business with Amalia's father, who was only 10 years older than Jacob. Much has been puzzled over why Jacob, then 40 years old, and Amalia, 20 years younger, entered into a relationship in the first place, whether the marriage had been arranged (such a large age difference was, however, rather unusual according to Jewish customs of the time), and whether it was made possible at all only because Jacob deceived Amalia and her parents about his true financial circumstances (Sajner, 1968, Gicklhorn, 1976 and Krüll, 1986). Rizzuto (1998, p. 36) assumes that it may also have played a role for Amalia's parents that she, like her brother Julius (1837 or 1838-1858), suffered from tuberculosis and was therefore considered difficult to marry. This disease, which posed a mortal threat in the 19th century, was later to play an important and painful role for little Sigismund Freud, as it forced his mother to undergo numerous and long stays at a health resort.

After Jacob and Amalia's wedding, which was performed in Vienna, the place of residence of the bride's parents, according to Jewish rites by Rabbi Isaak Noah Mannheimer (see Chapter 1), the couple went to Freiberg and moved into a room on the first floor of the house at Schlossergasse 117 (on the lower floor was the locksmith's shop of the owner, who occupied the other rooms on the first floor with his family). Still living in the immediate vicinity at this time were Freud's two half-brothers, the unmarried Philip in a house across the street and Emanuel with his wife Maria, his son and Freud's nephew John in Marktplatz (both brothers remained Orthodox Jews and, after emigrating to Manchester, were co-founders of a synagogue there). Almost exactly nine months after the marriage, Sigismund Freud came into the world and entered what for him was a bewildering family constellation in which the generations were, as it were, telescoped into one

¹⁴² Whether there was a further marriage after the one with Sally Kanner and before the one with Amalia Nathanson is not clarified and without certain proof, but also not excluded (Sajner, 1968, Gicklhorn, 1969 and Schur, 1972, p. 20 assume it). In the "Verzeichnis der Juden, welche in der Gemeinde Freiberg wohnhaft sind" from 1852, besides Jacob, his two sons Emanuel and Philipp, a „Rebekka“ is reported as Jacob's wife (the list can be found in Krüll, 1986, p. 236; for further discussion of the question, see also Krüll, 1986, pp. 96-97 and pp. 135-138). Schur (1972, p. 20) mentions a dream of Freud (Freud, 1900a, p. 418) that takes place in 1851, i. e. before his birth, and possibly contains an allusion to Rebekka. A far-reaching and unproven hypothesis has been put forward by Marie Balmory (1997): She claims that Rebekka, who was 35 years old and childless, took her own life when Amalia became pregnant by Jacob Freud and that he therefore had to marry her. But it is also possible, as some researchers assume, "that because of an administrative error or for reasons of concealment, the entry refers to the wife of his [Jacobs] brother Joseph, Rebecca Freud-Rawnial" (de Mijolla, 2005a, S. 624).

another: At his birth, his father was already the grandfather of John, who was one year older; Freud was thus born an uncle and had half-brothers the same age as his own mother.

The father: “always hopefully expecting something to turn up”

In this situation of a confused and displaced generational succession, there was plenty of room for highly ambivalent fantasies about his father, which also had to do with his attitude to Judaism, were linked to Freud’s desires for a different origin and which he characteristically related to Jewish history. A vivid impression of the effect of this constellation is given by what Freud writes is a “puzzling mistake” in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a, p. 196), which he was to clear up as a palpable blunder a short time later in his work *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901b, pp. 216-217 and 219). The connection is this: in the first edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud had mistakenly called Hannibal’s father Hasdrubal instead of Hamilkar (Freud, 1900a, p. 203). The mention of the name Hasdrubal occurs immediately after Freud recounts the famous scene already mentioned, which his father had told him about when he was “ten or twelve years old”.

“Thus it was, on one such occasion, that he told me a story to show me how much better things were now than they had been in his days. ‘When I was a young man’, he said, ‘I went for a walk one Saturday in the streets of your birthplace; I was well dressed, and had a new fur cap on my head. A Christian came up to me and with a single blow knocked off my cap into the mud and shouted: ‘Jew! get off the pavement!’ ‘And what did you do?’ I asked. ‘I went into the roadway and picked up my cap,’ was his quiet reply” (ibid., p. 196).

Now this seemed to Freud to be little heroic from the “strong man who was holding the little boy by the hand” (ibid.), and it was to take him decades before he could better understand his father’s attitude (see below). In his imagination he contrasted this situation with another, namely the scene “in which Hannibal’s father, Hamilcar Barca [in the 1st edition: *Hasdrubal*], made his boy swear before the household altar to take vengeance on the Romans” (ibid.).¹⁴³ It is now important to note

¹⁴³ It is also interesting how Freud describes in the immediate aftermath that he transferred the “emotional relation” (Freud, 1900a, p. 197) that had applied to Hannibal to another historical figure a little later. Inspired by a book, he re-enacted battles of Napoleon, who had joined Hannibal by crossing the Alps, and pinned slips of paper with the names of imperial marshals to his wooden soldiers. “And at that time my declared favourite was already Masséna (or to give the name its Jewish form, Manasseh)” (ibid.). The identification with Manasseh had been obvious anyway, as Schlesier (1993, p. 243) assumes, since the blessing of the Jewish parents for the son at the beginning of the Sabbath was: “And he blessed them that day, saying: ‘By thee shall Israel bless, saying: God make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh.’ And he set Ephraim before Manasseh” (*Genesis*, 48, 20). With this blessing Jacob (Israel) blessed the two sons of his son Joseph (and we know about Freud’s identification with the biblical Joseph as well as the meaning of this blessing in Jacob Freud’s dedication letter for Freud’s 35th birthday in line 2 – see

that Hannibal was the “favourite hero” during Freud’s grammar school years, and the “Semitic general” (ibid.) and Rome represented fundamental opposites for him that transcended the historical situation: “Hannibal and Rome symbolized the conflict between the *tenacity of Jewry* and the *organization of the Catholic church*” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.).¹⁴⁴ In his identification with Hannibal, however, Freud not only wanted to avenge his father, whom a presumably *Roman Catholic* “Christian” in Freiberg had deeply humiliated, but he also took revenge on his father at the same time with his blunder by indirectly replacing him with another person.

Freud only becomes aware of this process in the analysis of his failure in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. There he takes up once again the “Hannibal-phantasies of my school-years” as well as the “dissatisfaction with my father’s behaviour towards the ‘enemies of our people’[sic!]” and then reports directly afterwards that during the time of his grammar school years his relationship to his father changed due to a later visit to his half-brothers in England:

“I could have gone on to tell how my relationship with my father was changed by a visit to England, which resulted in my getting to know my half-brother, the child of my father’s first marriage, who lived there. My brother’s eldest son is the same age as I am. Thus the relations between our ages were no hindrance to my phantasies of how different things would have been if I had been born the son not of my father but of my brother” (Freud, 1901b, p. 219).

The visit to England took place in 1875 and lasted, according to Freud’s own account (Freud, 1989a, p. 125), seven and a half weeks. The report of this trip to his childhood friend Eduard Silberstein is very positive: He had experienced a “cordial reception” (ibid., p. 127) there and his two brothers had found a “generally respected position” in Manchester (ibid., p. 126). The living conditions of his relatives were thus in marked contrast to the precarious situation of his own family in Vienna and his father’s inability to provide for them (see below). This makes Freud aware of the background to his fantasy of replacing his own father with his half-brother, which must indeed have alienated him greatly. It amounted to patricide and must have revealed to him the full extent of his ambivalence. He obviously wished for a different, stronger and heroic father with whom he could better identify and who could better protect him, and used as a foil a scene that for him belonged to Jewish history (Freud thus did not want to replace his father as a Jew, but another Jewish father).

The scene described in *The Interpretation of Dreams* and the recollections appended in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* take place in the period of Freud’s (early) adolescence and his grammar school years, in which he made a certain choice with regard to his Judaism and finally

chapter 1 and see below).

¹⁴⁴ On Freud’s „Rome dreams“ as a whole, see also Hegener (2017, pp. 140-150) and see below.

turned away from the Jewish faith (how exactly Freud's early childhood may have influenced and determined his later turning away, which falls in the period of his adolescence, can, however, only be answered at a later point in this chapter); but they have been mentioned here in particular because they give an impression of how lastingly effective and also frightening the family constellation described must have been for Freud at the beginning of his life, in which the positions in the generational sequence were so ambiguous in a confusing way that he wanted to escape it by fantasizing that he was his brother's son. But Freud was subjected to other peculiarities and pressures which have a relation to his father.

We could already see in Chapter 1 that the year 1856 not only brought Jacob a second first-born, but that only a few months earlier his father Schlomo Freid had died and that in all probability he could not be present either at his death or at his funeral, since he had long since left his home and was "estranged" from it. It is no less likely that this caused Jacob Freud great feelings of guilt and that, in an act of reparation, he sought to give his son his father's name and commission him to carry on the Jewish tradition that had been broken off and challenged. At the same time, however, his son was also to successfully complete – not least as indicated by the double naming (Sigismund *and* Sigmund) – the path of upward assimilation that Jacob Freud had not exactly successfully followed. This was the tense legacy that Freud had inherited from his father and that had already initially placed him in the tension between betrayal and fidelity or of breaking off and continuing.

Ana-Maria Rizzuto, in her excellent study *Why did Freud reject God? A psychodynamic interpretation*, which I will refer to again and again in the following reflections, Jacob Freud's wishes and expectations towards his son are very well described in the following sentences:

"At the deeper layers of his psychic makeup, Jacob must also have transferred onto his son the longings awakened by his own 'most poignant' paternal loss. His attachment to his son had a depth of feeling and need that went beyond an ordinary attachment. Sigmund became an idealized and overcatheted image of a son that he had to be. As a result, Jacob attended to him tenderly, sharing his humor, his exciting stories, his personal wisdom, and, in due time, introducing him to the Jewish Bible and the fantastically interesting illustrations of the Philippon Bible. The message was there: this child was to be, like the biblical Joseph, his great pride and consolation" (Rizzuto, 1998, p. 65).

Something further should be emphasized, however: the tremendous tension that lay in Jacob's double mandate to his son, to fulfil the obligation to continue the Jewish tradition and at the same time to succeed in the non-Jewish majority society, may have been *one* reason why Freud later, from the time of adolescence and culminating in his extremely abrupt reaction in the context of his

father's funeral (see below), was so resolute in his rejection of the faith and any Jewish rituals – though this was always combined with an unconditional adherence to the ethical, biblical and also post-biblical or Talmudic core of Judaism. But this will also have to do with the fact that Freud experienced a father who, on the one hand, with his “peculiar mixture of deep wisdom and fantastic light-heartedness” (Freud, 1985c, p. 202), his free spirit and his religious-Jewish erudition were admirable and appealing and allowed him the greatest possible freedom, but on the other hand, as became visibly apparent with the family's move from Freiberg to Vienna, he was chronically unable to provide adequately for his family and increasingly placed this burden on his son, who thus often found himself in a shamefully helpless position.

An important source for understanding Sigmund Freud's relationship with his father are the letters to his bride Martha Bernays; to her Freud, who otherwise hardly spoke about his early years and his parents, was more open about his worries and despair. A compilation of various letter passages may illustrate this (see also Grubrich-Simitis, 2011, pp. 45-47 and again Rizzuto, 1998, pp. 59-67):

- On August 14, 1882, Freud describes his father's almost childlike naïve side, which was certainly always difficult for him to bear: “When he [Jacob Freud] is not exactly grouchy, which unfortunately often happens, he is the greatest optimist among us young people” (Freud & Bernays, 2011, p. 282).¹⁴⁵
- This optimism often did not carry far, however, and Freud repeatedly had to help his father and the entire family in times of need. Thus, on January 10, 1884, he describes how he “[met] the father in the street, still filled with projects, still hoping. I took it upon myself to write to Emanuel and Philip to help him out of a present urgent embarrassment” (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 56). However, the father had not wanted it, feeling ill-treated by his two eldest sons, whereupon Freud wrote a sharp letter to his half-brothers.
- On November 25, 1883, he gives his bride an oppressive report: “I was then also at home and left completely crushed and contrite in spirit. They are so miserable, and I can't do anything about it. [...] They are all so unhappy and dissatisfied. It really looks so hopeless. The father has gone completely quiet” (Freud & Bernays, 2013, p. 449).
- In a letter dated June 19, 1884, he even reported that his sisters Rosa and Dolfi were “starving” and that he could do nothing about it (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 413).
- These worries were chronic, for barely a year later, on May 19, 1885, “Mizzi [Maria Freud (1861-1942), another of Freud's sisters] looks terribly miserable, the mother is said to be ill

¹⁴⁵ Since the comprehensive edition of the bridal letters of Martha Bernays and Sigmund Freud is so far only available in German (with the exception of the last volume, which is about to be published), I will quote here and in the following from this edition in my own translation.

again, there is of course not a red cent in the house, and this has again brought me low” (Freud & Bernays, 2019, p. 393).

- On June 6, 1884, he aptly summarized the situation of his family as follows: “I cannot tell you everything that has so depressed me. There is not only the father, completely without gain, who is slipping more and more into a happy needlessness and insignificance, the mother, ill in Roznau with money she has laboriously scraped together, the sisters, whose striving and absence in every particle reminds me of our togetherness and whom I actually do not like to know hungry” (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 389).
- The father appeared to Freud, as he “anxiously” informs Martha, to be or to become increasingly “infantile” (ibid., p. 215).

Jacob Freud’s chronic difficulties and inability to provide a secure existence for his family did not arise only in later years in Vienna, but run through the entire family history. Above all, these difficulties refer back to an event that Freud called in his first anonymously published work about “Screen Memories” “a catastrophe” (Freud, 1899a, p. 312) which had brought him a “loss” for “my whole existence” (ibid., p. 314). What is meant is the Freud family’s move from Freiberg to Vienna via Leipzig. Jacob Freud, who, according to Freud, lived “always hopefully expecting something to turn up” (cited in Jones, 1972, p. 2), had probably made the decision to move with his family to Leipzig in early 1859 due to the collapse of his business in Moravia – Freud himself speaks of a collapse “in the branch of industry [...] in which my father was concerned” (Freud, 1899a, p. 312). This plan failed, however, as the authorities responsible there rejected his request. The Leipzig trade deputation attested that in its inquiries it had “unfortunately been able to find out nothing that speaks in favour of the petitioner; on the contrary, his past seems to suggest that our place be preserved from such a businessman” (quoted in Tögel & Schröter, 2004, p. 17; own translation). The impression is given that Jacob rashly brought his family to Leipzig and that his plans were not well prepared and ultimately unrealistic (ibid., p. 24). The family, i.e. the parents and the children Sigismund and Anna, presumably had to hold out there for two months, living under the threat of possible expulsion, before moving on to Vienna, the home of Amalia’s parents, of necessity in October (ibid., p. 21). There Jacob was presumably henceforth dependent on the allowances of his parents-in-law (and later his son) and remained an insignificant merchant – so insignificant that no findings have yet been made about his economic activities in Vienna (ibid., p. 18).

However, it was not the uncertainty and threat in Leipzig that was the real “catastrophe” in Freud’s experience, but the loss of his Moravian homeland. In the aforementioned essay “Screen Memories”, he reports on the “long and difficult years” that followed the move, as well as on the fact that he never felt quite comfortable in the “large town” and that a “longing for the beautiful

woods near our home” never left him (Freud, 1899a, p. 312). Authors who have studied this “catastrophe” in Freud’s life suggest that Freud blamed the loss of his homeland first and foremost on his father and must have rejected, even hated him for it (cf. Goodnick, 1998 and Rizzuto, 1998). A feeling has arisen in Freud that he has been cheated of his youth by this rupture, as well as by the chronically precarious situation of the family for which his father was responsible. Freud expresses this very openly when he writes to Martha from Paris on February 2, 1886: “I believe people see something alien in me and the real reason for this is that in my youth I was never young and now that I am entering the age of maturity I cannot mature properly” (Freud, 1960a, p. 94). But more than this, Freud may not only have felt that he had never been young, but beyond this, it was a question of whether he had ever been allowed to be a child properly. This, however, had primarily to do with his relationship to his mother, against whom, unlike with his father, he could never really rebel.

The mother: “We made a secret of all losses in the family”

When a commemorative plaque was unveiled in his honour at the house where he was born in Freiberg in 1931, the 75-year-old Freud wrote an almost hymn-like letter to the mayor of his hometown in October, which was read out on this occasion. There he sketches a distinctly paradisiacal scene: “deep within me, although overlaid, there continues to live the happy child from Freiberg, the first-born of a youthful mother, the boy who received from this air, from this soil, the first indelible impressions” (Freud, 1960a, p. 408). Freud here paints a picture of an idyllic togetherness of a firstborn with his young mother, in which the father does not appear at all. If we bring this description together with the later “catastrophe” of the move via Leipzig to Vienna, it seems at first glance that Freud experienced the loss of his homeland like an expulsion from a maternal paradise, which he blamed entirely on his father and for which he probably never fully forgave him.

That Freud was a “happy” child in his relationship with his mother, as he asserts in the letter to the mayor of Freiberg, can be disputed with good reason; indeed, if we consider the actual circumstances of the early years in Freiberg, this statement seems more like a “defensive idealization” (Whitebook, 2107, p. 34) of a very difficult relationship and actually covers up deeply traumatic experiences that also affected his faith or, more precisely, his possibility of being able to believe. Unlike with his father, whom he could violently attack and even hate, but to whom he was also bound in love, to whom, moreover, he owed access to Jewish tradition and education, and with whom he was able to reconcile after a period of intense self-analysis, this option remained closed to

Freud in his relationship with his mother – he had to keep them entirely free of all openly or consciously hostile feelings for reasons to be determined in more detail. Freud’s mother-relationship, as we will now show, is therefore not to be called ambivalent in the proper sense, but lies before this possibility – and this is also the reason why it remained static throughout his life.

For a long time, the image of a happy childhood and an ambivalence-free relationship with his mother has characterized the (auto-)biographical writings of Freud and his scholars. Jones (1972, p. 5), for example, speaks of the fact that the “mother’s pride and love for her firstborn left an intenser, indeed indelible, impression on the growing boy” and he adds, quite as if this statement were just as valid for Freud, to the one sentence Freud wrote about a childhood memory of Goethe (Freud, 1917b, p. 26): “A man who has been the indisputable favourite of his mother keeps for life the feeling of a conqueror, that confidence of success that often induces real success”.¹⁴⁶ This view has been first and sustainably shaken by the research of Harry Hardin (1987, 1988a, 1988b, and 1994), and later other authors have joined and extended the new findings (see especially Rizzuto, 1998, pp. 186-232 and Whitebook, 2017, pp. 34-56).

If we survey the immediate period before Freud’s birth and his first two or three years of life, they were marked by several serious and cumulative losses that affected all members of the family. His father Jacob had lost his first wife Sally Kanner in 1852 and his father a few months before the birth of his son Sigismund, in February 1856 (and in addition perhaps a second wife named Rebekka – see above). Freud’s mother also had to cope with two significant losses: In October 1857, Freud was only one and a half years old, her second son Julius was born, who had received his name from his uncle, namely from Amalia’s next younger brother Julius (1837 or 1838-1858). This uncle of Freud’s died of pulmonary tuberculosis in mid-March of the following year, and only a month later, on April 15, 1858, little Julius also died (of “inflammation of the bowels”). For Freud, there was another difficulty and an additional loss: nine and a half months after Julius’s death, Freud’s eldest sister Anna was born, and while their mother was still in childbed, his nursery was convicted of theft by his half-brother Philip and disappeared from one day to the next. It is not known when the nursery, whose name was almost certainly Resi Wittek and who was an already elderly Czech Catholic woman,¹⁴⁷ joined the Freud family, but it is conceivable that she was sought out and hired because the still very young mother was severely burdened by the losses, her illness, and the birth.

¹⁴⁶ In a more recent publication, it says in the same vein: „For all intents and purposes, Freud’s relationship with his mother may be said to have been excellent [...]“ (de Mijolla, 2005b, S. 630).

¹⁴⁷ At first, Sajner (1968) and Gicklhorn (1969) assumed that Freud’s nursery was called Monika Zajic on the basis of the list of servants in Freiberg in the first quarter of 1857. However, an entry in the Roznau spa gazette, which Amalia frequently visited because of her lung disease, lists a note under number 108 in 1857 that suggests a person with a different name: “Fr. Amalia Freud, Wollhändlersgattin mit dem Kinde Sigmund [sic!] und dem Dienstmädchen Resi Wittek v. Freiberg, Nr. 180 (Amalia Freud, wool merchant’s wife with the child Sigmund [sic!] and the maid Resi Wittek v. Freiberg, No. 180)” (quoted in Sajner, 1981, p. 142).

For Freud, as will be shown, this nursery played an important role, and her sudden disappearance was significant and certainly traumatic both in its own right and in the context of the other losses.

All these losses took place even before that “original catastrophe” occurred of which Freud spoke: the loss of his Moravian homeland through his family’s move from Freiberg via Leipzig to Vienna. This means, however, that the “original catastrophe” was not the original, but that it was preceded by several others and that it presumably served as a foil for the earlier losses, but also covered them up (in this sense, we would also have to speak of a “screen memory”). The point here, however, is not to pin down earlier or even a single first, singular catastrophe, but to understand the concatenation of all the losses described in their overall context. We can assume that we are dealing with a sequence of (sub-)traumatising losses and experiences, i.e. a “sequential traumatisation” (Keilson, 1979) or also a form of “cumulative trauma” (Khan, 1963), in which certain experiences, which were difficult to cope with individually and which were immediately followed by new experiences, have added up to a total traumatic stress.

The losses suffered by Freud’s father Jacob (especially the loss of his father) have already been discussed in more detail, but the losses and situation of his mother require further analysis. Let us summarize the information so far: Amalia was not yet 20 years old when she met her much older husband, and this unusual union probably left little time for getting to know each other and falling in love. The couple moved to Freiberg immediately after the wedding, and Amalia had to leave her reasonably well-off parents in the metropolis of Vienna for a small provincial town and a poor living. She found there two stepsons who were somewhat older than she and made it clear to her that she was the age of a daughter to her husband. In addition, she was probably ill with tuberculosis and was not stable in health (so that several stays at a health resort and i.e. also longer absences were necessary). All this raises the question of how to assess the early relationship, even before the aforementioned losses, between her and her first son Sigismund. We know relatively little about them from Freud himself (quite unlike his father), but his sparse statements are telling enough. In the letters to his bride Martha, in which he was able to express himself more openly, we find these two remarks: On November 30, 1883, Freud describes his mother as “a lively pessimist (Schwarzseherin) and, unfortunately, a naysayer (Schwarzscheierin)” (Freud & Bernays, 2013, p. 464), and in a letter dated July 23, 1884, there is the following characterization: “My mother is a limp woman exhausted in body and mind [...]” (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 481). These passages testify to a certain distance of Freud towards his mother as well as to a woman impaired both physically and psychologically.

In the correspondence with his childhood friend Eduard Silberstein, we can find a further, earlier and remarkable reference to his relationship with his mother. On September 4, 1872, the 18-year-

old Freud wrote to his friend: “Other mothers – and why disguise the fact that our own are among them? We shan’t love them the less for it – care only for the physical well-being of their sons; when it comes to their intellectual development the control is out of their hands” (Freud, 1989a, p. 17). In contrast, he describes in long, exuberant sentences the mother of a school friend and his first love (Gisela Fluß), who also came from Freiberg (see below). This mother had brought up seven children and no child’s affair ceased to be hers: “And you should see the love of the children for their parents and the eagerness with which the servants do her bidding” (ibid.). There is a sense of longing for such a loving mother that Freud apparently did not have and sorely missed. If the statement that his mother exclusively took care of his “physical well-being” is also true for the first years of his life,¹⁴⁸ then it can be concluded that she could not, or at least not sufficiently, be available to him as an object receptive to his soul, especially during this sensitive and decisive phase of development.

In this context, further statements by other family members are of interest, which confirm and underline this picture. Judith (Bernays) Heller, the daughter of Freud’s eldest sister Anna Freud-Bernays, who had visited her relatives in Vienna from the USA for a while as a child, describes her grandmother in the following, rather drastic words: “[...] at that time I thought that was a most selfish old lady and altogether disapproved of her” (Heller 1956, p. 420). Shortly afterwards, in the same vein: “She was charming and smiling when strangers were about but I, at least, always felt that with familiars she was a tyrant, and a selfish one” (ibid.). Also relevant is her description of the family celebrations for Freud’s 70th birthday, where one may wonder who Amalia Freud thought should actually be celebrated:

“When there was a special invitations, as for instance to the celebration of my uncle Sigmund’s seventieth birthday in 1926 (she was already ninety by), she insisted that she be bought a new dress and hat to go to the ‘Jause’ (coffee party) at his house. She had to be carried down the stairs from her own home and up the stairs to the Freud’s, but she did not mind, as long as she could present to be honored and feted as the mother of her ‘golden son’, as she called her Sigmund” (ibid.).

There is another account of a family meeting that makes it easy to see how much Amalia Freud needed her son. Freud’s son Martin gives the following repetitive situation in his book of memories about his father:

¹⁴⁸ In the following quotation from *The Future of an Illusion*, too, the mother is conspicuously reduced to her function of satisfying hunger, as if it were a matter of mere self-preservation: “In this way the mother, who satisfies the child’s hunger, becomes its first love-object and certainly also its first protection against all the undefined dangers which threaten it in the external world – its first protection against anxiety, we may say” (Freud, 1927c, p. 24; emphasis W.H.). One can ask how a mother who only satisfies hunger can become a protection against anxiety at all, and whether she could become this for Freud.

“But always, as the evening went on, an atmosphere of growing crisis was felt by all as Amalia became unsettled and anxious. There are people who, when they are unsettled and disturbed, will hide these feelings because they do not want to affect the peace of those around them; but Amalia was not one of these. My father always came to these gatherings – I know of no occasion when he disappointed her – but his working day was long one and he always came much later than any one else. Amalia knew this, but perhaps she could never accept. Soon she would be seen running anxiously to the door and out to the landing to stare down the staircase. Was he coming? Where was he? Was it not getting very late? This running in and out might go on for an hour, but it was known that any attempt to stop her would produce an outburst of anger which it was better to avoid by taking as little notice as possible. And my father always came at very much his usual time, but never at a moment when Amalia was waiting for him on the landing” (M. Freud, 1999, p. 12).

Amalia appears here like an angry but actually frightened child who cannot be without her “golden boy” and falls into an unrestricted state without him. She was beside herself with rage when her son was not available, and she obviously needed him very badly as a supporting and sustaining object. That Freud always tried to come at his usual time, it could mean that he tried to avoid disappointing his mother and confronting her with her intemperate desires. Unlike with his father, against whom he could rebel considerably (to whose funeral he even came too late – see below), this was apparently out of the question with respect to his mother. When Freud opines in *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (Freud 1921c, p. 101) that almost every human relationship contains “a sediment of feelings of aversion and hostility“, but then adds in a footnote that the mother’s relationship to her son is the only exception to this, since it is “based on narcissism” (ibid.), this statement now takes on a special meaning. Amalia Freud’s relationship with her son was indeed based on narcissism, namely on her own narcissistic needs for constant presence and affirmation through his brilliance (through her “*golden Sigi*”). There is an implicit threat in the scene described by Martin Freud, for no one was allowed to challenge Amalia’s need without risking an outburst of rage and turning away. Freud, who always fulfilled his obligations to his mother, also seems to have sensed and feared her rage and the threatened breakdown of the relationship very acutely – and presumably because he had already experienced it at an early age.

Another very vivid insight into Freud’s inability to stand up to his mother is provided by the memoirs of the psychoanalyst Hans Lampl (1889-1958), who had been closely associated with the Freud family from childhood onwards and who, in an interview, tells of a Sunday visit to the already elderly Amalia Freud that he had made together with Freud and that he never forgot:

“Because you were so used to seeing the professor as a father, of course, and then suddenly I *saw him as a child*. And it was such a strange thing! He let the mother tell him all sorts of things. And he didn’t feel like eating anything, but she told him, ‘Eat, my golden son, eat!’ and that’s when he ate it. I’ve never forgotten that” (Lampl, 2011, p. 20; own emphasis).

Lampl, who reports about 20 visits to Freud’s mother (ibid., p. 29), also mentions that she repeatedly told him how anxious Freud had been as a child (ibid., p. 18). In the scene described during the Sunday visit and lunch, it becomes palpable how much Freud immediately reverted to the role of the anxious child in the presence of his mother, who did not dare to contradict his mother until an advanced age.

In her memoirs, the aforementioned Judith Heller-Bernays also recounts Amalia Freud’s marked intolerance of any separation and her apparently imperious demand that she not be confronted with death and loss under any circumstances:

“Thus, when a young granddaughter [Caecilie Graf (1899-1922), the second child of Amalia’s daughter Regine Debora (“Rosa”)] died tragically at the age of twenty-three, and she heard grief-stricken whispers all around her, she manifested no desire to learn their cause of it, nor was she expressly told of it. When the bereaved mother came to see her she never asked about the girl, nor did she inquire afterwards about her, though this granddaughter had visited her frequently. Ten years later, however, she began to talk again about ‘poor Cecily’, revealing that she had been fully aware all along of what had happened“ (Heller, 1956, p. 421).

However, this description is only a small part of the story, for Freud himself reported in August 1925 in a letter to his nephew Soloman Samuel (Sam) Freud (1860-1945) from Manchester that he and the whole family had kept all the losses of the past at least six years secret from Amalia. Freud knew too well what it meant when one’s own mother lost an important person, and wanted to protect her from her mother slipping again into a severe depression and himself from the consequences that this had:

“We made a secret of all losses in the family. My daughter Sophie [she died at the end of January 1920], her second son Heinerle [died in June 1923], Teddy in Berlin [Theodor, the son of Freud’s sister Maria (Mitzi), who died in July 1923], Eli Bernays [the husband of Freud’s eldest sister Anna, who died in October 1923], and your parents [Emanuel, who died in 1914, and his wife Maria, who also died in 1923]. [...] We had to use many precautions not to be discovered and so I did not give notice of the event before the term” (this letter is in Clark, 1980, p. 481).

Freud's peculiarly pre-ambivalent relationship with his mother also manifested itself for the last time when she died on September 12, 1930. At this time Freud was already 74 years old and seriously ill with cancer. Since the onset of his cancer in the early 1920s, he had been increasingly concerned that he might die before his mother. He knew that his mother would hardly have been able to bear his death and loss (see also Hardin, 1994, p. 117). Freud, who lived in lifelong physical proximity but at the same time in inner distance and estrangement from her, felt unable to go to her funeral after her death and had his daughter Anna Freud attend in his place. He also described several times that he could not feel any pain or sorrow over this "great event". For example, on September 16, 1930, he wrote to Sándor Ferenczi:

"It had a strange effect on me, this great event. *No pain, no mourning*, which can probably be explained by the secondary circumstances, the advanced age, the sympathy with her helplessness at the end. At the same time a feeling of liberation, of being set free, that I also think I understand. I was not permitted to die as long as she was alive, and now I may. Somehow, in deeper layers, the values of life will have been markedly changed. *I was not at the funeral*. Anna also represented me there" (Freud & Ferenczi, 2000, p. 399; emphasis W.H.).

While the death of his father is known to have triggered and could trigger his self-analysis and a multi-stage process of mourning and processing, this did not happen at all after Amalia's death – quite the opposite: "No pain, no mourning". It is also true in this case that the possibility of mourning presupposes a sufficiently good relationship, which Freud, to all appearances, did not have with his mother. The image of her and their blandly idealized relationship remained and was, as it were, set in stone. The possibility of further revision or "rewriting" was denied; the traumatic relationship survived, appeared as if already dead, and remained emotionally inaccessible at its painful core. This is strongly reminiscent of two passages from Freud's work. In the first passage, he uses a writing metaphor to understand the usual functioning of memory, but then also its failure:

"If a later transcript is lacking, the excitation is dealt with in accordance with the psychological laws in force in the earlier psychic period and along the paths open at that time. Thus an anachronism persists: in a particular province, *fueros* are still in force; we are in the presence of 'survivals'" (Freud, 1985c, p. 207).

The other passage is from "Female Sexuality", written shortly after his mother's death; there he speaks more specifically of the inaccessibility of memory related to the mother-bond, the difficulty of reviving or representing it, which is associated with a particularly implacable defence:

“Everything in the sphere of this first attachment to the mother seemed to me so difficult to grasp in analysis – so grey with age and shadowy and almost impossible to revivify – that it was as if it had succumbed to an especially inexorable repression” (Freud, 1931b, p. 226). The death of Freud’s mother did not enable him to find a mournful access to his early traumatic experiences and to be able to “rewrite” them in this process. That which usually happens in acute grief, namely that the person who has died becomes highly alive in memory, is precisely not the case here: Freud was no longer able to revive his relationship with his mother. But he remained attached to his mother precisely in a certain peculiarity: Like her, who did not tolerate or tolerate the slightest separation (cf. on this Rizzuto 1998, p. 195), Freud also had great difficulty throughout his life with being alone – for him, being alone meant being confronted with a terrible emptiness and being alone with terrible feelings – and in his later years, in the course of his cancer and in the face of his own increasing helplessness, he needed above all his daughter Anna (as at his mother’s funeral), who thus also remained bound to her (paternal) primary object throughout her life.¹⁴⁹

But whether Green’s concept of the “dead mother” is applicable to Freud’s early development, as Green himself (Green, 1983) and subsequently Whithebook (2018, pp. 49-54) assume, is in my estimation at least questionable. Two features are characteristic of Green’s syndrome: as is well known, firstly, it does not refer to the physical death of the mother, but to her *psychological* inaccessibility and lack of resonance as a result of severe depression, which is experienced by the child as a fatal catastrophe. The effect of the “psychic death”, this is the second feature, is so drastic in its impact because the relationship had previously been quite good, and the depression has transformed the mother, an initially lived object – source of the child’s vitality – into a distant, rigid, as it were inanimate figure. Was Freud’s relationship with his mother really so vital at the beginning of his life, and did it only become rigid and inanimate through loss? Or was Amalia, who was still very young, physically burdened and not yet psychologically mature, already unable to make herself available as a good enough maternal object because of her personality structure? This question is difficult to answer, and it may be that an either-or is not appropriate in answering it and that it can rather be assumed that she certainly had vital sides, but at the same time was also self-centred and relentless in her demand for narcissistic attention. In any case, Freud’s first years were by no means as “golden” and paradisiacal as he himself described them and as some of his biographers have assumed.

It remains to be mentioned at this point that Freud’s theory of sex development has characteristic limitations, not least because of these experiences with his mother, or that it was also impossible for

¹⁴⁹ Hardin (1994, p. 121; own translation) suspects that the Talion law was subliminally at work here: “Freud had basically sent a surrogate son to his mother’s funeral, just as his mother had entrusted him primarily to the care of a surrogate mother – the nanny – during a crucial phase of his childhood”.

him for biographical reasons to advance in his understanding of the boy's psychosexual development and its early history to the idea of a "bad mother" and to think of the boy's relationship to his mother in all its conflictuality. While he succeeded better in this in his later work for female development, Freud did not get beyond a bland idealization in the mother-son relationship until the end (for a discussion of Freud's concepts of sex development, see Hegener, 2020, in more detail). As late as the beginning of the 1930s, in the *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, he declared that the relationship of the son to his mother was "this is altogether the *most perfect*, the most *free from ambivalence* of all human relationships" (Freud 1933a, p. 133; emphasis W.H.).¹⁵⁰

This restriction can be shown more concretely in Freud's lack of reaction to the study on the Italian painter Giovanni Segantini (1858-1899) by his student Karl Abraham (1877-1925), published in 1911, in which the latter developed for the first time a theory of the phantasy world of the "bad mother" (also the title of a painting by Segantini) underlying depression (Abraham, 1911). Freud, as Zienert-Eilts (2013, pp. 109-114) has convincingly reconstructed in her biography of Abraham, was unable to assimilate this seminal theory and to arrive at a differentiated conception of the early maternal relationship. Abraham, who openly admitted the personal background of his research (losses in his early history), addressed with this work a blank space in Freudian theory as well as, at the same time and connected to it, a sore point in its personal history. In the same letter in which Abraham Freud announced his study, he mentioned that Wilhelm Fliess (1858-1928) – known to have been an intimate friend of Freud's up to a certain point, but with whom the friendship broke off for a variety of personal reasons and due to theoretical disagreements – had asked him to come and see him. It is now striking that Freud answered immediately, but always remained silent on the Segantini study after a very general reaction and the reference to the benevolent judgements of others in all his letters and publications, which is highly unusual.

Zienert-Eilts argues convincingly that Abraham thus unintentionally touched on two sore points in Freud: his own experience of motherhood, overshadowed by early losses, and the painful loss of Fliess, about whom Freud wrote to Abraham: "I once loved him very much" (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 131). This loss, which was extremely painful for Freud, may have been related to the losses in his early childhood and to his mother relationship, of which he was additionally reminded by the Segantini study. In the latter, Abraham reports that Segantini's mother was also ill in the first year of his life and later had to take a cure. Segantini elevated his mother to an ideal figure in his art, describing her as follows: "I see her in my mind's eye, her *tall form* walking wearily. She was

¹⁵⁰ Freud's psychoanalytic technique was also affected by this restriction, but this can only be briefly touched on here. He clearly formulated it to his analysand Hilda Doolittle: „‘And I must tell you (you were frank with me and I will be frank with you). I do *not* like to be the mother in transference – it always surprises and shocks me a little. I feel so very masculine’“ (Doolittle, 1956, pp. 146-147). For Freud it must have been frightening and deeply disturbing to come into contact with the maternal object even in the treatments.

beautiful [...]” (quoted in Abraham, 1911, p. 214; emphasis W.H.). This recalls, right down to the wording, Freud’s own description of his mother and his own desperate reaction to her (feared) loss, which was particularly acute after the disappearance of his nursery, to which we shall turn in more detail in the next section: “My mother was nowhere to be found; I was crying in despair. My brother Philipp (twenty years older than I) unlocked a wardrobe [*Kasten*] for me, and when I did not find my mother inside it either, I cried even more until, *slender and beautiful*, she came in through the door” (Freud, 1985c, p. 270; emphasis W.H.). In addition, Abraham was able to understand for the first time that behind the mother’s exaltation there were defensive sadistic impulses and death wishes that Freud was unable to perceive and cope with in his mother relationship.

The nursery: who “provided me at such an early age with the means for living and going on living”

Left open (but already addressed in the last paragraph) in the reconstruction so far is the sudden loss of the nursery in its consequence for Freud’s development. This much is known: He lost her at the age of two years and eight months when she was suddenly arrested and thrown into prison after his half-brother Philip discovered that she had been stealing from the Freud family. In several letters to Fliess in October 1897, Freud reflected on her as part of his self-analysis, which will be traced here with relevant quotations (see especially Hardin, 1994).

On 3. October he states “that in my case the ‘prime originator’ was an ugly, elderly, but clever woman, who told me a great deal about God Almighty and hell and who instilled in me a high opinion of my own capacities; that later (between two and two and a half years) my libido toward *matrem* was awakened [...] If they come [to light] and I succeed in resolving my own hysteria, then I shall be grateful to the memory of the old woman who provided me at such an early age with the *means for living and going on living*” (Freud, 1985c, pp. 268-269; emphasis W.H.).

During the night Freud had a dream about his former child-wife, continuing his argument with her:

“she was my teacher in sexual matters and complained because I was clumsy and unable to do anything. [...]. Moreover, she washed me in reddish water in which she had previously washed herself. (The interpretation is not difficult; I find nothing like this in the chain of my memories; so I regard it as a genuine ancient discovery.) And she made me steal zehners (ten-kreuzer coins)” (ibid., p. 269).

On October 15, 1897, he writes that he found some “real clues to the story” when he asked his mother if she could remember the nursery:

“‘Of course,’ she said, ‘an elderly person, very clever, she was always carrying you off to some church; when you returned home you preached and told us all about God Almighty. During my confinement with Anna (two and a half years younger), it was discovered that she was a thief, and all the shiny new kreuzers and zehners and all the toys that had been given to you were found in her possession. Your brother Philipp himself fetched the policeman; she then was given ten months in prison’” (ibid., p. 271).

Freud’s nursery was of great importance to Freud because, as he explicitly notes, she provided him with the “means for living and going on living”. In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud even speaks bluntly of his love for her (a comparable statement about his mother, which is striking enough, is not found anywhere!): “It is reasonable to suppose that the child loved the old woman who taught him these lessons, in spite of her rough treatment of him” (Freud, 1900a, p. 248). But she was presumably especially important, indeed downright necessary for his survival, because his mother was heavily burdened after the death of her brother and her second son and could not be sufficiently available psychologically for her son. The nursery may even have cared for him alone during this time and until her sudden disappearance, helping to compensate for the mother’s psychological absence. That she was also able to impart something of her Catholic faith to Freud made a deep impression on him and certainly strengthened the bond between them.¹⁵¹ This influence, which Freud openly reported to the family, was evidently not experienced by his parents as a threat, but perhaps tolerated because they knew how important this strengthening was for Freud.¹⁵² In this respect she, or not she alone, cannot be regarded as the “prime originator” of Freud’s neurosis, and it can be asked whether there is not a shift here away from his mother towards the nursery and an attempt to exonerate his mother. If one realizes the centrality of the nursery, one can imagine how terrible her sudden disappearance must have been for Freud. Her loss was terrible because Freud had irretrievably lost a central maternal figure with her, but it was also dramatic, on the other hand, because it triggered and awakened the loss of the mother that had already taken place, as well as the desperate fear of her final and complete disappearance. The fear of now being completely alone has, as he writes, accompanied and caught up with him again and again since a certain point in time:

¹⁵¹ Paul Vitz (1988) has linked Freud’s admiration for Christian art to this influence and interpreted it as an attempt to rediscover his Czech Catholic nursery. The fact that Freud was able to form a deeper friendship with Oskar Pfister (1873-1956), a Protestant pastor, also seems more understandable against this background.

¹⁵² Again and again, the Catholic background of the nursery and the fact that she introduced Freud to her faith is taken as an indication of „how secular – indeed, how blasé – they were concerning religious matters” (Whitebook, 2017, p. 45) Freud’s parents must have been. In the case of a Jewish religious attachment, they could not have allowed such influence. However, one can also come to a different conclusion: Jacob and Amalia Freud were so sure of their Jewish roots, despite all their ambivalences and despite their partial departure from Jewish tradition, that they did not have to fear that their son would turn away from his origins.

“I said to myself that if the old woman disappeared from my life so suddenly, it must be possible to demonstrate the impression this made on me. Where is it then? Thereupon a scene occurred to me which in the course of twenty-five years has occasionally emerged in my conscious memory without my understanding it. My mother was nowhere to be found; *I was crying in despair*. My brother Philipp (twenty years older than I) unlocked a wardrobe [*Kasten*] for me, and when I did not find my mother inside it either, I cried even more until, slender and beautiful, she came in through the door. What can this mean? Why did my brother unlock the wardrobe for me, knowing that my mother was not in it and that thereby he could not calm me down? Now I suddenly understand it. I had asked him to do it. When I missed my mother, I was afraid she had vanished from me, just as the old woman had a short time before. So I must have heard that the old woman had been locked up and therefore must have believed that my mother had been locked up too – or rather, had been ‘boxed up’ [*eingekastelt*] – for my brother Philipp, who is now sixty-three years old, to this very day is still fond of using such puns. The fact that I turned to him in particular proves that I was well aware of his share in the disappearance of the nurse” (ibid., pp. 271-272; emphasis W.H.).

If we follow up Freud’s hint that this scene has been appearing in his memory for 25 years, we come across a visit Freud made to his Moravian homeland. He had visited the Fluß family in Freiberg with his friend Ignaz Rosanes (1857-1922) in the summer of 1872, and during this stay Freud must have remembered his early childhood and the losses suffered during that time. It was during this summer that Freud’s mother’s account, already reproduced, of her having attended only to “physical well-being” as well as her praise of the mother of the house, Eleonore Fluß (Freud 1989a, p. 17; see above). But what was probably decisive and even more triggering was that Freud had fallen in love for the first time during this summer stay, namely with Gisela, the eldest daughter of the Fluß family.¹⁵³ When she left Freiberg shortly afterwards, however, Freud was confronted with a new and again much too sudden and early loss, which may have triggered his memory of the box scene. He writes to his childhood friend Eduard Silberstein:

“I said good-bye *sadly* and walked to Hochwald, my little paradise, where I spent a most pleasant hour. I have *soothed* all my *turbulent thoughts* and only flinch slightly when her mother mentions Gisela’s name at table” (ibid., p. 15; emphasis W.H.).

It was to be a long 10 years before Freud could even dare to fall in love again, this time far more happily with his bride Martha Bernays. The fear of coming into contact with the desperate feelings

¹⁵³ Whether Gisela Fluß is identical with the “Ichthyosaura” Freud speaks of is highly unclear, and it is rather to be assumed that they are two different persons (cf. Heim, 1994).

of his early childhood in an infatuation must have been very effective in him and were then also mobilized towards Martha, whom, as numerous of his bridal letters to her testify, he constantly accused of infidelity in excessive jealousy – we will come to this shortly.

Loss of faith and speech

From these biographical data and contexts, the question now arises as to how the early losses affected Freud's relationship to religion and faith. Not only through the description of his contact with his nursery, who told him much "about God Almighty and hell", and through his mother's account that he "preached" about God's deeds after visits to the Freiberg church, but also through Freud's first letter that has survived at all, we can surmise that he was a thoroughly pious boy who believed in God and spoke of him in a childlike, uninhibited way. Even in the children's letter that Freud wrote to his half-brother Emanuel in England around 1863, when he was six or seven years old – it is the first letter ever preserved by Freud – the mention of God is interwoven as a matter of course:

"Dear brother, I was glad to receive the letter from your dear son, but I am very sorry that I did not understand any of it. Now I trying to write a few lines to you. I and my dear parents and sisters are *thank God* well. Love to you and your family and also my brother Philipp. Your loving brother Sigismund Freud. Greetings and kisses to my dear friend Johann, and Pauli" (quoted in E. Freud et al., 1978, pp. 56-57; emphasis W.H.).

Presumably, however, a germ for his no longer being able to believe was already planted during this time, which, according to previous assumptions, also includes the early reading of the Bible together with his father, and which has to do with the serious and cumulative losses. To further support this assumption, two of Freud's recollections will be consulted, both of which also fall within this period and have to do with both his mother, the Bible, and death and his fear of death. In one of these passages Amalia Freud appears, which has already been discussed at the beginning of chapter three, as an early (religious) teacher of Freud. Freud incorporated both of these memories into *The Interpretation of Dreams*. The first of the two concerns a dream already cited (see Chapter 1), in which wood engravings from *Philippson's Bible* appear (see also Grinstein, 1968):

"It is dozens of years since I myself had a true anxiety-dream. But I remember one from my seventh or eighth year, which I submitted to interpretation some thirty years later. It was a very vivid one, and in it I saw *my beloved mother, with a peculiarly peaceful, sleeping*

expression on her features, being carried into the room by two (or three) people with birds' beaks and laid upon the bed. I awoke in tears and screaming, and interrupted my parents' sleep. The strangely draped and unnaturally tall figures with birds' beaks were derived from the illustrations to Philippon's Bible. I fancy they must have been gods with falcons' heads from an ancient Egyptian funerary relief" (Freud, 1900a, p. 583).¹⁵⁴

In this dream, Freud's fear of losing his mother, or having lost her long ago, has caught up with him again. The magnitude of this fear becomes so great during the dream that Freud wakes up "in tears and screaming" and has to turn to his parents to make sure that his mother is still alive. Freud describes it himself in his analysis of the dream: "I remember that I suddenly grew calm when I saw my mother's face, *as though I had needed to be reassured that she was not dead*" (ibid., p. 584; emphasis W.H.). He was indeed in dire need of reassurance, for he was once again confronted with the horror of her final loss and, in this state of acute anxiety, could no longer believe in the (continued) existence of his mother. In this context, we still have to address a misdating (cf. also Rizzuto, 1998, p. 96): Freud associates his mother's facial expression in the dream with "from the view I had had of my grandfather a few days before his death as he lay snoring in a coma" (Freud, 1900a, p. 583). This can only be Jacob Nathanson, Freud's maternal grandfather, who had died on October 3, 1865, at a time when Freud was nine and a half, not seven or eight. It is quite conceivable that Freud's mother had reconnected with her earlier losses (that of her brother and that of her second son) through the death of her father, reacted depressively, and that Freud experienced and perceived her in this emotional state. More concretely still: It is quite possible that Freud experienced his mother at her father's deathbed and later, after the funeral, during the *shiva* (the seven-day period of intense mourning after the funeral in which family, neighbours, friends, and community members gather at the house of the deceased) in acute grief or perhaps despair – and it was precisely this reaction of his mother's that might have reminded him of that time when, after the earlier losses, she had become as if psychologically dead and unreachable for him. The fact that Freud connected the dream from the seventh or eighth year of his life with the death of his grandfather about two years later may have to do with the fact that not only did the intensive reading of the *Philippon Bible* with his father fall into the period of the dream, but he also received special lessons from his mother during this time, in which death also played an important role. The unifying bracket of these two memories, then, is death and the reaction to it – on the one hand, Freud's reaction to his mother's dreamed death and, on the other, his mother's reaction to her father's death – as well as their associative connection to early traumatic losses.

¹⁵⁴ Rizzuto (1998, pp. 96-97) suggests that this may refer to two woodcuts with funerary reliefs, both found in the 2nd Book of *Samuel* from the second volume of the *Philippon Bible* (PB, vol. 2, pp. 349 and 459).

This brings us to the second passage, found in the subchapter “Infantile Material as a Source of Dreams” of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which contains a direct childhood memory of Freud’s from the period mentioned. This in turn is in the context of another dream which must be reported first:

“Tired and hungry after a journey, I went to bed, and the major vital needs began to announce their presence in my sleep; I dreamt as follows: *I went into a kitchen in search of some pudding. Three women were standing in it; one of them was the hostess of the inn and was twisting something about in her hand, as though she was making Knödel [dumplings]. She answered that I must wait till she was ready. (These were not definite spoken words.) I felt impatient and went off with a sense of injury. I put on an overcoat. But the first I tried on was too long for me. I took it off, rather surprised to find it was trimmed with fur. A second one that I put on had a long strip with a Turkish design let into it. A stranger with a long face and a short pointed beard came up and tried to prevent my putting it on, saying it was his. I showed him then that it was embroidered all over with a Turkish pattern. He asked: ‘What have the Turkish (designs, stripes...) to do with you?’ But we then became quite friendly with each other*“ (Freud, 1900a, p. 204).

In interpreting the dream, Freud first thought of a novel that he said he had read “when I was thirteen, perhaps” and that he could no longer remember its title. The ending, on the other hand, is still vividly in his memory: the hero falls into madness and “kept calling out the names of the three women who had brought the greatest happiness and sorrow into his life”. These women are associated with the three Fates, who “spin the destiny of man”. The link to Freud’s dream is obvious, since three female figures also play a role in it. One of the women, the landlady, is the mother “who gives life”, but also, “as in my own case”, the first nourishment. For Freud, this female or mother figure is associated with a loving and satisfying breastfeeding situation: “Love and hunger, I reflected, meet at a woman’s breast” (ibid.). Freud then goes on to say, however, that one of the Fates rubs her palms together as if making dumplings. This is the point at which Freud recalls an early situation with his own mother, which is again linked to death¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ The Fates as a symbolization of death also appears in Freud’s analysis of the choice between the three daughters in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* several years later, which he unfolded in his work “The Theme of the Three Caskets”. Lear decides to divide his kingdom between his three daughters during his lifetime, according to the love they feel and express for him. King Lear fails to recognize the wordless and unimpressive love of his third daughter, Cordelia, and disowns her. Freud focuses his reflections on Cordelia’s muteness and interprets it as a “representation of death” (Freud 1913f, p. 295). In a letter to Ferenczi dated 23 June 1912, Freud succinctly summarizes the result of his analysis: “So, the motif of the choice between three sisters, the third of whom is mute. With a few associations I came out with the idea that they are the three—sisters of destiny, the Fates, the third of whom is mute, because she – symbolizes death (Stekel) [...]. Cordelia, who loves and is silent, is thus actually death“ (Freud & Ferenczi, 1993, p. 386; emphasis W.H.). In this analysis, then, Freud has also, in a striking way,

“When I was six years old and was given my first lessons by my mother, I was expected to believe that we were all made of earth and must therefore return to earth. This did not suit me and I expressed doubts of the doctrine. My mother thereupon rubbed the palms of her hands together – just as she did in making dumplings, except that there was no dough between them – and showed me the blackish scales of *epidermis* produced by the friction as a proof that we were made of earth. My astonishment at this ocular demonstration knew no bounds and I acquiesced in the belief which I was later to hear expressed in the words: ‘*Du bist der Natur einen Tod schuldig*’” (ibid., p. 210).

The first sentence of the last quotation suggests that Amalia Freud was giving her son Bible lessons, for here allusion is made to a famous verse in *Genesis* 3, 19, which Freud will presumably have heard from her more than once during this period: “for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return”. Crucially, in his dream Freud does not divide life and death between two different female figures or Fates, but they coincide in a striking way in the figure of the landlady. Life and love on the one hand, and loss, “ruin” and death on the other, are inextricably linked in a deeply frightening way in one female figure, the mother, and this link reflects Freud’s early experiences of his mother and his nursery. It is from this linkage that we can now better understand a particular misattribution in the quotation, first pointed out by Jones (1972, p. 17). Namely, the last phrase, “Thou owest nature a death” comes, though with a striking alteration, from Shakespeare, who in his drama *Henry IV* (Part 1, Act 5, 1st movement and Part 2, Act 3, 2nd movement) has Prince Hal say twice, “Thou owest God a death”. In his rendition, presumably already in an act of a quasi-Spinozist rebellion and disbelief, Freud has replaced the God of the Bible, who was implicitly mentioned even before, and who was also that of his mother, with the much more neutral or clearly less personal instance of nature (cf. on this also Rizzuto, 1998, pp. 93 and 257).

And the question arises how Freud could continue to believe in his mother’s God when she so inseparably united life, loss and death for him? When the nursery still existed, it was possible for him to keep *a* mother figure free from the horror of death and loss (something that cannot be separated in the soul of such a small child as Freud was at the time), and to enter with her into the world of faith. But the moment the nursery suddenly disappeared, this distinction collapsed, life and death combined in the mother, the terror returned, and Freud was henceforth incapable of believing any longer in a somehow good God who offered him support and security. What Freud suffered in the way of separation and loss in his early years was indeed a “catastrophe” for him, which we can assume caused a rupture in him that took away forever the possibility of faith. While he was able to

inextricably linked love and death.

rediscover the Jewish tradition to a great extent after his turning away from it and attacking it, this was no longer possible for him with regard to his early childhood faith.¹⁵⁶

These considerations also open up a possibility of approaching an answer to the question, which has already been raised several times, as to why Freud was able to forget Hebrew again, which, according to the research presented in this book, he did indeed learn at least to the extent that he was able to read it. As a first hint, we may note that Freud himself reports in *The Interpretation of Dreams* that there was another language which he must have understood in his early childhood and then forgotten:

“Incidentally, I must have understood Czech in my earliest childhood, for I was born in a small town in Moravia which has a Slav population. A Czech nursery rhyme, which I heard in my seventeenth year, printed itself on my memory so easily that I can repeat it to this day, though I have no notion what it means. Thus there was no lack of connections with my early childhood in these dreams either” (Freud, 1900a, p. 196).

It seems reasonable to assume that Freud’s most intense emotional contact with the Czech language was in his relationship with his nursery: this was a striking impression of his first years of life, when he spoke to her, attended Catholic masses in Czech with her in Freiberg’s Church of the Nativity of Mary (see the illustration in Freud et al., 1978, p. 48) and enthusiastically repeated the Czech sermons he heard there to his parents. Together with his nursery he was able to immerse himself in a space of sound and meaning all his own, distinct from that of his parents. With her sudden disappearance, and a little later with the loss of his Moravian homeland, this maternal linguistic world also perished. One should not think of this process as one of merely passive extinction of impressions and memory contents, but equally or even more as an active “anticathexis” (*Gegenbesetzung*) of memories and meanings, since they were associated with extremely painful feelings. Anticathexis Freud described as a mechanism by which “the system *Pcs.* protects itself from the pressure upon it of the unconscious idea” (Freud, 1915e, p. 181). The imagination, he adds, is deprived of its (emotional) occupation. Freud probably could not remember his early knowledge of Czech at all for a long time, and never fully, because it would have confronted him affectively with the complex of his traumatic losses. In particular, he had to strip the words of their

¹⁵⁶ Perhaps, however, a residue of the child’s belief was preserved or hidden in Freud’s well-known fascination with the subject of telepathy (cf. Freud, 1922a and 1941d). This would be supported by a recollection of Jones: In a conversation on this subject, in the course of which Freud had defended clairvoyant visions by saying that there must be some truth in them, Jones criticized him, charging that such a conviction led ultimately to belief in something supernatural and in angels. “He closed the discussion at this point (about three in the morning!) with the remark: ‘Quite so, even *der liebe Gott.*’ This was said in a jocular tone as if agreeing with my *reductio ad absurdum* and with a quizzical look as if he were pleased at shocking me. But there was something searching also in the glance, and I went away not entirely happy lest there be some more serious undertone as well” (Jones, 1957, p. 407).

meaning, or to anticathex the “Sachvorstellung” (thing-presentation), or to separate them from the “Wortvorstellung” (word-presentation) to such an extent that only the “the thing-cathexes of the objects, the first and true object-cathexes” (ibid., p. 201) could remain unconscious. He was able to reproduce effortlessly and word-for-word the Czech “nursery rhyme” he heard at the age of seventeen, but its factual *and* emotional meanings remained closed to him because they were connected with a complex of memories of significant relationships, catastrophic losses, and great psychic pain.

This fits with the fascinating experiences in psychoanalytic treatments that Amati-Mehler, Argentieri and Canestri recount in their book *The Babel of the Unconscious. Mother Tongue and Foreign Languages in Psychoanalysis* (1993). The authors are able to show how much not only the acquisition but also the forgetting of a language is integrated into the emotional processes of the relationship with the primary caregivers, the separation from them and of becoming independent. One of their central insights, which connects well with the previous results of our reconstruction, is that the forgetting of a language has a lot to do with the breakdown of early relationships.

In order to better understand the significance of Hebrew for Freud, it is worthwhile to recall some of his remarks about this language, all of which date from the last years of his life. In several places he speaks of the Hebrew language as a “holy language”, which it is in the Jewish understanding.¹⁵⁷ In December 1930 he writes to Jehuda Dvovis-Dvir, the translator of two of his writings into Hebrew, after emphasizing that he knew no Hebrew: “My father spoke the *holy language* as well as German or better” (Freud 1990s, p. 44; emphasis W.H.).¹⁵⁸ The preface to the 1934 Hebrew edition of *Totem and Taboo* states with the same wording:

“No reader of [the Hebrew version of] this book will find it easy to put himself in the emotional position of an author who is ignorant of the language of *holy writ*, who is completely estranged from the religion of his fathers – as well as from every other religion – and who cannot take a share in nationalist ideals, but who has yet never repudiated his people, who feels that he is in his essential nature a Jew and who has no desire to alter that nature” (Freud, 1934b, p. XIV; emphasis W.H.).

For Freud, Hebrew has been intimately connected with the sacred and thus also with faith – which he was able to see more clearly in his later years, when he again intensively engaged with the Jewish tradition (see below) – and just as he anticathexes faith, so he presumably also anticathexes

¹⁵⁷ The Hebrew language is therefore sacred and inviolable, since in the Jewish understanding it is regarded as inseparable from the revelation itself, and the writing engraved on the tablets as having been created before the world on the evening of the Sabbath (cf. Liss, 2019)

¹⁵⁸ Freud immediately continues: “He let me grow up in perfect ignorance on everything concerning Judaism” (Freud, 1990s, p. 44). This sentence is more than astonishing in view of the sources and documents presented in this book.

and forgot most of his knowledge and memory of Hebrew. Freud himself provides a hint of this anticathexis in his text, namely when he speaks of being “completely estranged” from his father’s religion: to be estranged or alienated from something presupposes that one was once close and familiar with it. It is like the “uncanny” (Freud, 1919h), where the negating “un” of the word is the mark of repression and symbolizes precisely the secret and familiar. In this sense, it is quite conceivable and more than probable that Freud often heard Hebrew in his childhood and that it formed, along with Yiddish and German (and probably also Czech), the familiar-homely *sound* of his childhood. How could it be otherwise, when his father spoke the sacred language even better than German, probably read the Talmud daily (*nota bene* in the Hebrew version, for a German version was not yet available) and discussed it intensively with Freud? For Jacob Freud, Hebrew was not just any language, but was inextricably linked to his Jewish affiliation and his faith, and therefore highly charged with emotional significance. Even in the elementary school and high school that Freud attended, the declared goal of the religious education curriculum (see Chapter 3) was to impart a basic knowledge of Hebrew so that the Bible could be read in the original text and participation in synagogal worship became possible.

In an early essay in which he argued for the renewal of the Hebrew language, Gershom Scholem spoke of the “religious violence” of Hebrew that breaks through in its transmission to children:

“But if we transmit the language to our children as it was transmitted to us, if we, a generation of transition, revive the language of the ancient books for them, that it may reveal itself anew through them, shall not the *religious power* [religiöse Gewalt] of that language explode one day?” (Scholem, 1926, p. 168; emphasis W.H.).

After all that we have learned so far, it could well be that Freud resisted this “religious violence” inherent in Hebrew and had to downright forget it because of its emotional anticathexis. Via the memory of the Hebrew “holy language” heard at an early age, the strands can be linked, he would have come into contact with the world of early relationship experiences as well as the traumatic pain of separation associated with them. His fear of this must have been massive and overwhelming. Furthermore, when Freud speaks in the last quote of being alienated from “every other” religion, this can probably also refer to the Catholic religion, with which he had come into contact early on through his Czech nursery (see above); he also had to anticathex it due to the described traumatic break-off of the relationship (although certainly not with the same emotional intensity as his own Jewish religion).

Against this background, however, it becomes more understandable what emotional and intellectual significance the joint reading of the *Philippson Bible* with his father must have had for Freud.

Despite all his limitations, Jacob Freud offered his son support, security, and a lastingly effective means of identification within the framework of a fascinating reading, to which he could always fall back after considerable struggles. This experience with his father had a reparative character, especially since, as Rizzuto (1998, p. 62) probably rightly assumes, Jacob Freud, in addition to all the strictness that was also his own, represented for his children a maternal figure with a soft and kind side. After the “first lessons” by his mother, which closed off further access to his childlike faith, he was unable to find a way back to it with his father, but the latter at least opened up to him an intellectual world into which Freud immersed himself and from which he was later able to draw, especially in difficult or crisis situations, after he had better worked through his ambivalence towards him in the wake of his father’s death, and which he was able to use for the development of his psychoanalytic approach. The *Jewish Bible* was able to occupy this place in Freud’s life, since it provided for him (as it did for parts of the Jewish Enlightenment movement-see Chapter 2) an ethical and literary reference point to which he was always able to fall back, despite all the fluctuations in his development. The Bible in particular – and in its form of appropriation mediated by the Rabbinic tradition – became a commonly shared third and a permanent inner point of reference for Freud. It was within this framework that his sense of belonging to Judaism could be constituted and consolidated.

When Freud was to write many years later in his address to the *B’Nai B’Rith* Lodge that there was much that made the attraction of Judaism “irresistible” to him, “many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction” (Freud, 1926j, p. 273), he used these words to describe forcefully an experience most closely associated with his father and his relationship with him mediated through their reading of the Bible together. Here, and perhaps only here, he was able to experience the secrecy and deep intimacy of connection with a primary object, which gave rise in him, on an emotional level, to “a clear consciousness of inner identity” and of a cultural belonging rooted in the pre-linguistic (“a common mental construction”) (cf. on this Özbek, 2021).

In order to give a concrete impression of this affiliation, which Freud assured himself of in a crisis situation, let us recall at this point his dream *Auf Geseres – Auf Ungeseres* from *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a, pp. 443ff.; cf. also Hegener, 2017, pp. 121-128). In this dream, which already falls in the period after Jacob Freud’s death and seems clearly less ambivalent towards Judaism, as well as in the associations belonging to it, Freud unfolds an entire panorama of Jewish history from the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt to the multiple exile to Zionism. Yiddish and Hebrew words occur, Freud borrows from the scribes, the “Schriftgelehrten” (as it says in the

German original) and thus assures himself of his deeply felt attachment to the Jewish tradition. The dream reads as follows:

“On account of certain events which had occurred in the city of Rome, it had become necessary to remove the children to safety, and this was done. The scene was then in front of a gateway, double doors in the ancient style (the ‘Porta Romana’ at Siena, as I was aware during the dream itself). I was sitting on the edge of a fountain and was greatly depressed and almost in tears. A female figure – an attendant or nun – brought two boys out and handed them over to their father, who was not myself. The elder of the two was clearly my eldest son; I did not see the other one’s face. The woman who brought out the boy asked him to kiss her good-bye. She was noticeable for having a red nose. The boy refused to kiss her, but, holding out his hand in farewell, said ‘AUF GESERES’ to her, and the ‘AUF UNGESERES’ to the two of us (or to one of us). I had a notion that this last phrase denoted a preference” (Freud, 1900a, pp. 441-442).

Freud is the first to state that the dream is built on a “tangle of thoughts” (ibid., p. 442) stimulated by a play seen in the theatre: *Das Neue Ghetto* (Herzl, 1897). However, he does not mention that this play, written in 1894, was written by Theodor Herzl, that it publicly addresses the precarious situation of the Jewish population in Austria and that Herzl had already spoken out clearly against assimilation and conversion at this time (which was before the Dreyfus affair in 1895), after he had previously advocated the mass conversion of young Jews to the Christian faith with the argument that in this way they could be spared professional difficulties and discrimination. It is worth taking a closer look at this play, in which Herzl contrasts three figures who represent three different “solutions” to the “Jewish question”, and shows the field of tension in the inner-Jewish discussion of the time. On the one hand, we find the doctor Dr. Bichler, who has been baptised and explains this sceptically as follows: “What I that is the individual solution to the question. [...] Or at least an attempt at a solution ... Because – between us – it is not solved by this” (ibid., p. 11). The second attitude is represented by Rabbi Dr. Friedheimer, who pleads for coming to terms with the oppressive situation: “When the real ghetto still existed, we were not allowed to leave it without permission – at grave risk to our bodies. Now the walls and barriers are invisible [...]. But this moral ghetto is also our prescribed place of residence. Woe to anyone who wants to leave” (ibid., p. 30). And finally there is the lawyer Dr. Jacob Samuel, who sharply criticises both positions and, out of a quasi pre-Zionist attitude, also wants to break out of the new, the invisible ghetto: “[...] we only have to break these barriers differently from those old ones. The outer barriers had to be removed from the outside – we have to remove the inner ones. We ourselves! Out of ourselves!” (ibid.). And

at another point Herzl has him say: “But one must get further! Do you understand? Further, higher! Then one is a human being!” (ibid., p. 36; own translations).

Freud notes, after mentioning the drama, that “the Jewish problem” as well as “concern about the future of one’s children, to whom one cannot give a country of their own, concern about educating them in such a way that they can move freely across frontiers” (Freud, 1900a, p. 442) can be seen in the dream thoughts. As a further association, Freud next mentions a famous Psalm verse, but without giving the context of its origin, as if it were self-evident and familiar. This idea refers to the fact that Freud almost cried in a dream because he had to hide his children due to the threat of persecution. The verse associated with this is: “By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept” (ibid.). This is Psalm 137, commonly attributed to the prophet Jeremiah. It addresses the longing of the deported Jewish people living in exile in Babylon (597-539 BCE) for Jerusalem and the destroyed temple on Mount Zion, and thus picks up on an incisive, “epoch making” event (Fackenheim) in Jewish history, which is brought into a context with the current situation through the dream, namely the concern about the future of one's own children in the face of increasing anti-Semitism. The memory of the exile, however, also offers comfort, since the Israeli people were not only able to survive in Babylonia, but to find a monotheistic and Torah-centred Judaism and, after their return, a sustaining renewal (see below).

In the further course of his analysis, Freud places special emphasis on the two phrases: “Geseres” and “Ungeseres”. He first notes: “According to information I have received from philologists [in the original German: *Schriftgelehrte*, scribes], ‘Geseres’ is a genuine Hebrew word” (ibid.). Who exactly Freud means by “Schriftgelehrten”, whether the Talmudic teachers of the law or linguists, remains unclear, but their mention in this way is remarkable enough in this context; in any case, these give him the information that Geseres is a “genuine Hebrew word”, “derived from a verb ‘goiser’, and is best translated by ‘imposed sufferings’ or ‘doom’” (ibid.). According to its use in slang, it probably means “weeping and wailing” (ibid.). If we look up a dictionary of Yiddish expressions in German (Althaus, 2003, p. 85), we learn that this word is the plural of *Geseiere*, comes from Hebrew (גְּזֵרָה; gezērā(h)) and entered the German language via Yiddish in the 19th century. If this word appears in Freud’s dream, he will probably have heard it often, probably from his Yiddish-speaking and Hebrew-knowledgeable parents – the latter is at least true of his father Jakob. The word “Ungeseres”, on the other hand, is, as Freud goes on to say, his own word formation and initially left him perplexed. Only the last remark in the dream, that Ungeseres means a preference over Geseres, opens up an approach to understanding. At first it occurs to Freud that unsalted caviar is preferable to salted caviar. Via further detours, he finally arrives at a central biblical scene that creates the mediating transition to the understanding of the dream:

“This was provided by ‘leavened – unleavened’ [‘gesäuert – ungesäuert’] In their flight out of Egypt the Children of Israel had not time to allow their dough to rise and, in memory of this, they eat unleavened bread to this day at Easter” (Freud, 1900a, p. 443).

This event plays a prominent role in Jewish history as well as in Jewish culture of remembrance and commemoration and is therefore mentioned several times in the Torah (*Exodus*, 21, 14-15; 34, 18; *Deuteronomy*, 16, 3). Most recently, Assmann (2015) has impressively pointed out the foundational importance of this narrative for the entire Jewish religion. In the history of Israel's memory, the slavery in the “slave house of Egypt” is, as it were, the prefiguration for every subsequent exile, including the Babylonian exile, as well as for times of oppression and in the Diaspora. In his dream, Freud also uses this narrative as a background for the thematisation of the oppressive situation of the Jews at the end of the 19th century; for him, it offers an indispensable foil for understanding, bearing and progressively processing this situation.

The Passover Haggadah is also an expression of the unconditional obligation to remain faithful to God, since he freed his people from Egyptian slavery. In the 12th chapter of the Book of *Exodus*, we are told how the Israelite people sit in their houses and prepare for the Exodus. The Israelites eat a sacrificial lamb, brush the doorposts with its blood and are spared by this sign, while an angel goes through the land and kills the firstborn of the Egyptians – it is the last of the ten plagues with which God covers Egypt, reveals himself to his people and in this way finally saves them. Judaism has created a special form of remembrance, a “memorial meal”, as it were, of this event, namely the Feast of Matzos on the eve of Passover, the so-called Seder Night. By participating in this feast, but especially by eating unleavened bread (*matzos*), every Jew should always feel and understand himself anew as someone who himself went out of Egypt and was saved (cf. also *Deuteronomy*, 6, 23). Through this, a defining characteristic of being a Jew is performatively enacted: “A Jew is someone who has been delivered from Egypt and who is free to the extent that he submits to the covenant and its commandments” (ibid., p. 208; own translation). The memory of this event, clothed in the dream, also enables Freud to assure himself of his belonging and to prefer the “unleavened” to the “leavened”, i.e. remaining in as well as transgenerationally preserving Judaism to conversion and self-exaltation.

Adolescence and anticathexis of one's own origin

In the last heard dream from the late years of the 19th century, Freud's feeling of belonging to the Jewish tradition is expressed not least by the mention of Hebrew and Yiddish words that refer to the

Eastern Jewishness of his parents. But his reaction to his (Eastern) Jewish origins was fierce during his adolescence and long after (until the time shortly after his father's death – see below), and could rise to the level of contempt and hatred. This is well illustrated in a letter Freud wrote in the late summer of 1872 to his childhood friend Emil Fluß, Gisela's brother and the son of the Fluß family, whom he had visited in Freiberg; during this visit he had experienced the profound disappointment in love described above and had been painfully reminded of his early losses. In this letter he describes the impressions of his return journey to Vienna by train:

“Our first travelling companion was a poor creature with a face terribly disfigured by ulcers. I wanted to force myself to stay so as not to offend the poor woman, but my condition became more and more unbearable, and when the girl even spoke and lifted her headscarf, disgust prevailed over the consideration I owed to a sufferer. We got out of the car – but as I had bad luck for once, I got into the company of a highly respectable old Jew and a corresponding old Jewess, together with a melancholy, languishing little daughter and a cheeky, hopeful son. The companionship was more intolerable to me than any other; a little remark I made red with anger could not sweeten the boredom. People are not so different as they look; they divide casually into great classes by their thoughts and actions; it is also natural, for similar conditions will always produce similar people! [...] Now this Jew spoke just as I have heard a thousand others speak, even in Freiberg; even his face seemed familiar to me; the man was a type. The boy with whom he talked about religion was likewise. He was of the wood from which fate cuts swindlers when the time comes: smart, mendacious, kept in the belief by his dear relatives that he was a talent, yet without principles or world view. A Bohemian cook with the most perfect pug face I've ever seen made the measure full. I've had enough of that riff-raff. – In the course of the conversation I learned that the woman was Jewish and had a family from Meseritsch [a Moravian town on the route between Freiberg and Vienna]: the right dunghill for such growth” (Freud, 1969a, pp. 107-108; own translation).

If one did not know that Freud wrote this letter, one would easily assume that it was written by an anti-Semite who gives free rein to his own dislikes. Full of disappointment and pain (“my condition became more and more unbearable”), he turns his “disgust”, his “anger”, and his contempt (“rabble”, “dunghill”, “growth”) primarily against the Eastern Jewish population (“I have already heard a thousand others, even in Freiberg, speak”), from which he himself came but to which he no longer wanted to belong. In his years of adolescence Freud completely adopted the deep resentment that assimilated Western Jews felt towards the “Eastern Jews” and tried to find a sense of belonging to the majority society in his dissociation from them. For a long time, he could only associate his

origin, his descent from Eastern Jewry, with poverty, backwardness, uneducation and weakness – but in the last instance probably with the losses he had suffered and his father’s inability to save him from them.

How deep his resentment ran is shown by a comparable incident almost 25 years later. On 15 September 1895 (i.e. before his father’s death) Freud describes his company on another train journey in a letter to Wilhelm Fliess, and this time too his full contempt hits an East Jew:

“The most interesting figure in this group, however, was the passenger who boarded third. He would have been capable of modifying the opinion of even a Nothnagel concerning the bad manners of the Jews. Above all, he gave evidence of his primitive state of culture and level of education by pronouncing that there was a draft and wishing to shut both windows” (1985c, p. 137).

After Freud had engaged in a verbal battle with this Jewish passenger, he declared in conclusion: “I merely looked at him disdainfully [...]” (ibid.). Here, the same affect of contempt is palpable that was once again directed against the “primitive cultural state” of a Jew, i.e., in all likelihood, against his unassimilated and “primitive” Eastern Jewishness.

With his remark about Nothnagel, Freud alludes to the so-called “Billroth dispute” of 1876 (cf. also Klein, 1985, pp. 50-53), which will be considered in more detail here. Theodor Billroth (1829-1894), a respected physician and representative of the “Second Viennese Medical School”, had doubted that Jews from Hungary and Galicia (i.e. Eastern Jews primarily from Freud’s homeland!) were entitled to be admitted to medical school, thus giving expression to a widespread anti-Semitic and nationalistic resentment. In his book *Über das Lehren und Lernen der medicinischen Wissenschaften an den Universitäten der deutschen Nation nebst allgemeine Bemerkungen über Universitäten: Eine culturhistorische Studie (On the Teaching and Learning of the Medical Sciences at the Universities of the German Nation along with General Remarks on Universities: A Cultural-Historical Study)*, published at the end of 1875, which provoked strong reactions at the University of Vienna, among Jewish intellectuals and even in the Imperial Council (cf. Seebacher, 2006), we can read the following remarks in the subchapter “Der Andrang zum Studium der Medicin in Wien” (The rush to study medicine in Vienna):

“Think of the little Jewish merchant in Galicia [...] who acquires just enough so that he does not starve with his family; the vanity of the mother demands a scribe, a Talmudist in the family; with a thousand difficulties he is brought to school; with difficulty he takes his Matura examination; now he comes to Vienna with his clothes, otherwise he has nothing. What

stimulation, what impressions has the boy, the youth had up to this point? The most petty, most miserable circumstances have always surrounded him; he never gets rid of the narrow horizon. Now he comes to the university [...]. Where does he find stimulation, where sympathy for the impressions he has received, for his striving? [...] Yes! Our teaching methods are not set up for such students, for such conditions; they demand a free head, free intellectual movement! Such people are not suited to any scientific career at all” (Billroth, 1876, p. 150; own translation).¹⁵⁹

Freud, who had matriculated only a short time before Billroth’s publication, in October 1873, must have had no great difficulty in feeling that he was meant by this description, down to many of the details (even though the Freud family had lived in Vienna for some time before he attended the university and Freud was a brilliant student). It blatantly expresses the general hostility towards the Eastern Jewish population, which Freud encountered directly as a medical student, but with which he identified, at least in part, and directed against his own origins. It was Hermann Nothnagel (1841-1905), mentioned in the letter to Fliess, professor and director at the 1st Medical Clinic of the University of Vienna (Freud had completed a six-month internship there and was later actively supported by Nothnagel in obtaining the title of professor; see Freud, 1985c, p. 455), who publicly opposed Billroth’s position in his paper *Die Wahrheit über die deutsche Universität Wien und die Lage der deutschen akademischen Jugend (The Truth about the German University of Vienna and the Situation of German Academic Youth)* (Nothnagel, 1894, esp. p. 46), defended the right of East Jewish students in particular, and campaigned against anti-Semitism. It now seems as if Freud meant to say in the quoted passage from the letter that even Nothnagel would have had to revise his benevolent judgment in view of this East Jewish passenger. Freud was only able to slowly put this strong resentment into perspective and set it aside after his father’s death (see below).

At this point, one more piece of evidence should be added to support the assumption of a deeply felt dislike for Eastern European Jews: In a letter to Eduard Silberstein of June 28, 1875, Freud tells his childhood friend about a scholar with whom he had made acquaintance, adding to his words of praise, “He is undoubtedly brilliant, but *unfortunately a Polish Jew*” (Freud, 1989a, p. 121; own emphasis). Let us now recall how Freud’s son Martin described his mother: “My father’s mother, Amalia, whom I knew very well, was a *typical Polish Jewess*, with all the shortcomings that that

¹⁵⁹ At this point, reference should be made to two studies: Beller (1989) calculated that up to a third of grammar school (Gymnasium) graduates in Vienna were Jews or of Jewish origin and that most of these came from the Bohemian crown lands (Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia). The fact that Freud chose medicine was therefore typical; 78 percent of High school graduates with a liberal bourgeois background who attended medical school were Jewish. Wistrich (1989) shows further more that the experience of anti-Semitism at Viennese university, as we will see in more detail later, had led Freud finally into opposition and this experience also and especially produced non-conformism and creativity in him.

implies” (M. Freud, 1967, p. 202, own emphasis). Perhaps Freud’s dislike of Eastern European Jews actually related more to his mother than to his father. This is also supported by the fact that in later years Freud managed to view his Eastern European, Polish-Jewish origins more positively, but this mainly in relation to his father (see below).

The passage from the letter to Emil Fluß presumably describes the climax of Sigmund Freud’s adolescent turning away from his Galician-Eastern Jewish origins and turning towards the Western-assimilated ideals of education, humanism and also atheism, which was henceforth connected with the strict rejection of all faith and all Jewish rituals. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 1 that Freud, at the age of 13 or 14, more or less definitively discarded his Jewishly connoted first name Sigismund with his *Bar Mitzvah*, thus also setting a sign against the Jewish-Polish-Eastern European affiliation associated with this name.

At no point, however, did this mean that Freud completely rejected Judaism or even toyed with the idea of conversion. Even in the period of his adolescence, humorous descriptions can be found again and again, in which scepticism and subtle irony are combined with a respect for Jewish tradition and its holidays; these are recognised, stripped of their ritual practice and location as historical reminiscences. Exemplary of this is the description of a theatrical performance on *Purim*, that is, on that Jewish festival which commemorates the salvation of the Jews living in the Persian Diaspora by Queen Esther, who courageously prevented the plan of the government official Haman to murder the entire Jewish people.¹⁶⁰ Freud writes to his friend Emil Fluß on March 17, 1873:

“To leave the oracular once for all, I inform you that we had a little theatre in the house on Purim (which, moreover, fell on the 13th of March, which is sacred to us all, and on which, after all, Caesar was murdered). A bored lady from the neighbourhood had drilled actors out of my siblings and some other children and forced us to laboriously earn the Purim dinner (which, as we all know, is not one of the worst) by enjoying art of the most wonderful kind. May you never find yourself in the position of being the brother of such ambitious actresses!” (ibid., p. 114; own translation).

Freud, who was about to take his Matura, immediately contrasts the Jewish holidays with a piece of his broad classical-humanist education by referring to Caesar’s assassination (on this, see the remarks on Freud’s grammar school education in Chapter 3) and mocks his sisters’ histrionics; nonetheless, the festival of Purim is mentioned at this point with a great matter-of-course that makes

¹⁶⁰ The Book of *Esther* comes from the third part of the Tanakh, the Ketuvim (Writings), and belongs, along with *Ruth*, *Song of Songs*, *Kohelet*, and the *Lamentations*, to the *Chamesh Megillot*, the Festival Scrolls, and these books are associated with the major Jewish holidays of *Shavuot*, *Passover*, *Sukkot*, *Tisha beAv*, and *Purim*.

it seem a fixed and unexceptionable part of Jewish family culture. We may also assume that Freud was well aware of the historical and biblical background of the holidays.

This familiarity is also evident in the letters of this period to Eduard Silberstein, another friend of Freud's youth, who, like all of Freud's friends in his school years and later at university, was Jewish. It has already been mentioned in Chapter 3 that in the letters to him alone the word God occurs 54 times and the Bible is quoted nine times (cf. Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 73-79 and Rizzuto, 1998, p. 145), including two concise mentions of the Book of *Job*.¹⁶¹ This correspondence also contains numerous references demonstrating that Jewish holidays were celebrated in the Freud family and that Freud also observed them. For example, he writes to his friend on September 18, 1874, after the latter had admonished him that he had forgotten to give due mention to the Jewish New Year:

“To suggest that I might have overlooked the New Year is to impute to me a tastelessness of which I know myself to be completely free. People are wrong to reproach religion for being of a metaphysical nature and for lacking the certainty of sensory perceptions. Rather, religion addresses the senses alone, and even the God-denier who is fortunate enough to belong to a *tolerably pious family* cannot deny the holiday when he puts a New Year's Day morsel to his lips. One might say that religion, consumed in moderation, stimulates the digestion, but that taken in excess it harms it” (Freud, 1989a, p. 62-63; emphasis W.H.).

It is interesting and important that Freud calls his family “tolerably pious” in this letter, which is probably an appropriate characterization. Hebrew words also appear in this correspondence, for example in the letter of July 24, 1880: here he tells his friend about the exam he has just passed in pharmacology and that he “only got down to it on the day before the examination (*ereb*, as the Spanish forebears say)” (ibid., p. 178). *Ereb* is the Hebrew word for eve, and the “Spanish forebears” refers to the Sephardic Jews who lived on the Iberian Peninsula before their expulsion (cf. also the letter to Carl Koller, quoted below, which also contains this Hebrew word).

Let us also quote from a warning letter of July 11, 1873, in which Freud, referring to the biblical story, urges his friend Silberstein not to seek a non-Jewish wife. Silberstein was in the town of Roznau, Freud's Moravian homeland, and we shall see that the quotation also contains an allusion to his unhappy childhood love Gisela Fluß (see above):

¹⁶¹ Freud declared to Silberstein on 8 November 1874 (i.e. at the age of 18 at the end of his adolescence) that he was a “the godless medical man and empiricist” (Freud, 1989a, p. 70). This dictum, which was to be repeated in many variations (but mostly later in the connection “Godless Jew”) is in tension with the frequent mention of God and God's name in the correspondence with his friend.

“Perhaps you are unfulfilled, have nothing to think about? I keep silent about other matters to which you could turn your thoughts; is there not an Abraham who left you, saying: ‘Eliezer, thou knowest what the Lord hath bidden me: thou shalt not take a wife from amongst the daughters of this land which is a land of idolaters and sinners: but thou shalt go unto the land of my fathers where I was born, and which the Lord bade me leave, and bring me the portrait of one of the maidens that dwell in the land of my fathers. And the pious Eliezer replied, saying: Trust thy faithful servant Eliezer to do as thy Lord hath decreed’” (ibid., p. 21).

Freud here creatively combines a biblical story with the current situation of the two friends – Freud himself, in a later letter, appropriately calls these lines “a biblical study with modern themes” (ibid., p. 26), thus providing a fitting definition for what is called a midrash (see below). The biblical story comes from the Book of *Genesis* and is about Eliezer of Damascus, Abraham’s house slave (*Genesis*, 15, 2). More specifically, it tells how Abraham, already very old, tells Eliezer to put “thy hand under his thigh” and swear to him that he would see to it that his son Isaac did not take a daughter from the house of the Canaanites (*Genesis*, 24, 1-10). Rather, he was to go with Isaac to his fatherland and let him choose a wife there. Freud smuggled into the biblical story, or rather artfully connected with it, the wish to his friend that he should bring him the “the portrait of one of the maidens” from the “land of my fathers”, i.e. from Freiberg, by which only his childhood love Gisela Fluß can be meant (cf. also Boehlich, 1990, pp. XVI-XVII). Quite different from the letter to Emil Fluß after his return from Freiberg, in which he massively dissociated himself from his Eastern Jewish origins, the reference to the land of his homeland is positive at this point. Despite all irony, his plea for fidelity to the Jewish commandment to secure tradition through a Jewish connection is serious. In his free treatment of the biblical text, strongly reminiscent of that of his father in the dedicatory letter for his 35th birthday and the exegetical art of the midrashim, he assures himself of his Jewish affiliation.

The phrase that a younger man or son should place his hand under the hip of an old man nearing the end of his life appears in another passage in the Book of *Genesis*, already reported in Chapter 1. This passage is about Jacob and his son Joseph, and Jacob Freud alluded to it in line 2 of the dedication letter for Freud’s 35th birthday:

“And Jacob lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years; so the days of Jacob, the years of his life, were a hundred forty and seven years. And the time drew near that Israel must die; and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him: ‘If now I have found favour in thy sight, put, I pray thee, *thy hand under my thigh*, and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt’” (*Genesis* 47:28-29; emphasis mine).

Both Abraham and Jacob expressed the urgent wish that their sons might not sever and renew the connection with their own origins – in one case by marriage and in the other by burial. Here it is easy to see that Freud, despite his disbelief and dislike of certain Jewish rituals, reminded himself at this time of the required fidelity to tradition.

But before Freud could put his hand under his father's thigh and, after his father's death, turn to the Jewish tradition in a fuller and more individual way, a longer process of development with many struggles and conflicts was necessary. The event part of this history has been convincingly traced by Dennis Klein (1985, pp. 40-68), and it will be briefly and summarily recapitulated here. In the beginning, there was Freud's rather radical rejection, at least at certain points, of Eastern Jewish religious culture, as well as the denial and anticathexis of his Eastern European origins and "holy language" during the period of adolescence (combined, as we saw in Chapter 1, with the discarding of his Jewish-Polish first name, Sigismund). In his ensuing student years, he felt connected to the ideas of the German national movement in Austria and turned to the "Leseverein der deutschen Studenten Wiens" (Reading Society of the German Students of Vienna), to which he belonged from 1874 to 1878 (see McGrath, 1967 and 1986, and GÖdde, 1999, pp. 96-103). This association had been created out of enthusiasm over the founding of the German Empire in 1871, represented Pan-Germanist goals (accordingly, rigorously excluded students of other nationalities), propagated a strictly German orientation of the Vienna University, and was characterized by widespread (though not explicitly racist) anti-Semitism. It is remarkable enough that Freud joined this grouping for a longer period of time, which was presumably still justified in this phase by his affectively very strong rejection of Eastern Jewry, which was also regarded by him as unassimilable (see also the comments above on the reaction to Eastern Jews and on the "Billroth controversy").

Boyarin (1997, pp. 189-270) has pointed out another aspect that is relevant in this context: he shows that "the East Jew", not least because of his being circumcised, was regarded in public and medical discourse as the pathological type of the effeminate and thus homosexual and hysterical man, with whom Freud had not wanted to identify (*ibid.*, p. 215), and that later, in a kind of reaction formation, he had designed the model of the (positive) Oedipus complex (first formulated in Freud, 1985c, p. 271) as well as a normative heterosexuality (along with an associated devaluation of homosexuality). Freud, Boyarin argues, no longer wanted to be the circumcised Schlomo, son of his Galician-Eastern Jewish father Jacob, but rather the virile Greek Oedipus, son of Laios, by designing a "family novel" that seemed more respectable to him (*ibid.*, p. 242).

Boyarin's thesis is that Freud revised his early trauma theory of hysteria and replaced it with the model of the Oedipus complex because he wanted to get rid of his own Jewish, female and homosexual body and desire, which had been linked in the discourse with male hysteria. His own

homosexuality, he argues, came to fruition primarily in his relationship with Wilhelm Fliess and can be traced back to his relationship with his Jewish *father*. While in this explanation the homosexuality linked to the Jewish father is what is finally repressed, I rather assume that it represents the repressive or a specific form of defence. Excluding maternal women and the maternal body, the two men, Freud and Fliess, wanted to give birth to their own theories themselves and indulged in fantasies about female and male menstruation and cycles, about nasal conchae and the connection between nose and sexual organs. Here, what Klaus Heinrich (1995, p. 75) has aptly called “the male occupation of the womb birth” takes place. The homosexual bond with Fliess enabled Freud, as I will add by drawing on the reflections on his maternal relationship in this chapter, to adopt the female-receiving position and to deny the highly problematic and painful relationship with his Jewish *mother*. In contrast, the theory of the Oedipus complex, however bisected in several respects, represented a step forward, namely the lack of recognition of dependence on the maternal origin.

Although on the one hand Boyarin’s thesis truncates and underestimates both Freud’s model of the Oedipus complex and his theory of homosexuality, on the other hand the connection between anti-Semitism and the devaluation of femininity and homosexuality is centrally important and may explain why Freud joined such a distinctly German and also anti-Semitic male alliance. Freud himself later recognized this connection and addressed it in a footnote to the case history of “Little Hans”.

“The castration complex is the deepest unconscious root of anti-semitism; for even in the nursery little boys hear that a Jew has something cut off his penis – a piece of his penis, they think – and this gives them a right to despise Jews. And there is no stronger unconscious root for the sense of superiority over women. Weininger (the young philosopher who, highly gifted but sexually deranged, committed suicide after producing his remarkable book, *Geschlecht und Charakter*, in a chapter that attracted much attention, treated Jews and women with equal hostility and overwhelmed them with the same insults. Being a neurotic, Weininger was completely under the sway of his infantile complexes; and from that standpoint what is common to Jews and women is their relation to the castration complex” (Freud, 1909b, p. 36).

After the end of a liberal era in the political system of the Habsburg monarchy, it was the sometimes massive experiences with growing anti-Semitism that made Freud increasingly doubt the idea of assimilation and the hope of being able to culturally adopt an identity that was both German and Jewish. He described this process in his “An Autobiographical Study”, without, however,

addressing the fact that he had initially very much sought to belong to the German “Volksgemeinschaft”:

“When, in 1873, I first joined the University, I experienced some appreciable disappointments. Above all, I found that I was expected to feel myself inferior and an alien because I was a Jew. I refused absolutely to do the first of these things. I have never been able to see why I should feel ashamed of my descent or, as people were beginning to say, of my ‘race’. I put up, without much regret, with my non-acceptance into the community [in the German original: Volksgemeinschaft – W.H.]” (Freud, 1925d, p. 9).

Freud, however, after a period of fierce rejection, did not develop his sense of a renewed Jewish identity exclusively in reaction to the swelling anti-Semitism, but in his own way discovered his Jewish origins as a resource for his growing self-confidence. Josef Breuer and Samuel Hammerschlag, who supported Freud in many ways and of whom he spoke in a letter of 10 January 1884 to his fiancée Martha Bernays as “good people and *fellow believers*” (Freud & Bernays, 2015, p. 56; emphasis W.H.), played a special role in this. In his contact with Breuer, at least until the time when their collaboration became increasingly difficult and broke off from around the mid-1890s onwards, Freud was able to access his deeply rooted Jewish identity, which, as the following quotation from a letter of 2 February 1886 to his fiancée Martha (contained in a collection of letters accessible in English) makes clear, he had kept rather hidden:

“You know what Breuer told me one evening? I was so moved by it what he said that in return I disclosed to him the secret of our engagement. He told me he had discovered that hidden under the surface of timidity there lay in me an extremely daring and fearless human being. I had always thought so, but never dared tell anyone. *I have often felt as though I had inherited all the defiance and all the passion with which of our ancestors defended the temple* and could gladly sacrifice my life for one great moment in history” (Freud, 1960a, p. 202; emphasis W.H.).

In the relationship with Breuer, however, a certain pattern is also evident, which later became effective in other friendships and has not only to do with Freud’s ambivalence towards his father, but ultimately goes back to his deeply disturbed relationship with his mother. Reicheneder (2021) has recently traced this pattern convincingly for Freud’s relationship with Breuer: Freud found in the older and respected colleague an important patron and friend, and Breuer not only assumed paternal functions but turned to him in an almost maternal way. Thus he supported Freud with quite considerable funds (altogether it was probably four to six years’ salary for a doctor) and offered him

a place in his family. On June 17, 1883, Freud wrote to his bride Martha Bernays: “Friday evening [that is, on the Sabbath eve – W.H.], when I was feeling too *miserable*, I went to Breuer’s in the evening. The man spreads *light* and *warmth* around him, and I, who am now *far from the sun*, felt so *cold and dark*” (Freud & Bernays, 2011, p. 439; emphasis W.H.). When Breuer left for summer vacation with his family a short time later, in early August 1883, and was therefore unable to be in Vienna, Freud reacted with signs of considerable tension, somatic symptoms, as well as reproaching Martha for not being unconditionally devoted to him. In parting, Freud asked Breuer to “write me a few words when he comes back, and not let me *sink back into strangeness* like the others before me” (Freud & Bernays, 2013, p. 105; emphasis W.H.). Freud, who clearly found the separations from Breuer very difficult, repeatedly feared having to sink back into a state of being forgotten, cold and dark, which he knew all too well and extremely painfully.

Gradually, however, a feeling of “inferiority” crept into Freud’s contact with Breuer (*ibid.*, p. 51); he was presumably less and less able to bear the feelings of dependence and envy, attacked Breuer increasingly sharply, and finally broke off contact with him, to whom he owed so much, for good. In the dream of Irma’s injection (Freud, 1900a, pp. 111-112), Breuer appears as Dr. M., who, having first intervened to save the patient (and halfway exonerated Freud from accusations of mistreatment), undergoes a characteristic transformation: “*Dr. M. looked quite different from usual; he was very pale, he walked with a limp and his chin was clean-shaven*” (*ibid.*, p. 107). The beard – and Breuer wore a particularly splendid beard – stood, as Reicheneder points out, for potency, virility, wisdom and honourableness of the wearer (this was especially true in the Jewish tradition), and the loss of the beard can hardly be understood otherwise than as a castration and a massive devaluation.

In Chapter Three, in connection with Freud’s religious education, the intensive relationship between Freud and Samuel Hammerschlag has already been discussed, which extended beyond the school years, was associated on Freud’s side with a strong positive father transference, and certainly helped him to soften his ambivalence towards his father and the Jewish religion. However, it was not until Jacob Freud’s death and the gradual coming to terms with his strong ambivalence that Freud came to the full and stubborn acceptance of his Jewish identity, not least by joining the *B’Nai-B’Rith* Lodge (see below). In this process of development also lies a prerequisite for writing *The Interpretation of Dreams*. But before we discuss this important biographical turning point in Freud’s life, we must turn to his relationship with his fiancée Martha Bernays, who also represented a challenge for Freud in terms of his Jewish identity, but was also helpful in redefining it.

Engagement time: confrontation with Sephardic Orthodoxy

Freud's bride and fiancée came from a distinguished family of Jewish scholars (on the Bernays family and the following details, see Duckesz, 1907, Brämer, 2000 and the study by Hirschmüller, 2005, pp. 325-343). The most famous of Martha's ancestors was her grandfather Isaak Ben Jacob Bernays (1792-1849), who was considered a child prodigy (he could memorize an entire Talmud tractate at the age of seven), had attended the Talmud school of Rabbi Abraham Bing (1752-1841) in Heidingsfeld near Würzburg, and had studied classical philology and orientalism there and in Munich, where he received his doctorate (Dr. phil.). Despite his deep roots in the Jewish rabbinical tradition, this academic training distinguished him considerably from traditional Jewish scholars and heralds a reorientation even in the spectrum of (neo-)Orthodoxy to which Bernays belonged.¹⁶² He was appointed rabbi to the Jewish community in Hamburg¹⁶³ in 1821 to oppose the efforts of Reform Jews in the so-called dispute over the Hamburg Temple Prayer Book (cf. Meyer, 1988, pp. 112-119 and Brämer, 2000). This part of the congregation wanted to reform the service in the sense already described in Chapter 3 (introduction of the sermon, prayers and chants in German, German chorales with organ accompaniment, etc.). However, Bernays did not simply continue the traditional, but founded (together with the Talmud scholar Jacob Ettlinger (1798-1871)) a kind of "Reform Orthodoxy" with his activities, which can be regarded as a forerunner of the Neo-Orthodoxy founded somewhat later by Samuel Raphael Hirsch (see Chapter 2): He was one of the first Orthodox rabbis to speak German in the service, reformed the curriculum of the Torah-Talmud-School of the Hamburg Jewish community and to give public lectures on Jewish religious philosophy. Isaak Bernays saw himself as a "spiritual official" and not merely as a servant of the

¹⁶² Two of his sons were also well-known scholars, but went completely opposite ways and, although they lived for a time in the same city (Bonn), apparently had no or hardly any contact with each other after a certain point: Jacob Bernays (1824-1881) became a well-known classical philologist who wrote a study that became famous on the catharsis doctrine of poetics and the Aristotelian theory of tragic effect, which also influenced Breuer's and Freud's treatment technique ("Cathartic method") (cf. on Treml, 1997), but at the same time held on to his Orthodox Judaism throughout his life – he obviously, unlike many others and similar to Freud, felt no contradiction between his passionate preoccupation with antiquity and his Judaism. His younger brother, on the other hand, Michael (Michel Hirsch) Bernays (1834-1897), who was professor of modern languages and literatures in Munich and advisor and interlocutor of famous people of contemporary history, was baptized out of conviction, converted to Protestantism, and broke with his family because of it (cf. on this Hirschmüller, 2006, pp. 328f.). That Freud felt (more) connected to Jacob Bernays is shown not least by the fact that he financially supported the publication of a selection of his letters and thereby made it possible in the first place (Fraenkel, 1932). This volume is dedicated to "Prof. Dr. Sigmund Freud", and Freud mentions the publication appreciatively in a letter to Arnold Zweig (Freud, 1968a, p. 47).

¹⁶³ Along with Amsterdam and London, Hamburg was one of the central places of refuge for Sephardic Jews to settle after they were expelled from Spain. As early as 1611 there were three synagogues in the city. Around the same time, Askenazi Jews moved to Wandsbek and Altona. Although the Sephardic community eventually moved to Altona as well due to a massive increase in taxes, the two groups remained separate the entire time (cf. Bossong, 2016, pp. 45-46).

congregational board. He attached great importance to the title *Chacham* (“sage”), marking his origin in Sephardic Judaism, where this designation is customary for a rabbi.

It is important to emphasize this because the Sephardim were considered members of the Jewish aristocracy and often felt superior to the Askenazi Jews. There are good reasons to believe that Freud’s long engagement period did not only result, as it is often described, from the precarious financial situation he was in at the time, which made marriage and starting a family difficult for a long time (see above). It had not least to do with the fact that Martha came from a strictly devout Sephardic family that lived in strict observance of the law and insisted on the observance of the commandments and prohibitions that Freud, who moreover came from a poor Eastern European Askenazi family, passionately rejected. The marriage of an Askenazi Jew of Galician origin into a Sephardic family was actually only possible if the latter was prepared to abide by the Orthodox regulations (cf. Rice, 1990, p. 11).

Freud was thus faced with several difficulties in his relationship with Martha: He did not come from a famous scholarly family, but came from a poor background; he rejected orthodox precepts; and he had to contend with a family that was firmly entrenched in them. Above all, it was Emmeline (Egla) Bernays (1830-1910), Martha’s mother, who rejected Freud for quite some time and made this unmistakably clear to him.¹⁶⁴ Freud may have seemed to Martha’s mother and the whole family like an *am ha’aretz*, that is, as someone who does not know the law properly and/or even disregards it. So in addition to his brusque manner and the lack of financial security he could offer Martha, this cultural and religious difference will also have played a not insignificant role in the difficulties the couple had to overcome in order to marry and start a family – and Freud had to fight a long and gruelling battle for his bride Martha for this reason as well. Freud expressed this struggle openly and perhaps somewhat threateningly in a letter of August 5, 1883, when he told Martha of a conversation about Judaism: “I had to confess that the thought of leaving Judaism was no longer so remote from me since I had to wage the struggle against strict faith in the vicinity of my beloved.” He hastens to add, however, that at the same time he stressed: “But to convert to Christianity is impossible” (Freud & Bernays, 2013, p. 104).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Freud’s son Martin (M. Freud, 1967, p. 201) describes his grandmother as follows: „Grandmother was an Orthodox Jewesses, she wore a *Sheitel*, which meant that at her marriage she had sacrificed her own hair, and her hair was crowned with two close-fitting artificial plaits. She was a lady through and through. I never heard her shout or scream. On Saturdays she sang Jewish prayers in a firm, melodious voice. Mild, sweet and angelic as she looked, she was always determined to have her own way, as my father experienced with grief during his engagement to my mother, which lasted for so many years.” So in certain ways she was the opposite of Freud’s mother.

¹⁶⁵ The struggle was still evident at the end of the long engagement, when Martha and Sigmund Freud were married in Hamburg. On September 13, 1886, the civil wedding took place at the Rathaus zu Wandsbek, and Freud spent the two nights afterward at Martha’s uncle Elias Philipp’s (1824-1898) home, familiarizing himself with the *Hebrew* prayers said at a Jewish wedding. Freud, as Jones (1972, p. 164) surmises, “probably bit his lip when he stepped under the ‚Chuppe’ [canopy symbolic of the temple – W.H.]” It is known that Freud forbade his wife to celebrate, for example, the Jewish holidays. Gay (1987, p. 153) describes the course of a visit of a young philosopher from

This struggle becomes even more vivid in a letter Freud wrote to his bride on July 1, 1882. Freud tells Martha that her brother Eli Bernays (1860-1955), who was to marry Freud's sister Anna in 1883 and whom we know Freud did not hold in high esteem, had been visiting and had talked with him a great deal. Jewish commandments apparently played an important role in the discussions, for Freud writes: "I realized that this man was my most dangerous adversary and would not like to cede Martha to me. I interfered with the way you eat and drink and chastise the tender body, prepared him for all sorts of objections; he agreed with me and found that Mama [Martha's mother] was a great obstacle to such domestic reforms" (Freud & Bernays, 2011, p. 140). The dispute over the dietary laws – and these stood *pars pro toto* for the whole of Jewish law – was settled between the two young men by means of a joint reading of the Bible: "we recently read together the famous passage in Isaiah in which the prophet puts into his God's mouth the most unapologetic contempt for all formal service" (ibid.). Here Freud is referring to the 1st chapter of the book of *Isaiah*, in which God leads an indictment against the apostate people, turning in sharp words against the burnt offerings and annual holidays, but also against the dietary regulations. Verse 13 says, "Bring no more vain oblations; It is an offering of abomination unto Me" (*Isaiah*, 1, 13). Freud thus justifies and legitimises his critique of the Jewish ritual habits of the Bernays family with the help of a weighty prophetic Jewish voice, and thus it is an inner-Jewish critique and not one from outside and not of Judaism itself. The point of reference of the criticism is and remains the Bible, in it is read with much knowledge as a matter of course, when it is about the clarification of such important questions as the meaning of the observance of the law.

The "Nathan-Letter": "Jerusalem is destroyed, and Marthchen and I are alive and happy."

Freud told his fiancée Martha Bernays in a long letter of July 23, 1882, relatively early in their long engagement of over four and a half years, of an encounter with a printer in Hamburg from whom he had commissioned stationery. This merchant had told him in great detail about Martha's grandfather, the *Chacham* Isaak Bernays, and for Freud this was a welcome occasion for a self-location as a Jew and for a reflection on the significance of Judaism in his relationship with his bride. This letter (ibid., pp. 214-217) has entered the literature as the "Nathan-Letter" (see especially Gresser, 1994, pp. 59-87) and is of great importance for Freud's understanding of himself as a Jew at this time (and beyond). The name given to this letter derives from the motto Freud

Oxford to the Freuds in London on a Friday afternoon (sic!). Martha had said to him: "You must know that on Friday evenings good Jewish women light candles for the approach of the Sabbath. But this monster – *Unmensch* – will not allow it, because he says that religion is a superstition." Martha Freud resumed lighting Sabbath candles on Friday evenings immediately after Freud's death.

prefixed to it. It contains an inaccurately remembered quotation from Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* and reads, "Nathan, is thy name a Jew? / (A strange Jew, hm) / Speak on, brave Nathan" (Freud & Bernays, 2011, p. 214). Throughout the letter, Freud will refer to the printer or the "old Jew" as "Nathan" in reference to Lessing's drama. Since the letter is of great importance, it will be quoted and commented on here in longer sections.

By way of introduction, let us mention in broad outline the prehistory of the letter: Sigmund Freud and Martha Bernays had become secretly engaged in Vienna in June 1882, a short time after they had met. The following day, Martha and her family left Vienna permanently for Wandsbek, near Hamburg. In her absence Freud, who tyrannically demanded "exclusiveness" from Martha, developed a fierce jealousy and was convinced that Martha loved another man, Friedrich (Fritz) Wahle (1859-1918), who was also his friend. A confrontation ensued between the two men, and the fear that his rival would make Martha give him up (Fritz Wahle had threatened to do so in conversation with Freud) put him in an agonizing state before leaving. A "dreadful fear of losing his beloved" (ibid., p. 167) overtook him, and he "wandered through the streets for hours in the night" (Jones, 1972, p. 124).¹⁶⁶ Freud had entered a kind of mental state of emergency, and it can be surmised that he was again in touch with his early appalling losses and fears of loss. In this situation Freud decided to go to Hamburg and seek out Martha in Wandsbek; he stayed there for a full ten days. During this stay, which was kept strictly secret from the Bernays family, a meeting took place in which the two fiancés renewed their connection. Immediately thereafter Freud composed the aforementioned "Nathan-Letter", which will now be presented and interpreted in specific sections. After introductory sentences, Freud gradually comes to speak of the prehistory of his memorable encounter with the old printer called Nathan.

"My girl was from a scholarly family and wrote – at first only letters – with an indefatigable hand and spent her little money on stationery. So I needed stationery for the dear industrious child and chose such on which she could write only to me. An M and an S intimately entwined, as only the generosity of engravers allows, made any sheet unfit for any other intercourse than between Marthchen and me. The man from whom I ordered this despotic stationery on Friday would not deliver it till Sunday; for on Saturday, he said, we are not here. It is such an old custom with us. 'O, I know that old custom.' It was a jovial old gentleman, whom I estimated at fifty-four; by this error I won his heart, as I had won another heart by another error a short time before. He was seventy-four years old, and boasted of his capacity

¹⁶⁶ In *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud will write many years later, "it is that we are never so defenceless against suffering as when we love, never so helplessly unhappy as when we have lost our loved object or its love" (Freud, 1930a, p. 82) – or believe to have lost them.

for enjoyment and labour, and assured me that he did not intend to depart from life at all soon. [...] But he would not let me go; I had to take a chair beside him, and he questioned me as to where I had already been, advising me of this and that excursion. ‘I would like to go with you myself, but I am an old Jew, and look at me.’ I saw his beard was shaggy. ‘You couldn’t get a shave yesterday. ‘Not only that, do you know what fast-day is coming soon now.’ I knew that, unfortunately; because Jerusalem had been destroyed many years ago at this time – by a false reckoning of time – I should not be allowed to speak to my girl on the last day of my being here. ‘Jerusalem is destroyed, and Marthchen and I are alive and happy. And the historians say that if Jerusalem had not been destroyed we Jews would have perished like so many nations before and after us.’ It was only after the disintegration of the visible Temple, they say, that the invisible building of Judaism became possible. So nine days before Tischo-B’ow, said my old Jew, we deny ourselves any pleasure. We are here a number of men of the old school, all of whom hold firmly to religion without shutting themselves off from life. We owe our education to one man; [...] instruction was provided by subordinate teachers until the Reform came to Germany. Then they saw that something must be done, and appointed a certain Bernays, whom they made ‘Chacham’. The man educated us all” (Freud & Bernays, 2013, S. 214-215).

With the purchase of the stationery, Freud wanted to seal the exclusivity he so urgently desired and “despotically” demanded. Martha was henceforth to detach herself definitively from Freud’s rivals as well as from her family and to belong entirely to him. After he had won back his fiancée, he had the initials of their first names depicted “intimately entwined” on the letterheads, and he demanded of Martha that she use only this stationery. A short time later, he would restate his claim on Martha, referring to a Bible verse: “You are no more than a guest in the Father’s house, like a jewel that I have pawned and will redeem as soon as I am rich. How then has it been prescribed since ancient times? The woman is to leave father and mother and follow the man who chooses her” (ibid., p. 283). If one looks more closely at the biblical verse in *Genesis* 2, 24 quoted in these sentences, it turns out that Freud has distorted it in a characteristic way. For there it says, “Therefore shall a man [sic!] leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one flesh.” Separation from parents, formulated here as a necessity, is in the biblical text the inevitable consequence of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden (“therefore”). For Freud, it was crucially important that not (only) he leaves his family, but above all Martha leaves hers, that they become “one flesh” and that Martha henceforth protect him from the unbearable feelings of loss. Freud, who in the same letter compared himself and Martha to Adam and Eve (ibid., p. 282), wanted to be

“intimately entwined” with his bride and to establish a quasi paradisiacal state of inseparability from which he had been driven so early or prematurely under traumatic circumstances.

But now, since Freud wanted to pick up the ordered stationery already on Saturday, an obstacle arose on this path of fulfilment. He met a devout Jew who, like Martha and her family, kept the commandments and would not work on the Sabbath. Freud explained to him, when asked, that he knew this “old custom” – and indeed he knew it very well. Then, when Freud estimated his counterpart to be much younger, the printer invited him to talk to him and explained that he was actually 74 years old. Freud thus encountered a man who was about his father’s age (Jacob Freud was 67 at the time), and it is quite conceivable that he was reminded of the time spent together reading the Bible and discussing it with him. The “old Jew” now went on to inform him that he would not be able to explore Hamburg with him because of another feast day, and again asked Freud if he knew which day he meant. Freud knew this very well, too, and gave Martha an explanation that testifies to a deepened knowledge of Jewish tradition.

It is about the Jewish holiday *Tisha B’Av*, the ninth day of the month Av, on which fasting the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple is commemorated. According to Rabbinic-Talmudic tradition, this day commemorates both the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE by the Babylonians and the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in 70 CE (as well as, but secondarily, the destruction of Betar in the Bar Kochba Revolt in 132-135 CE). When Freud speaks of a false chronology in the letter, he is probably referring to the fact that different biblical and extra-biblical sources give different dates: Thus, the Book of *Jeremiah* (52, 12) gives the 10th day of the month Av, but the Book of *2 Kings* (25, 8) gives the seventh day of that month. The fixing of the fast and feast day on the 9th of Av was a rabbinical compromise, so to speak, in order not to force the Jewish community to celebrate both events on two different days that were close to each other.

Short excursus: The formative significance of exile

When Freud writes in his letter: “‘Jerusalem is destroyed, and Marthchen and I are alive and happy. And the historians say that if Jerusalem had not been destroyed we Jews would have perished like so many nations before and after us.’ It was only after the disintegration of the visible Temple, they say, that the invisible building of Judaism became possible”, he explains to Martha in a few sentences the central importance of the exile in and for Jewish history and exemplifies this primarily with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple in 70 CE, without which the emergence of Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism would not have been possible. Before going into this in more detail, it

is necessary to address the significance of the exile in a larger historical context. Of decisive importance before the destruction of the Second Temple was the conquest of Jerusalem by the New Babylonian Empire in 597 BCE, the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE, and the subsequent Babylonian exile of thousands of Judeans, mostly from the educated upper class, which lasted until 539 BCE. This expulsion and the following exile had far-reaching consequences for the history of religion: This concerns, on the one hand, the formulation, presumably already in late Exile, of an image of God that was no longer merely monolatrous but now strictly monotheistic,¹⁶⁷ especially in *Isaiah* or *Deutero-Isaiah* (*Isaiah*, 43, 10-11 and 45, 14), through which God becomes fully transcendent, as well as, on the other hand, the post-exilic reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah and the development of a Torah Judaism. Already through this exile a scriptural scholarship developed, as there was no longer a temple for the time being and there was a concentration on the traditional texts. It was probably in Babylon that the first synagogues were founded. The exorbitant importance of this exile is also evident from the fact that the history of ancient Israel is usually divided into the three epochs “pre-exilic”, “exilic” and “post-exilic”.

Going back even further, it can be added that already the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 722 BCE as a result of the Assyrian campaigns of conquest, which also led to deportations of larger parts of the population, had eminent consequences and led to a theological reorientation: It was probably the starting point for the development of the later very influential scriptural prophecy as well as, especially pronounced in *Hosea*, the demand for a worship of “YAHWE-alone”. It is assumed that the course set here contributed significantly to the fact that the Babylonian exile, which began a good century and a half later, could be dealt with in a way that did not lead to the demise of the Jewish religion (cf. on this recently Schmid & Schröter, 2019, p. 124). Taken together, these developments make the formative significance of the exile, which was repeatedly forced by the demise of statehood, understandable for further Jewish history as well as for their scriptural tradition formation.

Although the last mentioned first exile experiences are in the background of Freud’s speech, his explicit point of reference is the destruction of the Second Temple and Jerusalem in 70 CE, which the Jewish rabbi and philosopher Emil Fackenheim (1982, p. 17) called an “experience” in Jewish his-

¹⁶⁷ Yehezkel Kaufmann (1961) has shown that the difference between polytheism (and also henotheism) and monotheism is not a numerical one and that the transition between these forms of religion cannot be understood as an evolutionary one. Biblical monotheism, as it is formulated exilically and post-exilically, breaks radically with a pagan and mythological world of imagination in which there is a “metadivine realm” that transcends the world of the gods or even of the God and in which she or he is dependent on it. In biblical monotheism, the Creator God is transcendence itself and God is sovereign and independent in his will. Now, in Judeo-Biblical monotheism, there exists an uncrossable boundary between God on the one hand and human beings and nature on the other (these realms are not intermingled, so that, for example, no human being can experience apotheosis and even his “soul” cannot be immortal or divine) and God has no history, he is not born male or female, and he does not die (mythology and theogony do not occur in biblical monotheism).

tory and distinguished from the basic experiences, the “root experiences”, such as the Exodus and the Sinai Revelation, in which the Jewish people had encountered the divine presence. The destruction of the Temple, he argued, did not have this significance, but it did produce, in response, “Galut Judaism” or Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism as the sustaining form of Judaism until the founding of the State of Israel (see also Grözinger, 2015, pp. 501-562). More precisely, according to the legend¹⁶⁸ it was a certain act that made this development possible and is recounted in the Haggadic part of the *Babylonian Talmud*, in tractate *Gittin* (56a-b) (see also Hegener, 2014b and the explanations below): The leader of a small group of moderate Pharisees, Jochanan ben Zakkai, had come to the conclusion in the course of the Jewish War that Jerusalem could no longer be saved and Jerusalem stood for the remnants of state autonomy and the Herodian Temple as their religious centre. He had himself carried out of the city in a coffin during the siege of Jerusalem and had asked the Romans to allow him to open a Torah school and a court of justice in Jabne (near modern Tel Aviv). He had received the permission of the Roman commander Vespasian to do so and thus ensured the spiritual survival and continuation of the Jews. Freud referred to this story several times at the end of his life (see below and Chapter 5), most extensively in *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a, p. 114), and reflected on its significance for psychoanalysis.

In the tradition and continuity of the Pharisaic, a learned rabbinic Judaism now gradually emerged, which made the study of the sacred texts and the synagogue the centre of Jewish life in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Judaism became a form of community of transmission and a religion without temple, priests, sacrifices, dogma or territory of its own. It put the work on the text in the cent and thereby avoided in an astonishing way any apocalyptic, even messianic aggravation. First in Jabne, later in the academies of Usha and Beth Shearim, rabbinic scholars collected Hebrew scriptures independently of the Greek Bible translation (*Septuagint*) produced in Alexandria, which later formed the basis of the *Tanakh* compiled by the Masoretes at the end of the first millennium. In addition to

¹⁶⁸ It must be emphasized here that this narrative is not historiography in the modern sense and its reality value is quite questionable and debated. Gedalya Alon (1977a and 1977b) has shown in classic essays that 19th-century historiography naively accepted the Talmudic account as fact. But actually, Alon argues, Jabne was merely a Roman internment camp at the time in question and Jochanan ben Zakkai was nothing more than a political prisoner. Boyarin has concluded that Jabne, as the founding site of rabbinic Talmudic Judaism, is an origin narrative to legitimize and invent an “Orthodoxy” that emerged only later: “All of the institutions of rabbinic Judaism are projected in rabbinic narrative to an origin called *Yavneh*. Yavneh, seen in this way, is the effect, not the cause, of the institutions and discursive practices that it is to said to ‘originate’ in the myth (...)” (Boyarin, 2004, p. 48). Oppenheimer (1999, pp. 167-168), on the other hand, has criticized Alon’s argumentation and objected that even if his view of Jochanan ben Zakkai’s forced dispatch to Jabne were correct, this would not detract from his achievements for the continuation of the Jewish community in the country, rather the opposite. The assumption seems quite realistic that Jochanan ben Zakkai, when he started negotiations with the Romans during the Great Revolt, had counted on the possibility of being directed to a place like Jabne, where he could then establish a new centre of Jewish self-government and jurisdiction. Despite the legendary character of the story, its core remains historically significant, namely the transition to a fully script-based culture and religion that has its roots in the Pharisaic Judaism of the Second Temple period.

the canonization of the Bible, the foundation was also and primarily laid for the codification of the post-biblical, i.e. rabbinic tradition. This includes in particular the collection, discussion and commentary of the traditional religious laws by leading scholars until the end of the second century CE, which entered into the great works of the *Mishnah* and forms the earliest layer of the (*Babylonian*) *Talmud*.

Finally, another, more sociological point of view should be added briefly at this point (cf. on this R. Buchholz, 2017, pp. 60-65): Through the loss of the central sanctuary as well as the last remnants of statehood after 70 CE, the Jewish communities found themselves in a cultural context that was no longer Jewishly influenced and not infrequently hostile to Jews. From now on, the communities were dependent on the benevolence of the respective rulers, they had to adapt to constantly changing conditions through a continuous revision of their traditions and were better prepared for the situation of secular modernity, not least because of this previous history. It is important to note that in the Diaspora cultures shaped by Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism, faith in the sense of a binding canon of doctrines (*fides quae*) and as an act of confession (*fides qua*) played no decisive role. Already biblically faith as an inner decision won against doubts was unknown and downright strange. What became decisive in the exile was the scriptural approach described above, which subjected the sacred texts to a complete *relecture*, and an orthopraxy, i.e. a historically and dynamically developing way of life of everyday practices, symbols, patterns of interpretation, norms and cultic actions – both together led to the fact that also explicitly non-religious Jews under the conditions of modernity could feel themselves as part of Judaism and be integrated. This was the historical precondition, precisely described in Freud's "Nathan-Letter", for his having no difficulty in describing himself as both godless and Jewish at the same time.

But now back to the "Nathan-Letter": When Freud lets it be known that he regrets not being able to get his hands on such symbolic stationery because of the holiday, he is on the one hand expressing his reservations about this tradition to his bride. On the other hand, however, he celebrates the event as the condition of possibility for the continued existence of Judaism and his relationship with his fiancée ("Jerusalem is destroyed, and Marthchen and I are alive and happy"). But Freud goes a step further when he emphasizes that "only after the visible temple had been destroyed had the invisible construction of Judaism become possible". One can understand this in this way: Just as he drew on the prophets vis-à-vis Martha's brother Eli to criticize the dietary regulations, so now he argues that what matters is not the rituals, visible as it were, and their observance, but the reference to Jewish tradition and history that is possible even without them. Later he will take up this line: In *Totem and Taboo* he mentions that the "nature of gods grew progressively less material" (Freud, 1912-13a, p.

133) and in *Moses and Montotheism* he speaks, in direct connection with the story of Jochanan ben Zakkai, of the “dematerialization of God” (Freud, 1939a, p. 114) (see below). After the destruction of the Temple, Freud continues commenting, “the Holy Writ and intellectual concern with it were what held the scattered people together” (idid.). This was to be Freud’s point of reference and translated into characteristic form in the theory and method of psychoanalysis (see Chapter 5). If we look at Freud’s strategy of argumentation, it can be said that he criticizes the Jewish tradition through himself and, precisely through this, remains faithful to it in his radical, Prophetic or Talmudic-Rabbinic inspired reservation.

Shortly after the explanation of the significance of the event of the destruction of the Temple, Martha Bernays’ grandfather, the *Chacham* Isaak Bernays, appears for the first time, and his reform work is named. It is as if Freud wanted to place this in the line of rabbinic reforms and turn them – however justified this may be – against the ritualized form of Judaism:

“If my old Jew, who now spoke with enthusiasm of his master’s teachings, had guessed that his client [...] had kissed in the morning the granddaughter of the man he so revered. He went on to tell of his boyhood memories, and traits of the wise Nathan now appeared in his countenance. He was an extraordinary man and taught religion with such spirit and humanity. If someone does not want to believe anything at all, no, nothing can be done with him; but if he demands a reason for this or that, which is considered nonsensical, he placed himself outside the law, and from there justified it even to the unbeliever. For example, the dietary laws. What can be more indifferent than what one eats? But then he said: let us go back to the story of creation, it may be only a fable, but what all mankind has believed for centuries cannot be nonsense, must contain a meaning. When God created the first human beings and put them in the Garden of Eden, wasn’t the first commandment he gave them a commandment to eat? Of this tree he may eat, and of this one he may not. Why wasn’t it a moral commandment? And if God gave a food law as the first commandment, can it be a matter of indifference what you eat? He went on with several more of these sensible attempts at support and explanation. I knew the type. The claim of the Holy Scriptures to truth and obedience could not be supported in this way, no reform was justified there, only a subversion; but there was a tremendous progress, a kind of education of the human race in Lessing’s sense in such a way of teaching. Religion was no longer dogma; it became the object of reflection, the satisfaction of refined artistic taste and increased logical demands, and finally the Hamburg teacher recommended it, not because it once existed as sacred, but because he rejoiced in the deep meaning he discovered in it or carried into it. It was criticism, though arbitrarily handled

and firmly directed toward certain ends, well suited to give the pupils the decisive direction which my old Jew now still preserved when I went to get our monogram from him for the teacher's granddaughter" (Freud & Bernays, 2013, S. 217-218).

In this paragraph, too, the pattern of radical but nevertheless immanent criticism of tradition is evident: as he had already done vis-à-vis Eli Bernays, Freud again finds fault with the Jewish dietary rules, also no longer allows the "claim of the Holy Scriptures to truth and obedience" to stand, and calls for a "subversion" in this respect (as reforms would not be sufficient here). But he hastens to add at once that in the method of the Rabbinical-Talmudic approach to Scripture, in their "way of teaching", of which the old Jew had just given him some examples, and which, according to a renewed statement, he knew, there lay a "tremendous advance, a kind of education of the human race in Lessing's sense", that is, a form of radical enlightenment. Religion was no longer understood as dogma, but as "object of reflection". Although arbitrary, it has nevertheless as a pedagogical instrument "to give the decisive direction to the pupils". It is as if Freud were speaking of himself here, since he himself was also able to take a certain direction or find a non-dogmatic approach to the world and scripture through the Rabbinic-Talmudic "way of teaching" imparted to him at an early age, which is deeply embedded in his educational history and in psychoanalysis as method and theory. Freud rescues this "way of teaching" by further radicalizing and in a certain way scientifying it.

This determination of his position enables him, in conclusion, to assure his bride Martha that he by no means intends to reject the Jewish tradition and also the Bernays' family history in its entirety, but rather to join it in an essential piece:

"He was not an ascetic, he continued. The Jew, he said, is the highest flower of man and made for enjoyment. He despised anyone who could not enjoy. The law enjoins the Jew to rejoice in every little pleasure, to pronounce over every fruit the broche [blessing] which recalls its connection with the beautiful world in which it grew. The Jew is for joy, and joy is for the Jew. The teacher explained this by the increase of the feasts.

At New Year's the Christian says: If only we have better times in the new year than in the old. For the Jew, the first thing is Roschha-schono [Jewish New Year], when the lot for the whole year is determined. There we may be afraid of the divine decision: This is the feast of the fear of God. On Yom Kippur [Day of Atonement] we fast a whole day for the sake of God, only love can make such a sacrifice. It is the feast of the love of God. But then comes Succoth

[Feast of Tabernacles], of which it is written: The Jew shall only be joyful on these days, and one day is called the Joy of the Law. It is the feast of the joy of God.¹⁶⁹

A customer came, and Nathan was a merchant again. I recommended myself more moved than the old Jew suspected. [...] If my Martchen wants to take something of paper gifts to Vienna, she should go to Adolphplatz to our old Jew, her grandfather's pupil, and tell him her name. He shall find that his teacher's tribe is not corrupted since he sat at his feet. And for both of us, I believe that if the form in which the old Jews felt comfortable no longer provides a shelter for us either, something of the core, the essence of meaningful and joyful Judaism, will not leave our house" (ibid., S. 218-219).

Freud sketches the picture of a "meaningful and joyful Judaism" in which enjoyment plays a prominent role (this is directed against any conception of a fundamentally guilty and sinful human being), in which the central feast days retain their historical meaning and in which, although the "form" (rituals, regulations) has survived, its "core" and "essence" remain. The question of what this "core" and this "essence" consist of can now be answered approximately in such a way that they have to do with the "way of teaching" mentioned by Freud, that is, that approach to the world and to scripture which became established after the destruction of the Second Temple within the framework of Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism and which is so universal that it functions in every cultural or scientific area even without faith.

Here, a general characteristic of classical rabbinic Judaism now becomes understandable, which Freud could fall back on due to his experiences with his father and which allowed him to hold on to the "core" and "essence" of Judaism without having to believe. Chaim Vogt-Moykopf (2009) showed that what he calls "Sinaitic thinking", the set of instruments of textual interpretation developed in the basic Jewish text of the Talmud, can assume and claim the same universal validity and epistemological status as Western thinking trained on the Greek world view. This universalism is constantly particularized in Christian societies, Jewish thought reduced to religion, culture, language, wit, or a specialized scientific discipline ("Jewish Studies"), yet "Sinaitic thought" offers a toolkit of interpretive methods applicable to *any* text or variety of texts. In this sense, Freudian psychoanalysis is to be understood as thinking in the Jewish tradition that interprets the psychic contexts of meaning (the psychic texture), exemplified by the interpretation of dreams, in the sense of a Jewish Rabbinic-Talmudic hermeneutics (cf. Hegener, 2017 and Chapter 5).

¹⁶⁹ In Chapter 1 it was pointed out that Freud here alludes to his own Hebrew name, Simcha. Simcha translates as joy, and *Simchath Torah*, the Day of Joy of the Torah, is the last of the Jewish holidays.

The death of the father or “one asks to turn a blind eye”

Alfred Bodenheimer (2012), in his study. *Ungebrochen gebrochen. Über jüdische Narrative und Traditionsbildung* (Unbroken Broken. On Jewish Narratives and the Formation of Tradition), was able to show convincingly, on the basis of numerous pieces of evidence, that the pattern of rupture and fidelity is characteristic of the history of Judaism, indeed that rupture is an inherent means of Jewish tradition maintenance and renewal. The process of passing on tradition, which is understood as an obligation, moves in a dialectic of form and content, or of *hardware* and *software*: while the *hardware* is perpetually obsolete and cannot be adapted at will, the *software* can be infinitely updated and rebooked for other contexts. In this sense, it can be shown that Freud, in writing *The Interpretation of Dreams* in his own unique way and in the field of his new science, has redeemed the legacy of Jacob Freud – in this chapter, I will primarily focus on clarifying the personal preconditions for this, and in the next chapter, chapter 5, I will try to show more precisely how the Jewish tradition entered into the understanding of the dream and the method of its interpretation. For a first confirmation of this assumption, Freud himself provides us with a decisive clue: in the preface to the second edition of his work from 1908, Freud writes these well-known and remarkable sentences:

“For this book has a further subjective significance for me personally – a significance which I only grasped after I had completed it. It was, I found, a portion of my own self-analysis, my reaction to my father’s death – that is to say, to the most important event, the most poignant loss, of a man’s life” (Freud 1900a, p. XXVI).

Almost a quarter of a century later, Freud was to reiterate the significance of his father’s death with similarly strong phrases: When Ernest Jones’s father died in early 1920, Freud wrote to him of hard times ahead, telling him, “Yet you will soon find out, what it means to you. I was about your age when my father died (43) and *it revolutionized my soul*” (Freud, 1993, pp. 368-369.; emphasis W.H.). It is worth mentioning that Freud made a mistake in his age statement: Jones and he were both 40, not 43, at the time of their fathers’ deaths. Freud, however, was about 43 when *The Interpretation of Dreams* appeared at the end of the 19th century. So with this misdating, both the death of his father and the publication of his epochal book come close together.

In both formulations Freud’s obvious high esteem, but at the same time also a conspicuous overvaluation of his father, is evident. Why should, what Freud seems to take for granted here, the death of the father be the “the most poignant loss, of a man’s life” and not (at least also) the death of

his own mother?¹⁷⁰ We can now better understand this androcentric conception in terms of its function of anticathexing and excluding the mother and her significance, against the background of the previous considerations. While the death of his father had indeed been able to trigger much in Freud, his relationship with his mother seems to have been as if it had died off early on and was associated with such strongly traumatic losses that her death, actually very much also a “great[ly] event” (Freud & Ferenczi, 2000, p. 399) and presumably associated with overwhelming emotions, could no longer bring about any real psychological transformation in him. He came into contact at the moment of her death with all that could not be transformed in him. This was quite different after the death of his father, which “revolutionized” his soul and led to a transformation, though without, as we shall also see, being able to completely compensate for the early catastrophic experiences.

Jacob Freud (see fig. 18 in the appendix) died on October 23, 1896, and Freud wrote to his friend Wilhelm Fliess on October 26: “Yesterday we buried the old man, who died during the night of October 23 [...]. All of it happened in my critical period, and I am really quite down because of it” (Freud, 1985c, p. 201). In his next letter, dated November 2, Freud was already able to give a much more detailed account of his mental-emotional reaction. He writes to his friend that the death of his father “behind the official consciousness the old man’s death has affected me deeply” (ibid., S. 202). Freud goes on to say that he “valued him highly” and “understood him very well”. In his “peculiar mixture of deep wisdom and fantastic light-heartedness” he had “a significant effect on my life” (ibid.). Then it goes on to say: “By the time he died, his life had long been over, but in [my] inner self the *whole past has been reawakened by this event*” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.). In a new and original line, Freud then succinctly sums up his feeling in these words, “I now feel quite *uprooted*” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.). With Jacob’s death, Sigmund Freud feels uprooted, that is, as if cut off from the paternal Jewish tradition, just as Jacob Freud must have felt “alienated” and “uprooted” after the death of his father Schlomo. Jacob thereafter sought to consolidate his connection to Jewish tradition through the Bible and the Talmud, as well as through his special relationship with his favourite son Sig(is)mund. In Freud’s case, the development was more contradictory, since he attacked the paternal tradition much more massively and probably felt much more uprooted for this very reason, which will now be traced.

In his letter of November 2, 1896, Freud further writes to his friend Wilhelm Fliess that he had had a dream the night after his father’s funeral: “I was in a place where I read a sign: You are requested to close the eyes“ (ibid.). In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in which the dream is reproduced in more detail and dated to the night *before* the funeral, the dream reads as follows:

¹⁷⁰ In a letter of 1 December 1929, Freud writes to Max Eitingon (1881-1943) about the significance of the mother’s death and his difficulty in grasping it: „The loss of a mother must be something very strange, unlike anything else, and must arouse emotions that are hard to grasp” (Freud, 1960a, p. 392).

“During the night *before* my father’s funeral I had a dream of a printed notice, placard or poster – rather like the notices forbidding one to smoke in railway waiting-rooms – on which appeared either

‘You are requested to close the eyes’

or, ‘You are requested to close an eye’

I usually write this in the form:

‘You are requested to close an the eye(s).’

which I am accustomed to present in the following form: One asks the / to turn a blind eye”

(Freud, 1900a, p. 317; emphasis W.H.).

Before we turn to the particular background of this dream, its recent occasions and its two transcriptions, we need to clarify a possible biblical reference in the dream text. In the 46th chapter of the book of *Genesis*, we are told how Jacob’s family moves to Egypt – a land where Joseph is already a powerful man. God appears to Jacob in a night vision before the journey and asks him not to be afraid. He wants to make him (“Israel”) a great nation in Egypt, he says, and he comforts him with this prospect: “I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again; and Joseph shall *put his hand upon thine eyes*” (*Genesis*, 46, 4; emphasis W.H.). In a contemporary edition of the Bible, the so-called *Textbibel*, written between 1899 and 1911, this verse is translated with the same formulation that Freud uses in the dream (“ein / die Augen zudrücken”): “Ich selbst werde mit dir nach Ägypten ziehn und ich selbst werde dich auch wieder zurückbringen; aber Joseph soll dir *die Augen zudrücken*“ (I myself will go with thee into Egypt, and I myself will bring thee again: but Joseph shall close thine eyes). The two gestures mentioned from the biblical story of Jacob’s imminent death – “put your hand under my thigh” (see above) and let Joseph close Jacobs eyes – are connected with this wish and have been transferred to Freud.

The interpretation of the dedicatory letter (see above the comments on line 2) had already shown that Jacob Freud used the story of Jacob and Joseph as a foil to characterize his relationship with his son and to dream it up, as it were, according to this model. And it could be further shown that Sigmund Freud responded by strongly identifying with the powerful dream interpreter Joseph. As Freud himself says, “whole past has been reawakened by this event”. Sigmund absorbed this long-held wish of his father’s and, echoing the biblical account, now felt an obligation to turn a blind eye to his father after his death and lead him home to the “heavenly home”. But for Freud, this obligation was fraught with severe conflict, and he initially grossly disregarded his father’s wish.

As to the background and occasion of the dream, Freud states the following in his letter to Fliess: He had actually incurred the displeasure of his family in two ways. The latter had disapproved of

his having determined that the funeral should be too quiet and simple, and that he had arrived at the house of mourning a little too late because of his visit to a barbershop, where he had had to wait. The first statement is quite confusing, since according to Jewish custom the burial is to be done as quickly as possible, in fact as early as the day of death, usually takes no more than three minutes, and is limited to the bare necessities. Rice (1990, p. 108) therefore suspects that Freud's statement refers not to the funeral ritual itself, but to the preparation of the body for burial, which since early modern times has traditionally been organized by the *chavra kadisha*, or funeral brotherhood (see Wolf, 1861, pp. 164-167 and S. A. Goldberg, 2012).¹⁷¹ Among their most important duties are visiting the sick and praying at the deathbed. After death, the body is then prepared for burial according to certain ritual regulations. Jacob Freud, however, was probably not prepared and buried according to these instructions, for there is no mention of this anywhere. If we follow Freud's own statements, the burial also did not take place on the day of his death (October 23), but two days later on October 25. Presumably Freud, who had a deep aversion to religious rituals, did not allow this and thus did not comply with the commandment to "close his eyes" to his father in a manner appropriate to religious law.

It is also important to know that the obligation to accompany the dead and to participate in the funeral has the status of a commandment, i.e. a *mitzvah*, in Judaism, so that Freud presumably disregarded such an essential religious obligation when burying his father. That Freud nevertheless showed a certain consideration for common Jewish customs, or at least did not oppose them, can be seen in a detail of the plainly kept gravestone slab for Jacob (and Amalia) Freud (see E. Freud et al., 1978, p. 161): There, among the names with the dates of birth and death listed according to Christian chronology, is the Hebrew acronym תנצב"ה, formed from a biblical verse from the 1st Book of *Samuel* (25, 29) and found on many Jewish tombstones. The blessing reads in a common translation: "the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life".¹⁷²

The second accusation made by the family, according to Freud, relates to being late after his visit to the hairdresser immediately before the funeral. But this is at best only half the truth. Freud does not mention, in fact, that by visiting the barber he broke another Jewish religious law in a very blatant and provocative way: Mourners are not allowed to have their hair cut or shaved, according to this law, and after the death of a parent the time is even 30 days (cf. Rice, 1990, p. 108 and Blumenberg, 1996, p. 166 and Blumenberg, 2012, pp. 258-260). Freud's behaviour must thus be understood as an

¹⁷¹ It is known that Josef Breuer was an active member of the Viennese *Chewra Kadisha* from 1873 until probably 1925. His name is listed in the Festschrift *Zur Erinnerung an die General-Versammlung des Vereins für fromme und wohlthätige Werke: Chewra-Kadisha am 10. Adar 5633* on p. 50 (cf. D. Klein, 1985, p. 67, FN 65).

¹⁷² I also owe this translation to Gadi Goldstein. The quotation reads in the version of the *Philippson Bible*: "so wird das Leben meines Herrn gebunden sein im Bündel des Lebens beim Ewigen, deinem Gott" (so shall the life of my Lord be bound in the bundle of life with the Eternal, your God).

affront to Jewish religious tradition and a deliberate disrespect for his father and the entire family, which may have triggered strong feelings of guilt and self-reproach in him.

The accompanying conflict is clearly reflected in the dream. Already the wording of the dream content distinguishes the ambiguous meaning of the dream thoughts, which the dream work is not able to unify and therefore divides into two: On the one hand, there is the admonition of the fulfilment of the, as we have seen, biblically founded duty towards the dead (“One asks to close one’s eyes”), which contains a recognizable allusion to the dedicatory letter. If Freud violates the Jewish mourning commandments and the paternal law several times, the consequence is his feeling of being uprooted, of being cut off from the ground of his father’s tradition, as mentioned to Fliess. In this respect, Freud’s dream is to be understood as an attempt to come to terms with the ambivalence associated with his aggressive questioning of paternal tradition. On the other hand, however, it is also about the wish that forbearance be exercised – the formulation “to close one eye” in the sense of “One asks to turn *a* blind eye” means to “wink at” or “overlook” (Freud, 1900a, p. 318) – when Freud only insufficiently fulfils these duties or even blatantly violates them – and when Freud pre-dates the dream in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, he disguises the fact that he *has* actually come too late to his father’s funeral, i.e. that his being late was not just a dream.

If we combine this with the previous considerations, then we can assume that Freud was intensely preoccupied with his ambivalence towards his father and his inheritance, which constituted an important part of his “self-analysis” that was now increasingly taking hold, and indeed triggered and intensified it to a considerable degree. Anzieu, at any rate, assumes that with Jacob’s death and Freud’s dream we have come to “a turning point in Freud’s inner life that was to have important repercussion on his work.” He continues: “It was responsible for his getting the idea of carrying out a self-analysis and writing a book on dreams – as he realized himself once he had completed that twofold task” (Anzieu, 1886, p. 168).¹⁷³ This also confirms for Freud’s own life what he had asserted in *Totem and Taboo*, based on his analysis of primeval forms of socialization in general, about the lingering significance of the death of the father: “The dead father became stronger than the living one had been – for events took the course we so often see them *follow in human affairs to this day*” (Freud, 1912-13a, p. 143; emphasis W.H.). It is only after the death of the father that the Jewish tradition is able to assert itself in Freud’s life and work in an “enduring” way, and *The*

¹⁷³ Max Schur writes in his Freud biography: “In this letter [Freud’s letter to Fliess of November 2, 1896] we can already detect the stirrings of Freud’s *systematic* self-analysis. Although Freud called *The Interpretation of Dreams* a portion of his self-analysis, i.e., his reaction of his father’s death, this was true only in part, but that part was essential. Only after this event [his father’s death] was Freud able to fathom the ubiquity of ambivalence in man’s relationship to beloved and revered parents, and eventually to discover the oedipus complex and the ‘guilt of the survivor’” (Schur, 1972, pp. 109).

Interpretation of Dreams emerges from the spirit of the dead father and is also heard as his resonating voice.

Another word about the dream: the inability of the dreamwork to find a unified expression for the contradictory dream-thoughts may be an indication of the strength of the conflict in which Freud must have found himself. He needed indulgence, that is, a mild superego that would not punish him mercilessly for transgressing the law and that would enable him to meet his father's demand that he take on the Jewish inheritance in his own unique way. Freud was able to endure his family's reproaches probably also because, as he points out, he had known how the deceased had thought about such events, so that he could be certain of inner agreement with his father despite the violation of the mourning commandment and its ambivalence. Freud was thus allowed, as it were, to smash the paternal tablets of tradition in order to be able to erect them anew in a different form that suited him: He wrote the psychoanalytic programmatic and fundamental text of *The Interpretation of Dreams*. If Freud had learned to read early on by reading the Bible, he now declares that dreams should be treated and read "as Holy Writ" (ibid., p. 513; cf. on this Hegener, 2017 as well as chapter 5). In the form of the secular science of psychoanalysis the old Rabbinic-Talmudic commandment of interpretation returns in a changed form; modern *hardware* science operates, as it were, with a hermeneutic *software* that has been handed down and updated.

In this context, let us look again at the dream motif of "close the eyes". This finds a counterpart in the method and setting of psychoanalysis, which is entirely oriented towards listening and deliberately interrupts visual contact. When Freud calls upon his analysands, himself and also us readers to turn to the "involuntary thoughts" (Freud, 1900a, p. 102) in the interpretive treatment of dreams or, as it will later be called, "evenly-suspended attention" (Freud, 1912e, p. 111), this can best succeed if we "close our eyes", immerse ourselves, and turn to and devote ourselves to what is heard, to what is unheard and (as yet) formless. For this we need a superego that is lenient enough to allow the suspension of censorship, that is, to "turn a blind eye", as it were. This high regard for listening is remarkable, since psychiatry in Freud's time was oriented towards the distance-creating gaze and equipped itself with an entire "photographic clinic" (cf. Didi-Huberman, 2004), for example, in the Hôpital de la Salpêtrière under the direction of Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893), whom Freud called a "'visuel', a man who sees" (Freud, 1893f, p. 12). Freud's psychoanalytic practice, trained also by speaking and hearing the "holy writs", on the other hand, relies on passive-receptive listening, as Freud explained in a letter to Lou Andreas-Salomé on 25 May 1916 with these remarkable words:

“I know that I have artificially dimmed myself at work in order to gather all the light into the one dark place, renouncing coherence, harmony, elevation and all that you call the symbolic, frightened by the one experience that every such claim, every expectation, brings with it the danger of seeing what is to be known distorted, even if embellished” (Freud, 1966a, p. 50; emphasis W.H.).

In this methodological sense, too, *The Interpretation of Dreams* is thus to be understood as a “reaction” to the death of the father and as an attempt to take up the father’s legacy in a highly creative and quite idiosyncratic way and to continue the Jewish and especially Talmudic-Rabbinic tradition and attitude associated with him.

And can we not find here a correspondence to the radical biblical monotheism and the prohibition of (cult) images? The finally enforced prohibition of images (*Exodus*, 20, 3-5a) was not limited to the enforcement of the sole worship of YHWH, but culminated in a fundamental rejection of cult images in general (cf. Dohmen, 1985, especially pp. 237-277). This had primarily to do with the fact that in the ancient Near Eastern region, an independent sacral-symbolic power was attributed to the image, which was the basis of idolatry. Cult images understood in this way were treated as living beings that were anointed, kissed and clothed. The prophetic criticism, for example in *Hosea* (13, 2) or (Deutero)*Isaiah* (44, 10), was directed precisely against such a practice. At a time when exiles were confronted with the figurative cult of the Babylonian gods, they insisted on the strict distinction of God, the Creator, from everything created by humans. In the face of all these machinations, the imageless God of Israel is the unavailable par excellence (cf. also Benk, 2008, pp. 29-33). The relationship with God therefore no longer arises through seeing, but only through hearing, as it is paradigmatically expressed in the beginning of the *Sh'ma Yisrael* (*Deuteronomy*, 6, 4).

An Act of Reparation and Continuation of Tradition – Freud’s Membership in the B’Nai-B’Rith Lodge

It fits with the assumption that Freud was able to gradually and in his very own way take on the Jewish paternal inheritance within the framework of his self-analysis that a good year after his father’s death he joined the Jewish lodge *B’Nai-B’Rith* (“Sons of the Covenant”), originally founded by German emigrants in New York in 1843, which had set itself the goal of “promoting tolerance, humanity and welfare” as well as enlightenment about Judaism (for the following remarks, see especially Knoepfmacher, 1979a; D. Klein, 1985, pp. 69-102; Nitzschke, 1991). For a

long time, many authors assumed on the basis of Jones' (1972, p. 362) statement that Freud had already joined the Lodge in 1895. In fact, however, as documented in the 5th issue of the *B'nai B'rith Mitteilungen für Österreich* of May 1926, entitled "Festsitzung der 'Wien' anlässlich des 70. Geburtstag Br[uder] Univ[ersitäts] Prof[essor] Doktor Sigmund Freud", this did not happen until 29 September 1897 (cf. on this Nitzschke, 1991, p. 97, FN 12). In this issue, Edmund Kohn (1863-1929), a medical colleague of Freud, founder of the *B'Nai-B'Rith* 'Wien' in 1895 and its president, explains: "As early as 1895 I found an opportunity to draw his [Freud's] attention to our Lodge, but he did not join the 'Wien' until 29 September 1897" (Kohn, 1926, p. 136; own translation). This more precise chronological determination and delimitation is so important because only it allows us to plausibly grasp the significance of Freud's entry into the *B'Nai-B'Rith* Lodge in its biographical context. It is particularly important for our considerations that the entry took place almost exactly one year after the death of his father and probably only became possible for him at this time (and not already in 1895, when Kohn first suggested this to Freud). Blumenberg (1996, p. 167) has drawn attention to the fact that Freud, in contrast to his observance of the funeral regulations, observed a Jewish commandment with this one-year period, namely that of mourning, and was now better able to process and put into perspective his protest against his father's inheritance.

In this Jewish association Freud not only – at least in these early years – regularly attended the meetings and assumed functions (he was chairman of the Committee for Spiritual Interests as well as a member of the Peace Committee and the Research Committee; cf. Kohn 1926, p. 137), but in times of his relative isolation in the scientific and university world he also gave his first two lectures there on the "The Interpretation of Dreams" on 7 and 14 December 1897. A total of 21 lectures on various topics of interest to him are documented up to 1917, which he read not only in Vienna but also in part to other lodges (such as in Brno and Prague) (cf. on this information Nitzschke, 1991, p. 102f.). Freud thus joined an exclusively Jewish community at a certain point in time, in which he found a benevolent reception and a "first audience" (Freud, 1926j, p. 272). Here he met people who had learned to renounce "agreement with the 'compact majority'" (ibid.).

Before we turn to this in a little more detail, it is worth noting both an important temporal coincidence and a sustained preference of Freud's that developed in the aftermath of Jacob Freud's death. First, on the temporal coincidence: in the same month that Freud joined the *B'Nai-B'Rith* Lodge, he wrote that famous "Widerrufsbrief" (Letter of Recantation) in which he came to the fundamental insight "that there are no indications of reality in the unconscious, so that one cannot distinguish between truth and fiction that has been cathected with affect" (Freud, 1985c, p. 263). In this letter Freud also challenged the assumption that "that in all cases, the *father*, not excluding my own had to be accused of being perverse" (ibid.). Freud's father, too, was thus now no longer for

him the perverted perpetrator across the board, but became accessible again in a different way. This is impressively shown in another passage of the letter. After admitting his previous errors and inadequacies, he declares:

“It is strange, too, that no feeling of shame appeared – for which, after all, there could well be occasion. Of course I shall not tell it in Dan, nor speak of it in Askelon, in the land of the Philistines, but in your eyes and my own, I have more the feeling of a victory than a defeat (which is surely not right)” (ibid., p. 264).

With this Freud alludes to a passage from what is known as “The Song of the Bow” in the second book of *Samuel* (1, 20), where it says: “Tell it not in Gath [sic!], Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon; Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph” (cf. also *Micah*, 1, 10).¹⁷⁴ Here Freud identifies with the Israelites, who are not to betray that they are defeated, lest the Philistines (probably Freud’s ignorant colleagues in medical school) and the uncircumcised (the anti-Semitic Christians) triumph. This turn of phrase also corresponds to the common New Hebrew saying, “Don’t say it in Gad”, which means not to tell secrets. But, even now, if we consider the broader narrative context, we can discover, beyond this obvious meaning, that the biblical verse has a reference to the death of his father, for it is found in David’s great speech of mourning over the death of Saul and his son Jonathan (see also Yerushalmi, 1991, pp. 65-66). That Freud was aware of precisely this dimension of meaning can be seen in another letter (that was not included in the English edition of Freud’s collection of letters) he wrote to his friend and colleague Carl Koller a good 17 years earlier on July 23, 1880, just before his medical exams:

“So, as I sat there in my labour pains, and the fateful day of the examination (Erev¹⁷⁵ Examen, as it is said to have been called in ancient times) approached, and I realized that I still had all the material before me, I decided to give myself up in Pharmacology, where I had merely learned Narcotica, and to repeat this beautiful subject noiselessly after the holidays. But on Wednesday afternoon 24 hours before the decision I reconsidered; the taunts of hell rang in my ears, the uproar in Israel was great, and my best friends say the *mournful song* ‘Tell it not in Ascalon, proclaim it not in the streets of Gad’. *which was sung at the death of Saul and Jonathan*. And so I decided to dive down into the depths of pharmacology for another 12

¹⁷⁴ The 2nd Book of *Samuel* is also included in the volume of the *Philippson Bible* that Jacob gave to Sigmund Freud for his 35th birthday, and we have seen in Chapter 3 that this book was part of the subject matter in the First Semester of the “2. Gymnasial- und 2. Unterrealschul-Classse” that Freud took in his Gymnasium years (Wolf, 1861, p. 148).

¹⁷⁵ *Erev* is the Hebrew word for evening and is used primarily for the eve of the Jewish holidays – for in the Jewish calendar, unlike the Christian calendar, the day lasts from the eve to the evening of the day. This is one of the examples of Freud’s natural use of Hebrew words and phrases with friendly and trusted Jewish colleagues.

hours” (Freud, 1960a, p. 15; own translation and emphasis; on Koller, see also Pfrimmer, 1982, pp. 80-83).

It remains to be asked, however, why Freud writes “Dan” instead of the correct “Gath” in the first quotation, that is, in the “Widerrufsbrief” to Fließ. Yerushalmi (1991, p. 66) suggests that Dan has an association with Samson, who, like Saul, Jonathan, and David, fought against the Philistines and came out of the tribe by that name (*Judges*, 13-16). Samson’s hair was cut off, but he eventually carried off a victory and tore down the temple of the Philistines (even though he himself was killed in the process). It is quite possible, then, that what is at issue here is not simply a misquotation, but a genuine slip, since Freud identified not only with David but also with Samson in this crisis-like situation. This interpretation receives an additional plausibility from the fact that Jacob Freud alludes to this story of Samson and to a certain verse in the Book of *Judges* in line 2 of his dedicatory letter, “And the spirit of the LORD began to move him in Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol” (*Judges*, 13, 25). Freud’s father had addressed him with this reference, as it were, as a particularly strong figure, blessed and chosen to overcome crises and, as a Jew, able to defeat all his enemies (see Chapter 1).

This at the same time defiant, mournful and confident reference back to the Bible or the Jewish tradition obviously served to overcome a difficult situation (cf. on this also Pfrimmer, 1982, p. 283) that had arisen through the necessity of abandoning a theoretical conviction that had been favoured for a long time. What is important above all, however, is the withdrawal of the *blanket* accusation of *all* fathers and also of his father; this opened up for Sigmund Freud not least the renewed reference to the biblical sources of which Jacob Freud had said several times in his dedicatory letter that he should not neglect them and that he should reflect on them so that he could find strength for the continuation of his work in trust in the paternal tradition.

The (in)ability to mourn and Freud’s passion for antiquities

Another after-effect of Jacob Freud’s death should now be considered, which is the third after-effect, in addition to the writing of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which was made possible by self-analysis, and his entry into the *B’Nai-B’Rith* Lodge. It has already been pointed out several times that Freud developed his passion for antiquities and the collection of antiquities in immediate reaction to his father’s death (on this, see especially Gamwell, 1989; Marinelli, 1998; Pfrimmer, 1982; Rizzuto, 1998, and also, though less clearly, Cassirer Bernfeld, 1951). This connection can be traced particularly well, and beyond this general assertion, by means of a Fließ letter: Only a few

weeks after his father's death, Freud moved into his new practice rooms on the mezzanine floor at Berggasse 19, and on December 6, 1896, he wrote a long letter to his friend Wilhelm Fließ, at the end of which he told him about a first antique he had acquired, which he placed there as a quasi-permanent companion.

It is important to consider the letter in its entirety. First, Freud develops here lengthy theoretical reflections on memory, which he assumes exists in multiple stratifications in the psychic and from time to time undergoes a “*rearrangement*” or a “*retranscription*” (Freud, 1985c, p. 207; see above). He then turns to the hysterical seizure in the second part of the letter and summarizes his new insight in this remarkable sentence: “all these are aimed at *another person* – but mostly at the prehistoric, unforgettable other person who is never equaled by anyone later” (ibid., p. 212). To explain this, Freud cites a patient who still whimpers in his sleep today, as he did as a child when he wanted his mother, who died when he was only 22 months old, to take him in. Finally, at the very end of the letter, there are the following lines about his first antique purchase: “I have now adorned my room with plaster casts of Florentine statues. It was a source of extraordinary invigoration for me; I am thinking of getting rich, in order to be able to repeat these trips” (ibid., p. 213).

If we connect these parts of the letter with each other, we can tentatively assume that Freud was intensively and painfully occupied with the “rearrangement” and “retranscription” of precisely his infantile memories of him (and of his early objects in general) for such a short time after his father's death. This now became for him the “unforgettable other” for which he longed, but which no “later” should reach. This also fits in with that already quoted remark immediately after Jacob Freud's death that “whole past has been reawakened by this event” (ibid., p. 202). Perhaps Freud also cried in his sleep with sorrow and was caught up with the current loss of his father, but also with all the “prehistoric” losses and feelings of extreme abandonment of his early childhood (loss of mother and nursery), and Freud may have felt like that 22-month-old child he mentions.

Marinelli (1998, p. 11) has drawn attention to the fact that Freud himself never put the two events, the beginning of his antiquities collection and the death of his father, into an inner context and never included them in his self-analysis. I suspect that there was a hitherto unmentioned side to the loss of his father, *and* especially to the unrememberable losses associated with it, which were too shadowy, painful, and downright unbearable, or even lacking in a psychic representation necessary to cope with them, for Freud to have been able to deal with them within the framework of his self-analysis. Freud evidently needed the direct and sensual presence of the ancient objects, his companions, who from now on could not be absent; only they could provide him with the desired “refreshment”, but probably even more with protection from the terrible onset of mortality and separateness (cf. Gamwell, 1989). In later years, in an essay “Some Reflections on Schoolboy Psychology”, looking

back and alluding to his passion for collecting, he wrote of “my first glimpses of an *extinct* civilization” during his school years, which at least “was to bring me as much *consolation* as anything else in the struggles of life” (Freud, 1914f, p. 241; emphasis W.H.).

And it was precisely the antique objects with which he surrounded himself in ever greater numbers in his work area (at the end there were almost 3000!) that served him as consolation, protection and perhaps also as a kind of “second skin” formation (Bick, 1968), in order to shield him from all too unbearable emotional states and at the same time to keep him in contact with a “submerged” world and the “prehistoric others” – Freud’s collecting passion is perhaps only comparable in its function with his excessive smoking. Rizzuto (1998, p. 5f.) also assumes that collecting, which in Freud’s case had taken on an obsessive-compulsive, even addictive character, was motivated by extremely pressing and unrecognized motives and feelings, which could only be made more bearable by the preferably uninterrupted physical presence of the objects and their calming psychological effect – and it is precisely the addictive character of collecting that makes it clear that the objects could not produce the desired effect; despite all the refreshment they offered, they remained, as it were, cold and mute.

Presumably, as Freud himself later put it, but in general terms, it was primarily a matter of “terrifying impression of helplessness in childhood [...] which was provided by the father” and “the recognition that this helplessness lasts throughout life” (Freud, 1927c, p. 30). In a situation in which this father is now absent because he has died, there are, in Freud’s thought, only two things that promise help: “But man’s helplessness remains and along with it his *longing for his father*, and the *gods*” (ibid., pp. 17-18; emphasis W.H.). Since Freud, despite all his re-approach to the paternal Jewish tradition by joining the *B’Nai-B’Rith* Lodge and writing *The Interpretation of Dreams*, could not and would not rely on his belief in the Jewish, the invisible and ineffable one God, he was left only with his “old and grubby *gods*” (Freud, 1985c, p. 363; emphasis W.H.) and an insecure paternal longing, which was associated with a fundamentally “uprooted” feeling (ibid, p.202). With the death of his father, presumably above all a protection that had hitherto saved him from the psychological actualization of the “terrible” early losses was removed, and further safeguarding by his new companions or “gods” was urgently needed.

Freud wanted, as we have already indicated, to use the objects of collection to connect himself with a “vanished cultural world” of his Jewish ancestors in particular. “Strange secret longings” rose up in him in the process, which, as he remarked to Ferenczi, “perhaps from the legacy of my forebears, for the Orient and the Mediterranean, and for a life of a completely different kind, belated childish wishes, unfulfillable and maladapted to reality, as if to indicate a loosening of the relationship to it” (Freud & Ferenczi, 2000, p. 78). Even Peter Gay, who has otherwise had such a hard time with

Freud's Jewish identity and identification, suggests that his antiquities are memories of a "lost world in which he and his people, the Jews, could trace their remote roots" (Gay, 1998, p. 212). For the purposes of the reflections in this book, it is important to note that there are strong indications that Freud's longing for the lost world of his Jewish ancestors is connected to the impressions of his study of the *Philippson Bible*, begun early with his father. For example, Ana-Maria Rizzuto (1998, pp. 105-133) argues that Freud's purchase of antiquities did not follow the well-considered plan of a collector interested in art history, but rather an unconscious script that led him to acquire his archaeological objects according to their resemblance to the illustrations of English woodcuts in the *Philippson Bible*; Rizzuto has cited numerous and startling examples of the correspondence between illustrations in this Bible and the figures in Freud's collection (ibid., pp. 120-133; see also Rohde-Dachser, 2018, pp. 230-236).¹⁷⁶

Finally, it also fits that there is a clear preference both in the *Philippson Bible* and also in Freud for Egypt or Egyptian objects. Pfrimmer (1982 pp. 220f. and the tabular overview on pp. 372f.) has meticulously counted that of the 755 or (if one subtracts the duplications) the 685 woodcuts in the three volumes of the *Philippson Bible* by far the most, namely 211 (31 %) deal with Egypt, followed at a wide distance by Israel with 93 woodcuts (12.5 %)¹⁷⁷ – which is astonishing enough in an *Israelite* (sic!) Bible. Freud's references to Egypt, based on a deep attachment, are also legion in his work from *Studies on Hysteria* (Freud, 1895d, p. 129) to *Moses and Monotheism* (for a summary see Hegener, 2001b as well as Bergstein, 2009). Freud particularly frequently associated the psychoanalytic method of dream interpretation with the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphic writing (see, for example, Freud, 1900a, pp. 254f., Freud, 1913j, pp. 177f. and Freud, 1916-17a, pp. 229f.). Freud went so far as to call his work *The Interpretation of Dreams* his "Egyptian dream book" (Freud, 1985c, p. 367; emphasis W.H.) in a letter to Fließ of August 27, 1899. I have tried to show elsewhere that this frequent mention of Egyptian in Freud's work functions like a cipher and itself becomes, as it were, a hieroglyph (Hegener, 2001b): in his numerous comparisons, he picks out precisely the moment in Egyptian that connects it with Jewish and Hebrew and repeatedly emphasizes, in connection with pictographic writing, the indeterminacies and the openness to interpretation that is peculiar to Semitic consonant writings and opens up a certain hermeneutic approach (for a more detailed explanation, see below). He thus alludes, unsaid, to the Rabbinical-

¹⁷⁶ Diana O'Donoghue (2010), drawing on more detailed reflections on the significance of the title page in the second edition of the *Philippson Bible*, which contains a depiction of Moses (see fig. 13), has also considered the influence that images of classical sites, ruins and scenes, which abound in the *Philippson Bible*, had on Freud's form of language and thought, which operates heavily on topographical and archaeological metaphors.

¹⁷⁷ There are another 29 countries depicted. Here we will mention those that are most frequently found on the woodcuts after the two mentioned: 64 are about Rome, 48 about Persia, 42 about the Middle East and 41 about Greece (according to Pfrimmer, 1982, p. 372f).

textual tradition, and it now becomes clear how much this connection is grounded in the experience of reading the *Philippson Bible*.

If we take all this together, then the impression suggests itself that Freud, both with his collection of antiquities and with the writing of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, wanted to revive the world of his ancestors and of the *Philippson Bible*, which had been lost with the death of his father, and needed their constantly visible presence in his sphere of work and life as a protection against unbearable feelings.

II. 1900 – 1939: Idolatry and reapproach to the paternal heritage

Between Universalism and Particularism – Psychoanalysis a Jewish Science?!

After writing *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud was concerned not only to establish psychoanalysis as a special and the proper form of psychotherapy, but also, and perhaps even more, to establish it as a general psychological theory and, in later years, additionally as a theory of cultural studies. In order for this to succeed, he had to inscribe psychoanalysis in the field of science with its universal claims to validity, and this brought him into conflict with his Jewish origins. Judaism, or Jewish tradition, was considered to be of merely particular importance and outdated by the standards of both the hegemonic scientific reason and the dominant Christian universalism. Freud was concerned that by referring to his Jewish origins, as well as by emphasizing the Jewish roots of psychoanalysis, it could be damaged as a science and fundamentally discredited.¹⁷⁸

This concern was especially great when Freud attempted in the second half of the 1900s to link psychoanalysis to the academic scientific community through contact with the renowned Zurich University Psychiatry. For this connection, he was prepared to push back the influence of the Jewish psychoanalysts altogether and thus also make room for a changed understanding of psychoanalysis. Isidor Sadger (1867-1942), an early student of Freud, reports in his memoirs of Freud that at the II International Psychoanalytical Congress in Nuremberg in 1910, Freud had shouted to the almost exclusively Jewish members of the Vienna Psychoanalytical Group, who protested against the fact that exclusively non-Jewish members of the Swiss Group were to be preferred for leadership positions: “You are for the most part Jews and therefore not suited to acquire friends for the new

¹⁷⁸ Martin Wangh (1997, p. 151) reports a very later echo of this apprehension, showing how little it has disappeared: On 30 May 1977, on the occasion of the establishment of a Sigmund Freud Chair at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the then honorary president of the Brazilian Psychoanalytic Society of Rio de Janeiro, Mario Pacheco de Almeida Prado, wrote to the president of the International Psychoanalytic Association that he feared “the installation of the Chair at the Hebrew University will induce people to see pschoanalysis as a *Hebraic activity* [Author’s emphasis]”.

teaching. *Jews must humble themselves to be cultural fertilizers. I must make the connection with science!*” (Sadger, 2006, p. 74; own translation). Own references to Jewish origins had to be strictly limited under this condition and immediately elevated to the general human (cf. on this Hegener, 2017).¹⁷⁹ But in fact Freud inserted important elements of the Jewish tradition into his texts underhand and, after his attempt to insert psychoanalysis into the university system of science and medicine had failed, asserted the right to its universal significance more and more militantly. To do this, he had to work through his inner conflict once again between the desire for a full bourgeois and scientific establishment of psychoanalysis and that for recognition of its belonging to the Jewish tradition. This process can be traced particularly well in his 1905 study *Joke and their Relation to the Unconscious* (Freud, 1905c) and especially in his confrontation with Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961).

The Jewish Talmudic Joke Book

Even before Freud joined the *B’Nai-B’Rith* Lodge at the end of September 1897, he reported to Fließ on June 22 of that year that he had started a systematic “collection of profound Jewish stories” (Freud, 1985c, p. 253). The creation of this collection can also be understood as a further reaction to the death of his father and the rediscovery and reappropriation of the Jewish Talmudic tradition that this made possible, and it is quite conceivable that he was able to draw on the stories of his family as well as the rich Jewish Talmudic literature for this collection. More precisely, this is the first preparatory work for the Joke-Book, published in 1905, in which Freud was able to relate to a new phenomenon the insights he had gained in *The Interpretation of Dreams* about the basic functional principles and working methods of the unconscious-psyche. In this writing the Jewish jokes occupy a prominent position, and they are given this position because in them certain characteristics are revealed which other forms of joke lack. In the first place, Freud emphasizes, “Incidentally, I do not know whether there are many other instances of a people [the Jewish people] making fun to such a degree of its own character” (Freud, 1905c, p. 112). A few pages later he speaks of “their participating in the jokes” (ibid., p. 142), i.e., of the characteristic of self-criticism that belongs to “Jewish jokes” to a special degree. To this must be added the “democratic mode of thinking of Jews, which recognizes no distinction between lords and serfs, but also, alas” (ibid., p. 112), their scepticism and pessimism (ibid., p. 113), and their attack on “religious dogmas and the belief in

¹⁷⁹ Freud write to Karl Abraham on 26 December 1908: „Our Aryan comrades are really quite indispensable to us, otherwise psycho-analysis would fall victim to anti-Semitism” (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 193). This statement is not without irony, for it was precisely through contact with the Aryan comrades that psychoanalysis eventually threatened to fall into anti-Semitism. It took some time for Freud to realise this.

God” (ibid., p. 114). But what perhaps distinguishes Jewish jokes above all other features is that they not only make us laugh, but also make us think. Or, to put it still another way, they make us think by making us laugh (cf. Gresser, 1994, p. 128).¹⁸⁰ It follows that not only is the dream a “particular *form* of thinking” (Freud, 1900a, p. 506), but that this characterization also applies to the Jewish jokes – which, as we shall see in a moment, links it to the Talmud and its forms of thinking. It is important to note in advance, however, that the majority of Jewish jokes originate from a specific cultural sphere respectively that the well-known or typical Jewish joke is the *Yiddish* joke of the Eastern European Ashkenazim. And here, too, a specific tension becomes apparent: on the one hand, one can say with Oring (1997, p. 44) that Freud wanted to use the Yiddish jokes to create a distance between himself and the Eastern Jews, the uneducated and unsophisticated main characters of many of his stories, whom he could laugh at in this way. On the other hand, however, and perhaps even more so, Freud’s book is a monument to the language, culture and psychology of Eastern Jewry. In this respect, writing the book of jokes meant for him a rapprochement with his two Yiddish-speaking parents, who, according to their origins, were deeply rooted in Eastern Jewry, and was probably also only possible for him after the death of his father. Perhaps for Freud, as was generally the case for assimilated Jews of the time, it was precisely the telling of Yiddish jokes that held out a *controlled* possibility for access to that Eastern European part of one’s identity that otherwise remained and was to remain hidden in the whole bourgeois habitus and self-definition. The Jewish and Yiddish joke thus corresponded in a certain way to psychoanalysis itself, which is also supposed to make discarded parts of the child’s self accessible again and help to integrate them within the framework of a controlled regression (cf. on this Hutton, 1990).

Sarah Kofman (1990), in her subtle study of Freud’s book of jokes, has similarly raised the question of the significance of Jewish thought in this work. She, too, emphasizes that Jewish jokes (which are to be strictly distinguished from the mostly defamatory jokes about Jews, which lack any self-involvement or self-criticism). play a prominent role in Freud’s text, referencing his view that Jews are particularly disposed to joke-making because of their *acquired* psychological constitution. And yet, as Kofman points out, in his interpretation of jokes Freud feels compelled to relativise their fundamental Jewish character, emphasizing that “only” their “setting” is Jewish, but their “core belongs to humanity in general” (Freud, 1905c, p. 49). Ultimately, as Kofman points out, all Jewish stories would undergo this deconstruction and undergo the same return to the universally human. But, since Freud always does something other than explicitly say it, the Jewish heritage always peeks through and (intentionally-unintentionally) pushes itself into the foreground, and via this

¹⁸⁰ A particularly beautiful and profound example of this is the following joke: “A Jew says: ‘Our rabbi talks to God himself’. A second Jew exclaims: ‘That is not true!’ The first Jew retorts, ‘Yes, it is. Would God speak to a liar?’”

detour it is precisely the Jewish “setting” that proves to be an evidence of something universally and excellently human, the sense of a reflexive and self-critical humour that constitutes the good joke at its core.

When C.G. Jung contacted Freud in April 1906, shortly after the publication of the *Joke-Book*, an intense relationship and correspondence very quickly developed between these two men so fundamentally different, and Jung joined the young psychoanalytic movement and Freud as its undisputed leading figure (on the correspondence between Jung and Freud, see Eissler, 1982). Jung, unlike almost all of Freud’s previous Viennese students, was not Jewish and was at the beginning of a brilliant career in the field of university psychiatry. He worked under the then already famous psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939) at the Burghölzli Clinic in Zurich and had a winning charisma. In addition to the rapidly developing personal attraction, Freud expected the new association to benefit the broad academic recognition of psychoanalysis. Referring to certain biblical figures and an intergenerational process of replacement and installation concerning them, described in the book of *Numbers* (27, 12-23; cf. also *Deuteronomy*, 3, 23-29), he couched this hope in the following remarkable formulation: “We are certainly getting ahead; if I am Moses, then you are Joshua and will take possession of the promised land of psychiatry, which I shall only be able to glimpse from afar” (Freud, 1974a, pp. 195-196).

But why does Freud think that he may not take possession of the promised land, but only look at it from afar? Did he fear that he would die first? Freud was in his early 50s and, despite his fears of dying early, was by no means at an age where his death was imminent and compelling.¹⁸¹ Again, a close examination of the biblical account may help to answer this question. Already in the Passover narrative of the exodus of the Israelite people from Egyptian slavery, that is, the founding narrative of the Mosaic tradition, Moses, as Blumenberg (2012, pp. 114ff.) points out, appears only as a “servant of the LORD” (*Deuteronomy*, 34, 5). This first indication of a strict limitation on his exaltation and glorification is further confirmed as the narrative progresses. Moses, after having been saved, is not allowed to lead his people into the promised land because, had he been allowed to do so, he would have been idealized without limits as a redeemer. In the annual commemoration of the Exodus, then, the focus is not on Moses and his glorification, but on the memory of the escape from slavery and, above all, the renunciation of idolatry. But there is something more: according to the biblical account, Moses is not allowed to enter the promised land because of a specific offence. In chapter 20 of the book of *Numbers*, in the scene of the “strife” or “water of strife” (see also

¹⁸¹ When Freud’s father was dying and his fears and guilt were presumably already mobilised, Freud wrote to Fliess: “I would like so much to hold out until that famous age limit of approximately fifty-one [...]” (Freud, 1985c, p. 198). Schur (1972, pp. 184-191) has traced in detail the significance of the number 51 (and 56), which appears in many different ways, as well as Freud’s fantasies about his father’s marriages that are connected with it.

Numbers, 27, 14), we learn that Moses, contrary to the divine injunction, behaved as a sorcerer and magician, and disregarded the limitation imposed upon him: When the multitude of the Israelites lay in the wilderness of Zin, and there was no water, Moses and Aaron went to the entrance of the tent, fell down, and God appeared to them. He told Moses to speak to the rock in the sight of the people so that water would come out. But Moses struck the rock twice with his staff and water came out. God then decreed that Moses should not lead the people into the Promised Land because he had not obeyed his summons, had not trusted in his sanctified word, but had relied on the power of magic to persuade the harping people.¹⁸²

Freud knew this biblical scene and quotes it in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a, p. 380): “Moses seized the rod in the face of God’s command and the Lord punished him for this transgression by telling him that he must die without entering the Promised Land.” However, God does not announce death to Moses immediately after this scene, but informs him that he may not lead the people of Israel into the Promised Land because of his transgression; it is only in a later situation, before the installation of Joshua as his successor (*Numbers*, 27, 12-23), that God informs Moses that he will die after seeing the Promised Land. However, it is Aaron, Moses’ brother, who must die immediately after the scene described for the transgression they committed together (*Numbers*, 20, 22-29). Perhaps this slight misreading or possible confusion expresses Freud’s strong fear of being punished for his own apostasy from the Law of the Fathers, especially since Aaron is the one responsible for what is probably the most serious offence, namely having erected the Golden Calf in Moses’ absence (*Exodus*, 32 – see below). This possible anxiety will also be expressed, as we shall see in a moment, in the context of the discussion with Jung in Freud’s study of Michelangelo’s Moses.

Assmann (2015, p. 317; own translation) comments on the scene of the “water of strife” as follows: “To the word the rock would have obeyed as the command of its creator, to the blow it obeyed out of magical compulsion.” Every form of magic, every endowment with superhuman abilities, that is, which would have made Moses more than a mortal man, should and must be excluded and strictly avoided – in this idolatry the Jewish tradition sees the greatest danger to every individual human being and to the process of culture in general. It may be, if we relate this scene to Freud, that he felt guilty because he tried, or was tempted, to combine his new doctrine with university psychiatry and to achieve what might be called magical success in the non-Jewish world. In the desire for

¹⁸² The prevention of a possible tendency to glorify Moses is further expressed in the fact that his grave is and must remain forever unknown. Towards the end of the book of *Deuteronomy* (34, 4-6; emphasis mine) it says: “And the LORD said unto him: ‘This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying: I will give it unto thy seed; I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.’ So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD. And he was buried in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-peor; and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.”

recognition, blinded by the charismatic Jung and with the seductive prospect of quick success, the strict psychoanalytic requirement was in danger of being forgotten and “watered down” in the truest sense of the biblical account, to rely on and limit oneself to the word alone, that is, to refrain as far as possible from any form of “magic”, namely, psycho-technique, manipulation, hypnotic suggestion, electrotherapy, drug therapy, or the like, and to bear in mind that the word which the psychoanalyst uses is a borrowed word, above her or his unlimited subjective disposal. It is as if his father had looked over his shoulder and reminded him, in true prophetic tradition, that he must not purchase his success by a surrender of Jewish heritage. Because he had forgotten, or was in danger of forgetting, the word of God, of Jewish paternal tradition and Jewish-inspired psychoanalysis, he was not allowed to move to the Promised Land.

The motif of only being able to see the promised land from a distance is found in another and prominent place in the *Interpretation of Dreams*, namely in the “Rome dreams” (Freud, 1900a, pp. 199-202) – and the same pattern emerges here, which will be briefly demonstrated here (for an even more detailed explanation, see Hegener, 2017, pp. 145-150). In the first edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud still speaks of his longing for Rome, i.e. an unfulfilled desire that could only be satisfied in his dreams. In the second edition of 1909 he mentions the fulfilment of this dream, which had become possible in the meantime, and in the edition of 1925 he finally adds that in the meantime he had become a “zealous pilgrim of Rome” (*ibid.*, p. 199). Obviously, working through certain conflicts reflected in these dreams was a necessary precondition for entering Rome at all: they reflect the fundamental conflict between the desire to belong to the Roman-Christian majority and dominant culture on the one hand, and the attachment to the marginalised and rejected Jewish paternal heritage on the other.

If we look at these dreams in more detail, we can see that Freud stylised his longing for Rome in an interweaving of an antiquing journey to Italy in the spirit of Goethe and Winckelmann, as well as a Mosaic desert journey and a Jewish topology of exile (cf. Hartwich, 1997, pp. 179-188). In the first of the four dreams, Freud sees the Tiber and the Angel Bridge from the coupe window. The train starts to move and it occurs to Freud that he has not even entered the city. In a second dream, someone leads Freud up a hill and shows him Rome half-veiled by the fog and still so far away that he is surprised at the clarity of the view. Freud immediately remarks that “the theme of ‘the promised land seen from afar’ was obvious in it” (Freud, 1900a, p. 193) is easily recognisable in it. In the third dream, Freud is finally in Rome. To his disappointment, however, he sees a far from urban scene, but a small river with dark water, black rocks on one side and meadows with large white flowers on the other. He notices a Mr. Zucker, whom, as he notes in a parenthesis, he knows superficially, and decides to ask him for directions to the city.

After depicting these dreams, Freud adds an incursion: The dark rock near the water vividly reminds Freud of the valley of the Tepl near Carlsbad. Carlsbad is associated with that same Mr. Zucker and a “facetious Jewish anecdotes” (ibid., p. 194): a poor Jew cheats his way onto the express train to Carlsbad without a ticket. He is caught several times, expelled from the train at each inspection and treated increasingly harshly. When asked by an acquaintance he meets on the journey where he is going, Mr. Zucker replies: “‘To Karlsbad,’ was his reply, ‘if my constitution can stand it.’” (ibid.). Freud adds that the name Zucker also points to Carlsbad, because “we” would send all those afflicted with the constitutional disease diabetes there.

After a fourth dream, which takes him to Rome again and which is about the wish to meet his friend (Wilhelm Fließ) in Rome, Freud slowly comes to those “memories that stretched far back into childhood” (ibid., p. 192), which he said right at the beginning of his remarks had powerfully reinforced his present desire: he had read in one of the classical writers that it was doubtful who had paced up and down his parlour more eagerly after he had made the plan to go to Rome, Winckelmann the Vice-Principal or Hannibal the Commandor-in-Chief. In obvious identification with the latter, Freud adds: “I had actually been following in Hannibal’s footsteps. Like him, I had been fated not to see Rome” (ibid., p. 195). What follows are the remarks on the significance of Hannibal already presented at the beginning of this chapter: Hannibal was his “favourite hero” during his grammar school years, considerably strengthened by his experiences of anti-Semitism. The “Semitic general” (ibid.) and Rome became a symbol for Freud of fundamental contrasts that went beyond the historical situation: “Hannibal and Rome symbolized the conflict between the *tenacity of Jewry* and the *organization of the Catholic church*” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.). At the end of the explanations of the Rome dreams, Freud then turns to the childhood memory that actually motivates them, that as a child his father had told him on a walk about the anti-Semitic attack mentioned several times before, in which a “Christian” had knocked his new fur hat off his head into the excrement on a Saturday and he had not fought back – which did not seem very heroic to him.

In the midst of his self-analysis triggered by his father’s death, Freud wrote to Fließ on 3 December 1897: “My longing for Rome is, by the way, deeply neurotic. It is connected with my high school hero worship of the Semitic Hannibal (...)” (Freud, 1985c, p. 285). The neurotic-oedipal conflict alluded to here had manifested itself, as shown, in the 1st edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* in the blunder of having called Hannibal’s father Hasdrubal instead of Hamilkar Barkas. And we could further see that this expressed Freud’s desire to replace his father with one of his older brothers (cf. Freud, 1901b, pp. 243 and 245). Freud not only wanted to avenge his father, but also to take revenge on him for his perceived weakness. This patricidal impulse probably led Freud to a sense of

guilt and inhibition that made it impossible for him to enter Rome for a long time. While Goethe set out for Italy from Carlsbad and was able to reach Rome without any recognisable inner conflicts, and Winckelmann, in order to be able to become a librarian in Rome and to follow his inclinations towards antiquity, converted (from Protestantism) to Catholicism (cf. on Freud's relationship to Winckelmann also Schorske, 1981, chap. IV, especially pp. 192f.), all this was not possible for Freud for a long time and, as far as conversion was concerned, was not even wanted by him.

On the one hand, Freud's longing can be interpreted as wanting to conquer Rome, like Hannibal once did, and to avenge his father's humiliation. On the other hand, however, Rome, as well as the displacement and replacement of the promised land of Canaan by Rome (or, as in relation to Jung, through psychiatry; see above), also stands for Freud's desire to find access to Christian hegemonic culture oriented towards humanistic educational ideals, as well as for an outrage against Jewish tradition (in it, Rome and the Roman Empire already belonged to one of the great hostile world empires in pre-Christian times). He wanted to escape the poor and humiliating Eastern European origins of his father and mother and achieve professional and social success by adapting to the culture of assimilation. But this could not be achieved without a break: Both entering the Acropolis (Freud, 1936a) and fulfilling his longing for Rome were associated with intense feelings of guilt for Freud, as both were linked for him to the motif of patricide and turning away from his father's Jewish heritage: He had made it so far that he was able to overcome his father's poor Jewish origins and enter the anti-Semitic German culture, which had aligned itself with ancient educational ideals. Like Moses was once allowed to enter Canaan, Freud was not allowed to enter the "promised land" of Rome as a punishment, but only to look at it from afar, because he had denied God's word or rejected his father's inheritance out of a desire to adapt to the culture of assimilation. But at the same time it is the case that Freud identifies with the "poor Jew" from the "facetious Jewish anecdote" and that a quasi "constitutional" element, namely his belonging to the Jewish people and to Eastern European Jewry, helped him to be able to give up his desire for assimilation and to realise that assimilation in an anti-Semitic culture can only mean assimilation to anti-Semitism. Freud, while still turning away from the paternal Jewish tradition, remained faithful to it. But it took further painful efforts before Freud, after the break with C.G. Jung, was able to fully reappropriate this heritage in Rome through an almost obsessive preoccupation with Michelangelo's statue of Moses.

But how far the anticathexis of Judaism had reached by then is accessible through a letter of 21 September 1907 addressed to his wife Martha. After visiting the Jewish and Christian catacombs in Rome, Freud writes: "On many tablets the candelabrum can be seen. *Menorah*, I think it is called" (Freud, 2002, pp. 224-225; own translation and emphasis). Actually, it is hard to imagine that Freud

could have forgotten what the famous Jewish candelabrum is called; unless one actually assumes that in this situation Freud had distanced himself so far inwardly from the Jewish tradition that his access to it had become highly uncertain. That this anticathexis of the Jewish tradition was able to break out after his turning away from Jung is evidenced by another letter written almost four years later to the day: On 13 September 1913, Freud sent Karl Abraham, probably not by chance, a postcard with an image of the Arch of Titus, depicting the sacking of the Jerusalem Temple by the Romans during the Jewish War, as well as the carrying off of the menorah. Freud comments on this event on the map as follows: “The Jew survives it!” (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 193).

Before we finally return to the relationship between Freud and C.G. Jung, let us take a look at the critical work on religion “Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices” (Freud, 1907b), which was written during this period. Like the story of the “water of strife”, the paragraph under consideration here also deals, albeit in a different way, with the limitation of his omnipotence necessary for every human being and its “surrender” to God: Freud describes how, with progressive cultural development, the renunciation of the satisfaction of “bad and socially harmful instincts” (ibid., p. 127) became necessary and what contribution the Jewish religion played in this. Freud mentions a verse from the book of *Deuteronomy* (32, 35) by way of explanation, without giving the location: “Vengeance is Mine”. Contrary to the widespread assumption of an avenging “Old Testament” God, which is often justified with reference to this very passage, what is meant here is that man must learn to forego the satisfaction of destructive impulses and cede them to God for this purpose. Freud understood the enabling of their “surrender[ed] to the deity” (ibid.) as one of the central achievements of the Jewish-Mosaic religion, for this allows man to limit himself in his narcissistic omnipotence (cf. also Grunberer & Dessuant, 1997), which leads to the malignant cycle of paranoid-schizoid processes of revenge and retribution. In the non-purified Jewish conception of God, a humanizing cultural-religious container is thus available, as it were, for the narcissistic-destructive impulses. With this almost casual mention of such a central feature of the Jewish concept of God, Freud paid tribute to it even at the time of its manifest departure from Jewish tradition.

But now back to the development of the friendship with Jung. The high expectations placed in him soon dimmed, and growing differences emerged both in personal interactions and in the area of theory. Jung was not and did not want to be Joshua, who would lead the Israelite people to the promised land, or continue the psychoanalysis committed to the Jewish tradition and bring it to completion. Later, after the rift, Freud will refer to Jung not as Joshua but as a brutal and anti-Semitic “Germanic hero” (Freud, 1980b, p. 122) (see below). This is not the place to go into the complexities of the disputes between Freud and Jung. What is instructive for our context is the triangular history between Freud, Jung and Karl Abraham, which Zienert-Eilts (2013, pp. 79-108)

has traced in detail and will mention here in an excerpt. While Jung initially had a much greater emotional and scientific significance for Freud, towards Abraham he felt a stronger intellectual and spiritual kinship. In May 1908, Freud and Abraham exchanged letters in which both reflected on their Jewish origins. The exchange begins on May 3, 1908, with a letter from Freud to Abraham:

“Be tolerant, and do not forget that really it is easier for you to follow my thoughts than it is for Jung, since to begin with you are completely independent, and then you are closer to my intellectual constitution through racial kinship, while he as a Christian and a pastor’s son finds his way to me only against great inner resistances. His association with us is therefore all the more valuable. I was almost going to say that it was only by his emergence on the scene that psychoanalysis was removed from the danger of becoming a Jewish national affair” (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 37).

A short time later, on July 23 of the same year, Freud speaks to Abraham of the “anti-Semitism of the Swiss” and adds:

“But I think that we as Jews, if we wish to join in anywhere, must develop a bit of masochism, be ready to suffer some wrong. Otherwise there is no hitting it off. Rest assured that if my name were Oberhuber, in spite of everything my innovations would have met with far less resistance“ (ibid., p. 53).

In the protected framework of the correspondence with his Jewish colleague and pupil, Freud is able to speak about the anti-Semitism he experienced and explain that his Jewish origin and familiarity with the Jewish tradition made psychoanalysis more accessible, as well as expressing his wish that psychoanalysis would step out of its marginal position, which was essentially connected to the fact that he was Jewish. With these lines, Freud indirectly states that his origins as a Jew played a decisive role in the educational process of psychoanalysis: his argument that a Jew could find easier access to psychoanalysis is only conclusive if psychoanalysis itself has a share in the Jewish tradition and is (co-)founded by it. In his reply of 11 May, Abraham took up this hint and specified the “intellectual kinship” of the two with regard to Freud’s Joke-Book:

“I, too, have always felt this intellectual kinship. After all, the Talmudic way of thinking cannot disappear in us just like that. Some days ago a small paragraph in *Jokes* [Freud’s book *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*] strangely attracted me. When I looked at it more closely, I found that, in the technique of apposition and in its whole structure, it was completely Talmudic” (ibid., p. 40).

These remarkable statements by Abraham become more understandable if we briefly consider his biographical background: Abraham grew up, as one of his biographers notes (cf. van Schoonheten, 2016, p. 4), in an Orthodox Jewish family environment. His grandfather Moses Abraham (1799-1870) was active as a religious teacher and preacher in the Jewish community in Nienburg, and his father Nathan Abraham (1842-1915) had, as his granddaughter Hilda Abraham (1976, p. 29; own translation) reports, studied “Jewish laws and religion” (i.e. presumably acquired a sound Talmudic education) and taught the Jewish community in Bremen when it had no rabbi. If we take the passage from the letter just reproduced, we can see that Abraham obviously had a more detailed knowledge of the Talmud, which he mentions as an almost self-evident treasure of Jewish education – and he indirectly reminds Freud with his words of this educational-historical background specific to the Jewish tradition at a time when the latter, in contact with Jung, was in the process of denying his Jewish heritage for academic-university and cultural success. Abraham himself seemed to have been less susceptible to this seduction because of his often-described incorruptible personality, and his Jewish educational history made it possible for him to recognise the influence of Talmudic method on Freud’s book, which must remain closed to any uninformed reader without this background. With Abraham’s reference to the Talmudic tradition, the “racial kinship” named by Freud clarifies itself as an eminent cultural imprint that has nothing at all to do with biological predispositions; but this cultural imprint was not allowed to be named too openly, but had to remain hidden (at least for the time being) in order not to give any reason to defame psychoanalysis as a “Jewish science”.

Unfortunately, we do not know to which passage in Freud’s book of jokes Abraham refers exactly with his remark, but in general at least this much can be said: the culture of Jewish, Eastern European wit could, as Salcia Landmann (2010, pp. 45-48) conclusively argues, on the one hand only emerge under the pressure of persecution and suffering; but these experiences, so that the traditional character of Jewish wit could fully develop, had to combine on the other hand with a profound Talmudic education, through which all areas of life were thoroughly and critically-sarcastically illuminated. Even if after the Jewish Enlightenment movement the joke became religiously emancipated, the Talmudic imprint remained decisive. In the Talmud and its forms of thought, a critical culture of discussion was established, in which the focus was on multiplicity of meaning, ambiguity and variety of sound, the desired comparisons were pushed to the point of absurdity, room was given to the non-sensical, and paradoxes were highly valued. To give just a taste of how Jewish wit and Talmudic thought-form converge, and how in both asking questions is valued more highly than answering them, here is a joke dressed up in dialogue form:

“Rebbe, what is Talmud anyway?’

I will explain it to you with an example, with a Talmudic Kasche (= question, problem): Two fall through a chimney. One smears himself with soot, the other stays clean... which one will wash?’

‘The dirty one, of course!’

‘Wrong! The dirty one sees the clean one – so he thinks he is clean too. But the clean one sees the smeared one and thinks he is smeared too; so *he* will wash himself. – I will set thee a second Kasche: the two fall through the vent once more – who will wash?’

‘Well, now I know: the clean one.’

‘Wrong. The clean one, while washing, realized that he was clean; the dirty one, on the other hand, realized why the one who was clean was washing – and so now the right one is washing. – I set you the third Kasche: the two fall through the chimney a third time. ‘Who will wash himself?’

‘From now on, of course, always the dirty one.’

‘Wrong again! Did you ever see two men fall through the same vent – and one is clean and the other is dirty?! See: This is Talmud’” (quoted in Landmann, 2010, p. 61; own translation).

Christian fantasies of salvation and Siegfried – C.G. Jung and Sabina Spielrein

Already in the last years of contact between Freud and Jung, there had been increased disputes about the question of the significance of (Christian) religion for psychoanalysis. Jung had reported to Freud in February 1910 that he had been asked to join a (non-psychoanalytic) “international” or “ethical order”. If such an order were to mean anything, Jung explained, it would have to be “nourished the deep instincts of the race“ (in McGuire, 1974, p. 292-293). And conversely, he argued, an order with “mythical Nothing, not infused by any archaic-infantile driving force” (ibid., p. 293) meant a pure vacuum. Finally, he pleads for a connection between psychoanalysis and Christianity:

“A genuine and proper ethical development cannot abandon Christianity but must grow up within it, must bring to fruition its hymn of love, the agony and ecstasy over the dying and resurgent god, the mystic power of the wine, the awesome anthropophagy of the Last Supper – only *this* ethical development can serve the vital forces of religion” (ibid.).

For Freud, this idea was a real horror; he immediately warned Jung not to “think of him as a founder of any religion” (Freud, 1974a, p. 295), adding, “I am not thinking of a substitute for religion; this need must be sublimated. I did not expect the Fraternity to become a religious organization any more than I would expect a volunteer fire department to do so!” (ibid., p. 296) Perhaps Freud used the prosaic image of the fire brigade at this point because he now realized that the association with Jung and his preference for Christianity could lead to psychoanalysis being burned, as it were, along with its Jewish roots. Later, when the conflict became more acute, he expressed more openly to Jung his impression that Christianity too narrowly limited his horizon (ibid., p. 458).

Freud eventually judged the danger so great that he decided to write his *Totem and Taboo: Some Points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics* (Freud, 1912-13a) to set his own ideas about religion and his critique of Christianity against Jung’s apologetic desire to outdo them (see especially Blumenberg, 2002). Jung’s “awesome anthropophagy of the Last Supper” for example, which he wanted to bring to completion in psychoanalysis, clarified itself to Freud as the ritual repetition of the primordial patricide¹⁸³ and the archaic totemic meal, as well as an attempt to ward off guilt (Freud, 1912-13a, p. 154). These reflections were to prepare the ground for Freud’s later analysis of Judaism, Christianity, the transition from Judaism to Christianity, and anti-Semitism, found more than 20 years later in *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a, esp. pp. 193-194; see Chapter 5). When *Totem and Taboo* was completed, he expressed to Abraham that it should serve “to neatly eliminate anything Aryan-religious” (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 182).¹⁸⁴ Freud’s personal and theoretical efforts to separate himself from any mixing of psychoanalysis with Christian ‘Aryan’ and ultimately anti-Semitic views led him almost inevitably back to the figure of the Jewish father and, later, to that of Moses. To Ferenczi Freud writes on 9 July 1913:

“We will carry on our cause quietly and with superior assurance. I had intended to thank Jung *for the feeling that the children are being taken care of, which a Jewish father needs as a matter of life and death*; I am now happy that you and our friends are giving it to me” (Freud & Ferenczi, 1993, p. 499, emphasis W.H.).

¹⁸³ Thus Freud writes: “A son-religion displaced the father-religion. As a sign of this substitution the ancient totem meal was revived in the form of communion [...]. The Christian communion, however, is essentially a fresh elimination of the father, a repetition of the guilty deed” (Freud, 1912-13a, pp. 154-155).

¹⁸⁴ Some years earlier, on October 16, 1910, Freud wrote to Oskar Pfister about dealing with the opponents of psychoanalysis and chose a certain biblical image to explain the task: “Building the temple with one hand and with the other wielding weapons against those who would destroy it—strikes me as a reminiscence from Jewish history” (Freud & Pfister, 1963a, pp. 44-45). What is presumably meant here is the rebuilding of the Temple described in the Book of *Ezra* (1-6) after the return from the Babylonian exile, which had to be carried through against bitter opposition. Also in this passage the point of reference is the temple.

After the break with Jung, Freud was cured of the desire to give recognition to psychoanalysis by making its Jewish roots unrecognizable, and only by taking this step could he save it from becoming mere “cultural fertilizer” for a Christian and “Aryanized” form of science and psychotherapy (as actually happened in a certain way in National Socialist Germany through the self-equalisation of the “Deutsche Psychoanalytische Gesellschaft”, its alignment with the “Deutsche Seelenheilkunde” and the forced self-exclusion of its Jewish members). For Freud, turning away from the path associated with Jung was necessarily linked to a rediscovery of his own father in his inner world. Ferenczi, probably the most important interlocutor in matters of *Totem and Taboo* for Freud, very clearly recognized and named this personal significance of Freud’s writing:

“My impression of the work on totem was deep [...]. I am thinking after all that that your subsequent vacillation is actually a displaced *retrospective obedience* with respect to the fathers (and your own father), who in this work are depriving you of the last remnants of your power over the soul of man. Your work is namely also a totem meal; you are the priest of *Mithras*, who singlehandedly kills the father – your students are the audience to this ‘holy’ action. – You yourself compared the significance of the Totem paper with that of the Interpretation of Dreams. – But the latter was the ‘reaction to [your] father’s death’! In the Interpretation of Dreams you carried out the struggle against your own father, in the work on Totem, against the ghostly, religious father imagoes. – Hence, the *festive joy* at the work’s coming into being (at the sacrificial act), which was then followed by the subsequent *scruples*. I am firmly convinced the work on Totem will one day become the nodal point of the study of the history of civilization” (Freud & Ferenczi, 1993, p. 493).

Having been able to work through the conflicts with Jung on a personal and theoretical level, Freud was now in a position to position himself more clearly. He also clothed his newly won position in the following formulation vis-à-vis Ferenczi on July 28, 1912: “However this turns out, my intention of amalgamating Jews and goyim in the service of ΨA seems now to have gone awry. They are separating like oil and water” (ibid., p. 398).¹⁸⁵ He also expressed this very clearly to Sabina Spielrein (1885-1942), a Russian-Jewish psychoanalyst who came to Burghölzli as a patient in 1904 and was treated there by Jung. The married Jung and Spielrein entered into what was presumably an intimate relationship somewhat later, and Sabina Spielrein developed a fantasy of having a child with him, whom she wanted to name “Siegfried”, partly out of her fondness for Wagner (Spielrein, 1980, pp. 92, 100). Freud, to whom Spielrein had written asking for mediatory

¹⁸⁵ In a letter of 29 July 1912 to Ludwig Binswanger (1881-1966), Freud uses the same formulation: “There is only one serious thing about it all: Semites and Aryans (or anti-Semites), whom I wanted to unite in the service of psychoanalysis, have separated once again like oil and water” (Freud, 1992a, p. 92).

help, declared the relationship to be a “neurotic dependence” in a letter to her dated 20 August 1912 (Freud, 1980b, p 116), and understood her Siegfried fantasy to be a Christian anti-Semitic one:

“My wish for you to be cured completely. I must confess, after the event, that your fantasy about the birth of the Saviour to mixed union did not appeal to me at all. The Lord, in that anti-Semitic period, had him born from the superior Jewish race. But I know these are my prejudices” (ibid., pp. 116-117).

A little over a year later, on August 28, 1913, after the break with Jung was as good as complete, Sabina Spielrein had married the Jewish physician Pavel Naumovich Scheftel (1881-1937) and had become pregnant, he wrote to her in no uncertain terms:

“I am, as you know, cured of the last shred of my predilection for the Aryan cause, and would like to take it that if the child turns out to be boy he will develop into a stalwart Zionist. He or it must become dark in any case, no more towheaded. *Let us banish all these will-o'-the-wisps!* [...] We are and remain Jews. The others will always only exploit us and will never understand or appreciate us” (ibid., pp. 120-121; emphasis W.H.).

It can also hardly be a coincidence that Freud, since the separation from C.G. Jung, has called theory components that are of essential and defining importance for psychoanalysis *shibboleths*, thus giving them an explicitly Jewish signature; since that time, they have been given an identifying word that can only be understood out of the Jewish-Biblical tradition context. The word *shibboleth*, in fact, comes from a biblical story told in the Book of *Judges* (12, 5-6) – that is, in that book which deals with the difficult period, marked by many wastes, after the taking of the land by Joshua and before the eventual establishment of kingship by Saul and, above all, David and Solomon: It is about the victory of Jeftah the Gileadite over the Ephraimites, who had not helped him in the battle against Israel’s enemies, the Ammonites, and against whom he now went to war. 42,000 Ephraimite refugees who wanted to go to battle were killed when crossing the Jordan because they mispronounced the necessary slogan word *shibboleth*, which means “spike” but also “waters”, as “sibboleth” – and by this Jeftah was able to win the victory.

Freud used this word, which distinguishes between friends and foreigners, to militantly designate central components of his theory, which he wanted to protect against any watering down or relativisation: First it was about the dream theory and the recognition of the unconscious, then above all about the libido theory and the Oedipus complex. Passages on dream theory in which Freud speaks of a shibboleth are found both in the *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Freud, 1933a, p. 7) and in the work “On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement” (Freud,

1914d, p. 56), which he wrote immediately after and in response to the apostasy from Jung. In a footnote added in 1920 to the *Three Essays on Sexuality*, he says of the Oedipus-complex: “With the progress of psycho-analytic studies the importance of the Oedipus complex has become more and more clearly evident; its recognition has become the *shibboleth* that distinguishes the adherents of psycho-analysis from its opponents” (Freud, 1905d, p. 226; emphasis W.H.). In *The Ego and the Id* (Freud, 1923b, p. 13; emphasis W.H.) we can read the following about the differentiation between the conscious and the unconscious: “If I could suppose that everyone interested in psychology would read this book, I should also be prepared to find that at this point some of my readers would already stop short and would go no further; for here we have the first *shibboleth* of psycho-analysis.”

Freud also spoke of the shibboleths of psychoanalysis in letters. Thus, on May 27, 1919, he writes to Oskar Pfister that (infantile) sexuality is a “shibboleth”. And when he adds to this that in Vienna it was feared that the “Verjungung” of psychoanalysis had penetrated more deeply into the “Swiss psychology” than they would admit to themselves (Freud & Pfister, 1963a, pp. 68-69), he thus names Jung and what he stands for (above all the anti-Semitism of the Christian majority society) as the lasting main enemy of psychoanalysis once again, several years after the separation. While Jung, as is well known, increasingly denounced the “Judaization” of psychoanalysis, wanted to purify it and, as it were, Aryanize it, Freud had to strictly resist its “Judaization” and used a Jewish signature in the argumentation for it: On the shibboleths, like oil and water, spirits are to part, namely, both the enemies of Israel and those of psychoanalysis – and only through such a divorce (and not through adaptations leading to self-prejudice), so we can understand Freud’s central argumentation since the time of the separation from C.G. Jung, can the “promised land” be reached, if at all.

The rediscovery of Moses

Freud had admitted to Sabina Spielrein that he himself had also gone astray and he puts his own aberration at the end of 1913, when Spielrein’s daughter Renate was born, in the context of a speaking image: “It is far better that the child should be a ‘she’. Now we can think again about the blond Siegfried and perhaps *smash that idol* before his time comes” (Freud, 1980b, p 121; emphasis W.H.). And it is true: Freud too had erected an idol, worshipped it, and promised himself magical success with the help of Jung. The insight into this own apostasy from the Mosaic-Biblical heritage led to a conversion and its rediscovery. As early as November 1912, Freud notes to Ferenczi his reawakened interest in Moses: “I am working further on Moses, of whom there is also a plaster cast

here” (Freud & Ferenczi, 1993, p. 424). This refers to a very specific Moses, for it was during this period that Freud began work on “The Moses of Michelangelo” initially published anonymously in 1914, that is, on his highly and admittedly subjective interpretation of Michelangelo Buonarroti’s (1475-1564) statue of Moses, which is part of a monumental tomb for Pope Julius II (1443-1513) – his essay begins, unusually enough for Freud, with the word “I” (cf. on this Grubrich-Simitis, 2004, p. 13).

Freud first came face to face with the statue in the late summer of 1901, and 11 years later, in September 1912, on another trip to Rome, he occupied himself with it intensively, even obsessively (ibid., p. 16): he visited the sculpture several times a day during his stay, painted it, and finally decided to publish his thoughts, initially anonymously.¹⁸⁶ In his essay, Freud vividly describes how often he “mounted the steep steps from the unlovely Corso Cavour to the lonely piazza where the deserted church stands” where Michelangelo’s statue of Moses stands, trying to “to support the angry scorn of the hero’s glance!” (Freud, 1914b, p. 213) He had sometimes “crept cautiously out of the half-gloom of the interior” (ibid.), as if he himself belonged to the “the mob upon whom his eye is turned – the mob which can hold fast no conviction, which has neither faith nor patience, and which rejoices when it has regained its *illusory idols*” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.). With this biblical scenario, it can be concluded, Freud also interprets his own apostasy from the Jewish tradition, his illusory mistaken belief that psychoanalysis can assimilate itself to the non-Jewish world with its Christian majority culture while denying its Jewish roots and find a place in it without a radical loss of self. Freud accuses himself of not having had sufficient confidence in the assertion of psychoanalysis and of having sought quick success (idolatry) without patience in his association with Jung and academic psychiatry. Once again, after this apostasy, Freud needs the indulgence of his (inner) father, who had given him the Tablets of the Law for his 35th birthday in the guise of the newly bound Family and *Philippson Bible* and had reminded him in a dedicatory letter of the Rabbinic-Talmudic interpretation that attacking the Torah is at times part of its preservation, since it creates insight and the desire for conversion and repentance (see Chapter 1).

Freud’s first writing on Moses contains an idiosyncratic interpretation of the work of art that impressed him like no other, and this can be read in yet another respects as a made-up engagement with his father. For this, let us recall Freud’s very own interpretation of the statue: in contrast to

¹⁸⁶ In 1933, 20 years later, Freud expressed the enormous emotional significance that this writing had for him in a letter to the Italian psychoanalyst Edoardo Weiss: “My *relationship to this work is like that to a love child*. Every day for three lonely weeks in September weeks in 1913 [it was actually 1912 – W.H.] I stood in the church in front of the statue, studying it, measuring and drawing it, until there dawned on me that understanding which, in the essay I only dared to express anonymously. Not until much later did I legitimize this nonanalytical child” (Freud, 1960a, p. 416; emphasis W.H.).

many other interpreters who assumed that Michelangelo wanted to show Moses in his sculpture in the immediate moment before the breaking of the tablets of the law, Freud believed that he could see in the statue “not the inception of a violent action but the remains of a movement that has already taken place” (ibid., p. 229). Moses had renounced “an indulgence of his feelings” and saved “the unsupported Tables before they had actually fallen to the ground” (ibid., p. 230). After a long rendition of the biblical text, Freud summarizes his understanding as follows:

“In this way he has added something new and more than human to the figure of Moses; so that the giant frame with its tremendous physical power becomes only a concrete expression of the highest mental achievement that is possible in a man, that of struggling successfully against an inward passion for the sake of a cause to which he has devoted himself” (ibid., p. 233).

Freud prefaced the long rendering of the biblical text from the scene at Mount Sinai (Horeb) with an apology placed in parentheses (this sentence is only in the *Gesammelte Werke*, i.e. in the German original): “ich bitte um Verzeihung, daß ich mich in anachronistischer Weise der Übersetzung Luthers bediene” (I beg your pardon for using Luther’s translation in an anachronistic manner) (ibid., p. 195 (GW)). It is conceivable that he wanted to express the apology to his father in particular, asking him to forgive him for still not quoting the *Jewish Bible* of his childhood, but for resorting to the Luther translation, which was so problematic especially for a Jew, possibly in order to please a Christian audience that did not know or respect the Jewish translation tradition. But now the Luther translation had become “anachronistic” for him, since after the disillusioning experiences with Jung and with the discovery of the Moses sculpture he had found his way back to the Jewish heritage and the (Philippon) Bible, which henceforth was not to leave him (and perhaps this was also the moment when he acquired a second, well-preserved version of the *Philippon Bible* – see chapter 1).

The echo of his father’s voice, however, becomes audible in another way in Freud’s interpretation of the Moses statue just reproduced. Bergmann (1976) and Gresser (1994, pp. 19-20 and 163-166) hold that Freud’s interpretation of the Moses sculpture also allowed him to find a new understanding of his father’s reaction to the anti-Semitic insult at Freiberg and to an explicitly Jewish stance. We recall that Jacob Freud told his son, when he was ten or twelve years old, that he had been walking through Freud’s hometown one Sabbath, dressed in a new fur cap (presumably on his way to the synagogue), and that a Christian had come along and knocked his hat into the feces, shouting, “Jud, get off the pavement!” When Freud asked his father what he had done, the latter calmly replied that he had stepped onto the pavement and picked up his cap (see Freud, 1900a, p.

196). Freud reacted disappointedly to this answer at the time and identified himself with Hannibal. Now, however, he replaces Hannibal with Moses and sees in the withdrawal of the aggressive impulses he discovers in the Michelangelo figure “the highest mental achievement that is possible in a man”. One can assume a constellation analogous to Freud’s in the period of his engagement with Jung: Just as Jacob in Freiberg faced a “Christian” who insulted and attacked him, so Freud in the years around 1912 experienced the attack of the Aryan-Christian Jung, the “Germanic hero”. Instead of taking revenge like Hannibal, however, he can now learn to appreciate his father’s attitude, and like him he retracts the open expression of his aggression.

Something else comes into play that can also explain why Freud can discover this attitude of his father in the figure of Moses or read it into it: Jacob Freud’s reaction of accepting the attack of the Freiberg Christian – what Freud as a child found so unheroic – can be understood as an expression of a certain attitude cultivated in the Jewish Diaspora. Bergmann (1976, p. 124) has pointed out that Freud’s father’s behaviour was anything but unworthy in the context of Jewish tradition. A Jew was expected to be able to control his anger and not be provoked. His sense of inner dignity was supported by the belief in his own spiritual superiority, which a bully and a “goy” could not touch in any way. From this point of view, Freud’s interpretation of Michelangelo’s statue of Moses brought him closer to his father, and the strengthened inner bond with him helped him to cope better with the anti-Semitic attacks and to consolidate his own Jewish identification.

Perhaps part of this consolidated Jewish identification is the fact that in the period following his separation from C.G. Jung and the rediscovery of the figure of Moses, Freud became increasingly concerned with the cultural-historical roots of his conception of dreams, which were grounded in Judaism. Thus, in his *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* held in the winter semesters of 1915-16 and 1916-17, he points out that the dream work translates the dream thoughts into a primitive form of expression analogous to picture writing, which is full of “indeterminacies” and “ambiguities”, and that this picture writing with these characteristics resembles the expressive systems of the ancient Semitic consonant scripts:

“The old systems of expression – for instance, the scripts of the most ancient languages – betray vagueness in a variety of ways which we would not tolerate in our writing to-day. Thus in some Semitic scripts only the consonants in the words are indicated. The reader has to insert the omitted vowels according to his knowledge and the context. The hieroglyphic script behaves very similarly, though not precisely in the same way; and for that reason the pronunciation of Ancient Egyptian remains unknown to us. The sacred script of the Egyptians is indefinite in yet other ways. For instance, it is left to the arbitrary decision of the scribe

whether he arranges the pictures from right to left or from left to right. [...] The most disturbing thing about the hieroglyphic script is, no doubt, that it makes no separation between words. The pictures are placed across the page at equal distances apart; and in general it is impossible to tell whether a sign is still part of the preceding word or forms the beginning of a new word. In Persian cuneiform script, on the other hand, an oblique wedge serves to separate words” (Freud, 1916-17a, p. 220).

When Freud compares the interpretation of the dream with the deciphering and translation of a (hieroglyphic) pictorial script, he thereby emphasizes precisely the moment that fundamentally constitutes textual work in the Jewish-Rabbinic tradition, namely vocalizing and thus giving meaning and interpretation (see the remarks in the introduction and cf. Hegener, 2014a, pp. 93f., 2017 and see also chapter 5). In the Semitic scripts, which centrally include Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, the disturbing “indeterminacies” named by Freud are virtually defining and mark a significant difference from the alphabetic scripts with which the Christian Bibles (the Greek *Septuagint* and the Latin *Vulgate*) are traditionally read and in which the meaning is more unambiguous and definite. With this comparison Freud emphasizes the special form of Jewish hermeneutics, which determines not only the psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams, but the psychoanalytic approach to interpretation in general.

Finally, it is worth noting that it was during this period of his life of increased reappropriation of his Jewish heritage that Freud began to approach a psychoanalytic explanation of anti-Semitism in rudiments that he would later bring to full fruition in *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a, esp. pp. 90-92). In a footnote added in 1919, he commented on the hostile reaction of non-Jewish people to the Jewish rite of circumcision in his study *A Childhood Memoir of Leonardo da Vinci*:

“The conclusion strikes me as inescapable that here we may also trace one of the roots of the anti-semitism which appears with such elemental force and finds such irrational expression among the nations of the West. Circumcision is unconsciously equated with castration” (Freud 1910c, p. 95; cf. also his earlier elaboration in Freud, 1909b, p. 36, already quoted).¹⁸⁷

Here, Freud characteristically turns arguments of authors who, especially in the 19th and early 20th century, wanted to see in circumcision a sign of the inferiority of Jews (cf. Gilman, 1993) against

¹⁸⁷ In a letter to Arnold Zweig of 18 August 1933, which is not included in the correspondence edited by Ernst Freud (Freud & Zweig, 1968a) and was first reproduced in Max Schur’s biography of Freud published in the USA in 1972, Freud also emphasizes, this time with reference to Moses, the intimate connection between circumcision and anti-Semitism: “One defends oneself in every way against the fear of castration. Here a piece of opposition to one’s own Jewishness may still be hiding cunningly. Our great master Moses was, after all, a strong anti-Semite and made no secret of it. *Perhaps he really was an Egyptian*” (Schur, 1972, p. 468).

the anti-Semites themselves and sees in their rejection of circumcision an own and fundamentally neurotic problem (cf. on this in more detail the contributions in Blumenberg & Hegener, 2013).

Cancer, anti-Semitism and the Jewish Bible again

If we survey the last 20 years of Freud's life since the end of the First World War, we do indeed find confirmation that Freud's (repeated and renewed) identification with Moses, described in the last section, which he had acquired primarily through his intensive engagement with Jung and his theory, created the basis for a consolidated sense of his belonging to Judaism. These years were marked by numerous losses, a serious bout with cancer, the related prospect of his imminent death, and an increasingly militant anti-Semitism. Through a deeper analysis of Jew-hatred and a renewed preoccupation with the *Jewish Bible*, Freud was finally able to arrive at a new and positive evaluation of the Jewish religion in particular. These last developments will be recapitulated in broad outline in a concluding section of this chapter; a more detailed examination of Freud's testamentary late work *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) will follow in the subsequent 5th chapter.

To all appearances, it was the threatening growth of anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, which increasingly bore eliminatory traits, that led to the fact that from around the mid-1920s onwards, a particularly large number of Freud's statements can be found that indicate an intensified and militant identification with Judaism – the corresponding passages can be found both in private correspondence and in his published works.¹⁸⁸ Freud, who in the early days of psychoanalysis had been scrupulously careful not to give the impression that his subject was a purely “Jewish affair”, now seemed to have no objection to such a designation and attribution – two exemplary letters from 1926 are intended to prove this.

On February 18, 1926, Freud writes to the Italian psychiatrist Enrico Morselli (1852-1929) that he had felt reservations when reading Morselli's work on psychoanalysis (Morselli, 1926), but then adds about another of Morselli's writings:

“But your brief pamphlet on the Zionist question I was able to read without any mixed feelings, with unreserved approval, and I was pleased to see with what sympathy, humaneness and understanding you were able to choose your point of view concerning this matter which has been distorted by human passions. I feel as though obliged to send you my personal

¹⁸⁸ Freud published his text „The Moses of Michelangelo“ for the first time under his own name in 1924 in the context of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, the first quasi-complete edition of his works, thus legitimizing it, as it were (on this statement, see Grubrich-Simitis, 2004, p. 21).

thanks for it. I am not sure that your opinion, which looks upon *psychoanalysis a direct product of the Jewish mind, is correct, but if it is, I wouldn't be ashamed*" (Freud, 1960a, p. 365; emphasis W.H.).

Shortly thereafter, on May 24, 1926, Freud reported to the writer and physician Arthur Schnitzler (1862-1931):

"The Jews have seized upon my person from all sides with enthusiasm *as if I were a God-fearing great rabbi. I have nothing against it* after I have unequivocally denounced my position on the faith, Judaism still means a great deal to me affectively" (Freud, 1955b, p.100; own translation and emphasis).¹⁸⁹

These clear confessions had become necessary due to the massive anti-Semitic threat, but had also become possible due to Freud's rediscovery of the Moses figure, a clear sense of inner belonging to Judaism, as well as an unequivocal renunciation of any "erroneous" attempt to conform to the prevailing anti-Semitic science and majority society. Freud defined himself unequivocally as a Jew from this point at the latest, and all forms of earlier self-definition had become largely obsolete for him from this moment on. In 1926 he expressed in an interview with George Sylvester Viereck (1884-1962):

"My language is German. My culture, my attainments are German. I considered myself intellectual German, until I noticed the growth of anti-Semitic prejudice in Germany and German Austria. Since that time, I prefer to call myself a Jew" (quoted in Gay, 1998, p. 448; on Freud's relationship to the Viereck, see also Angeloch, 2014a and b).

A few years later, in May 1931, Freud even declared himself even a "fanatical Jew" in a letter to the Viennese Chief Rabbi David Feuchtwang (1864-1936):

"Your words aroused a special echo in me, which do not need not explain to you. In some place in my soul, in a very hidden corner, I am a *fanatical Jew*. I am very much astonished to discover myself as such in spite of all efforts to be unprejudiced and impartial. What can I do against at in my age?" (Freud, 1986h, p. 321; own emphasis).

¹⁸⁹ In 1977, the Sigmund Freud Chair was established at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and on this occasion a lecture by Anna Freud, who could not appear in person, was read. She concluded her reflections with the following remarkable formulations, which have a tenor quite comparable to that of Freud's letter quotations reproduced last time: "During the era of its existence, psychoanalysis has entered into connexion with various academic institutions, not always with satisfactory results. It has also, repeatedly, experienced rejection by them, been criticized for its methods being imprecise, its findings not open to proof by experiment, for being unscientific, even for being a 'Jewish science'. However the other derogatory comments may be evaluated, it is, I believe, the last-mentioned connotation which, under present circumstances, can serve as a title of honour" (A. Freud, 1978, S. 148).

The following should be added to this letter: It is quite conceivable that David Feuchtwang had written to Freud or even visited and congratulated him personally on his 75th birthday because the latter was a prominent member of the Vienna Jewish Community. There is clear evidence of Freud's membership and affiliation with this congregation, which he probably never terminated or interrupted despite his unbelief. On January 27, 1927, only a short time before his 75th birthday, Freud wrote as a matter of course to the tax office of the Jewish Community of Vienna: "I am complying with your request for a self-assessment for 1927 by assessing my contribution on the basis of my income of S [shilling] 50,000 in the year 1926 at S 750. Yours respectfully, Prof. Sigm Freud" (the document can be found in Heimann-Jelinek, Hölbig & Zechner, 2007, p. 89; own transcription and translation).¹⁹⁰

In order not to provide an occasion for discrediting psychoanalysis, Freud, out of the aforementioned caution, had so far avoided openly linking the resistance to psychoanalysis with the inescapable fact that he was Jewish and that this fact played a significant role in the emergence of psychoanalysis. Freud finally abandoned this reticence in the mid-1920s and declared:

"Finally, with all reserve, the question may be raised whether the personality of the present writer as a Jew who has never sought to disguise the fact that he is a Jew may not have had a share in provoking the antipathy of his environment to psycho-analysis. *An argument of this kind is not often uttered aloud. But we have unfortunately grown so suspicious* that we cannot avoid thinking that this factor may not have been quite without its effect. Nor is it perhaps entirely a matter of chance that the first advocate of psycho-analysis was a Jew. To profess belief in this new theory called for a certain degree of readiness to accept a situation of solitary opposition – a situation with which no one is more familiar than a Jew" (Freud, 1925e, p. 222; emphasis W.H.).¹⁹¹

The passage from the 1926 speech to the *B'Nai B'Rith* Lodge quoted above, which precedes this chapter as a motto, also stands in this temporal context. Before the sentence already reproduced, there is a self-characterization of Freud as a Jew, which strictly adheres to the experience of foreignness and which can be understood as a Jewish and at the same time as a psychoanalytic experience (both sentences will be reproduced here in context):

¹⁹⁰ Further evidence of such uninterrupted membership is found in the following remark, which falls in the same period: "On the other hand I have always had a strong feeling of solidarity [in the original German: Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit – W.H.] with my fellow-people, and have always encouraged it in my children as well. *We have all remained in the Jewish denomination*" (Freud, 1925b, p. 291; own emphasis).

¹⁹¹ To Oskar Pfister, Freud wrote on November 9, 1918: "By the way, why did none of all the pious people create ΨA [psychoanalysis], why did one have to wait there for a completely godless Jew?" (Freud & Pfister, 2014, p. 105; own translation; this letter is not part of the English version of the correspondence).

“What bound me to Jewry was (I am ashamed to admit) neither faith nor national pride, for I have always been an unbeliever and was brought up without any religion though not without a respect for what are called the ‘ethical’ standards of human civilization. Whenever I felt an inclination to national enthusiasm I strove to suppress it as being harmful and wrong, alarmed by the warning examples of the peoples among whom we Jews live. But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible – many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction” (Freud, 1926j , pp. 272-273).

In this quotation, Freud, probably in criticism of an all too unbroken state-building Zionism to which he felt only distantly and sceptically attached (cf. on this Gresser, 1994, pp. 201-204 and Rolnick, 2013, pp. 29-64), speaks out against a Jewish-national elation and recognizes in it the danger of a copy of the nationalism from which the European Jews in particular had to suffer.¹⁹² Freud, after his experiences with Jung and his failed desire for success in the dominance culture, thus insists on the position of foreignness, which does not allow for an unbroken belonging. This irrevocable position of foreignness characterizes both the Jewish and the psychoanalytic experience.

This idea reminded me very much of a succinct and dazzling definition of the repressed-unconscious in the *New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*; there Freud calls the unconscious an “internal foreign territory [inneres Ausland]” (Freud, 1933a, p. 57).¹⁹³ This formula is truly paradoxical, since it denotes its own impossibility. For, how can a foreign territory, an “Ausland”, that by definition lies outside, beyond its own borders, at the same time be within? In still other words, how can a foreign territory be a foreign territory within its own borders (an “Ausland” be an “Ausland” within an “Inland”)? Yet this very formulation captures the essence of the psychoanalytic understanding of the unconscious, which is neither clearly inside nor clearly outside and thus without a fixed location. It is neither simply something implicit or latent, nor a

¹⁹² Thus Freud, for all his sympathies, was critical of Zionism in a letter of February 26, 1930, to Chaim Koffler: “I concede with sorrow that the baseless fanaticism of our people is in part to be blamed for the awakening of Arab distrust. I can raise no sympathy at all for the misdirected piety which transforms a piece of an Herodian wall into a national relic, thus offending the feelings of the natives” (Freud, 1973b, p. VII). It seems that Freud, through his deep imprinting by rabbinic Talmudic Judaism, could only understand and had to reject as idolatry a worship of a piece of that temple whose destruction ensured the continued existence of it.

¹⁹³ The formula of the „internal foreign territory [inneres Ausland]” recalls Freud’s statement that the “sexual life of the adult woman is a ‘dark continent’ for psychology” (Freud, 1926e, p. 212) and his talk of the „inner Africa“ in a letter to his bride Martha of 30 June 1882 (Freud & Bernays, 2011, p. 134; own translation). Jews, women, and the colonized are thus, as it were, bearers of the repressed and anticathected unconscious and find themselves (albeit in very different ways – cf. Hegener, 2019, chap. 1) in the position of the excluded third in the male, white, and Christian culture of dominance.

second person or even a second consciousness; nor is it an “Unterbewusstsein” (a term Freud was always careful to avoid), that is, a psychic backworld or underworld. The a-topia of the unconscious requires, if a therapeutic access to it is to be found, that the psychoanalyst can become a stranger to him/herself and, renouncing notions of omnipotence and grandeur, adopt a position of uncertainty, doubt and not-knowing.

Precisely this position of placelessness, as Klaus Holz (2000, 2010) has shown, also circumscribes the experience of Jews in the modernity constituted by the nation-state and in “national anti-Semitism”; they, too, find themselves, as it were, in an “internal foreign territory”. The typical image of the Jew, Holz argues, is a counter-image constructed to profile the self-image in terms of people, state, and nation. In order to understand this counter-image more precisely, one must distinguish between two interrelated delimitations. One can only speak of nation if there are several nations, and in nationalism one’s own nation is distinguished from the other, exquisitely hostile nation, resulting in a two-sided form of own versus foreign nation. But the image of the Jew is created by a second distinction: The image of “the Jew” forms the negation of this first distinction between one’s own and the foreign nation (it is the external relation to the internal relation of nation versus nation). In the national form, the Jews are those who are foreigners in every nation and thus the enemies of *all* peoples and nations. In this second, inter-national distinction between all nations and “the Jews”, the latter embody the excluded third. Thus “the Jews” are also ascribed a thoroughly paradoxical status: they do not belong inside and at the same time have no clear place outside in the sense of people/state/nation and occupy the position of non-identity and non-belonging.¹⁹⁴

Like the experience of the unconscious, “the Jews” as excluded third parties question the unambiguity of a stable distinction and destabilize the system. Freud did not attempt to overcome this experience of a radical strangeness, but rather developed it into a scientific method and theory deeply rooted in (classical rabbinic) Judaism, which sees its destiny, as it were, in extraterritoriality and an ex-centric position.¹⁹⁵ And in this respect, psychoanalysis is already in itself, and not only

¹⁹⁴ However, in critique of Holz’s reflections, I have shown that the construction of “the Jewesses” and “the Jews” as excluded third parties must be predated and does not emerge only in nation-state constituted modernity, but is deeply embedded in the Christian rejection of Judaism (Hegener, 2019; chap. 1).

¹⁹⁵ In his essay on Walter Benjamin, Gershom Scholem emphasized the difference between the bulk of Jewish writers who have become known in German literature (he names Arthur Schnitzler, Jakob Wassermann, Franz Werfel, and Stefan Zweig) and an exceedingly small group of Jewish authors of higher rank. Among these “first-rate minds of German-speaking Jewry” (Scholem, 1965b, p. 190) he includes Sigmund Freud, along with Franz Kafka and Walter Benjamin. All three authors had not fallen prey to the tragic illusion that they belonged to Germanness or to the German people; they had refused “German phraseology” and had written in “full awareness of the distance separating them from their German readers” (ibid.). Scholem concludes that the “experience [...] of being aliens, even exiles” (ibid., p. 191) did not disappear from the works of these authors. They were thus never under “the illusion of being at home” (ibid.), and Scholem strongly doubts whether they were ever at home in the Land of Israel.

through further political-moral additional assumptions, a negated anti-Semitism (cf. on this Hegener, 2019).

That for Freud anti-Semitism was the starting point of his new research was expressed in a letter of 30 September 1934 to Arnold Zweig (1887-1968), who at that time was already living in exile in Palestine and was Freud's main interlocutor for his book project:

“The starting point of my work is familiar to you-it was the same as that of your *Bilanz*. Faced with the new persecutions, one asks oneself again *how the Jews have come to be what they are and why they have attracted this undying hatred*. I soon discovered the formula: Moses created the Jews. So I gave my work the title: *The Man Moses, a historical novel* (with more justification than your Nietzsche novel)” (Freud & Zweig, 1968a, p. 90; own emphasis).

Freud emphasizes here that for him the starting point of his work was not a rapt and, as it were, antiquarian interest in historical events. As in any psychoanalytic historiography in general, the transference dimension, which has to be caught up self-reflexively, forms the starting point of historical construction in Freud's efforts as well (How do present interests influence the view back into the past, which is itself determined by it?). Freud takes an idiosyncratic and only at first sight surprising detour to answer the question of the historical reasons for the hatred of Jews. He does not directly analyse the anti-Semites of his time in their eliminatory hatred, but in an interweaving of exploration of the history of religion and psychoanalytical interpretation, he asks far back into the time of the highly dramatic, protracted and violent emergence of Mosaic monotheism and the transition from Judaism to Christianity.

In order to be able to come to these conclusions, Freud had to deal more intensively with the Jewish scriptural tradition in the last years of his life and rediscovered the *Jewish Bible* for himself and made it accessible again. With his book *Moses and Monotheism*, he both created his own secular and psychoanalytic midrash, that is, an updating commentary on the Bible (cf. Gresser, 1994, p. 211, Blumenberg, 2012, Rolnik, 2013, pp. 225-231 and chapter 5) and came to a rediscovery of the Rabbinic tradition. This last point is supported by the fact that Freud not only takes the biblical figure of Moses into account in his book, but also the founder of Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism, Jochanan ben Zakkai, whom he had already indirectly mentioned in the Nathan letter to his fiancée Martha Bernays (see above).

Freud describes in his work (Freud, 1939a, p. 114) how immediately after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by Titus, Jochanan ben Sakkai requested permission to open the first Torah school in Jabne (see above). Henceforth, Freud continues, it was the sacred Scriptures and the spiritual effort to keep them that held the scattered people together. According to the Talmudic

narrative it was Jochanan ben Zakkai, and with him an entire rabbinical group, who at the end of the Jewish War in 70 CE decided against continuing the struggle with the Romans, thus taking a very different position from that of those Jewish rebels who, three years after the conquest of Jerusalem, had defended to the death the Judean mountain fortress of Masada against the onslaught of the Roman legions. The rabbinic scholars rejected this attitude and pleaded for a withdrawal of aggression – just as Freud experienced it with his father and (re)discovered it in Michelangelo's statue of Moses. One may be reminded at this point, in retrospect, of Freud's letter of February 2, 1886, to Martha Freud, already quoted, in which Freud writes: "I often felt as though I had inherited all the defiance and all the passions with which our ancestors defended their temple and could gladly sacrifice my life for one great moment in history" (Freud, 1960a, p. 202). This attitude and identification with the militant Maccabees and Zealots is by this time finally overcome and transformed into a mature identification with the group around Jochanan ben Zakkai.

Freud mentioned the story of Jochanan ben Zakkai again and updated it in a memorable way: On March 13, 1938, a meeting of the board of directors of the "Vienna Psychoanalytic Association" was held, and it was decided, in the face of National Socialist barbarism, that all members who were able should flee Austria and that the headquarters of the Association should be moved to where Freud would find his new home. Freud himself formulated a commentary on these events at this meeting:

"After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by Titus, Rabbi Jochanan ben Sakkai asked for permission to open a school at Jabneh for the study of the Torah. We are going to do the same. We are, after all, used to persecution by our history, tradition and some of us by personal experience [...]" (this scene is reproduced in Jones, 1957, p. 235).¹⁹⁶

At the end of his life, Freud sees himself in the role of Jochanan ben Zakkai and wants to preserve and renew the Rabbinic-Talmudic science of psychoanalysis through its exile and the intellectual endeavour for Scripture that is only possible from the exilic position of foreignness.¹⁹⁷ The reference

¹⁹⁶ The extent to which Freud was preoccupied with Jochanan ben Zakkai during the period of emigration is shown by yet another remark. In 1938, a delegation from the Yivo Institute, an "Institute for Yiddish Studies" founded in Vilna in 1925, paid Freud a visit in London. In response to this visit, Freud wrote to Jaacob Maitlis on November 30, 1938: "We Jews have always upheld spiritual values, through ideas we have been held together, and to them we owe our preservation to the present day. It has seemed to me an exemplary event in our history that immediately after the destruction of the Temple Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai obtained permission from the conqueror to open the first college of Jewish science in Jabne. Now, again, a difficult time has come for our people. It reminds us to gather our forces anew in order to preserve our culture and our science unharmed in these storms" (Maitlis 1964; own translation).

¹⁹⁷ Richard L. Rubenstein has commented on Freud's identification with Jochanan ben Zakkai as follows: "Freud directly identified himself with the one rabbi who, in Jewish tradition, was regarded as most responsible for the continuation of the traditions of the Torah in the face of Roman oppression. He saw himself proceeding to London to found a new Jabneh where the new Torah would survive and grow. Anyone who has had rabbinic training has had the story of Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai engraved on his psyche a thousand times. It is the paradigmatic story of

to Jochanan ben Zakkai in the situation of the National Socialist threat also makes it possible to see how much Freud, especially in his late work, methodically follows the Rabbinic approach to the text, which is in critical tension with the historical-critical approach to biblical scholarship (see Chapter 2 and 5). Like his father with his testamentary dedicatory letter on his 35th birthday, which also reads like a special midrash, Freud writes down his legacy at the end of his life in the form of his own biblical commentary, which helps him to connect the current threat with Jewish history and tradition. In writing *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud advanced far to a limit: beyond this boundary lay the faith that was impossible for Freud and which he had lost, and on this side of it the broad resumption of the Jewish, i.e. the biblical *and* post-biblical rabbinic tradition as well as the rapprochement above all with his father (cf. on this also Grubrich-Simitis, 1991).

That Freud was able to relate differently and anew to his father and parents at the end of his life is touchingly expressed in a letter of April 9, 1935, which he wrote to Siegfried FehI (1879-1955): “I hope it is not unknown to you that I have always held faithfully to our people, and never pretended to be anything but what I am: *a Jew from Moravia whose parents came from Austrian Galicia*” (own translation and emphasis W.H.).¹⁹⁸ In contrast to the period of his adolescence, when he had treated Eastern European Jews with contempt and turned away from his origins, in this letter his own origins are acknowledged unapologetically and downright proudly.

Freud’s now possible assumption of his origins in Eastern European Jewry played a decisive role in the described new and positive evaluation of Jewish tradition and religion and was connected in a special way with his father. Let us begin with his changing relationship to (Jewish) religion: in the course of recognising the affinity between psychoanalysis and Judaism, Freud was able to turn increasingly to religious phenomena and considerably expand his understanding. Looking back on the last almost 10 years, Freud writes in his Postscript from 1935 to “An Autobiographical Study”:

“In *The Future of an Illusion* I expressed an essentially negative valuation of religion. Later, I found a formula which did better justice to it: while granting that its power lies in the truth which it contains, I showed that that truth was not a material but a historical truth” (Freud, 1925d, p. 72).

Through this formulation, religion is not only regarded and devalued as a piece of illusion, but is recognized and appreciated in its specific truth value – this is, it seems to me, the furthest limit to which Freud could move in his assessment of religion. There are now good reasons to assume that

the survival of Judaism under conditions of defeat” (Bernstein, 1998, p. 35).

¹⁹⁸ This letter can be found in the Freud Archives of the Library of Congress in Washington: <https://loc.getarchive.net/media/sigmund-freud-papers-general-correspondence-1871-1996-fehl-siegfried-1935-8b0ee4>

Freud's critique of religion, formulated in *The Future of an Illusion* (Freud, 1927c), was primarily directed against Christianity (cf. on this Hegener, 2017, chapter 4.1.), while his re-evaluation and positive assessment related precisely to the Jewish religion and found its expression in his last and testamentary book *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a). A more detailed analysis of the content must be omitted at this point (it will be done in the next chapter), but this much can be said about the writing process of the book at this point: In it, too, the experience and analysis of (eliminatory) anti-Semitism as well as a renewed and deepened engagement with the Jewish tradition were intertwined, which, however, painfully updated old (loss) experiences and made it necessary to work through them again.¹⁹⁹ Freud put it this way to Lou Andreas-Salomé: "It has pursued me throughout the whole of my life" (Freud, 1966a, p. 204).

How Freud's considerably expanded understanding of religion is related to his deepening inner relationship with his father is illustrated by a letter to his son Ernst, dated 12 May 1938 and thus still written from Vienna: Freud writes on May 12, 1938, i.e., still from Vienna, to his son Ernst: "*I sometimes compare myself with the old Jacob, whom his children took to Egypt even in old age, as Th. Mann will describe to us in the next novel [meaning the fourth volume of his Joseph tetralogy *Josef der Ernährere* – W.H.] will describe. Hopefully this will not be followed by an exodus from Egypt as it once was. It is time for Ahasver to come to rest somewhere*" (Freud, 2010, pp. 443f.; own translation and emphasis). Looking only at the italicized part of the sentence, one can think of both Freud's father Jacob and the biblical patriarch of the same name, and once again Freud's speech combines his personal and the biblical story. The memory of the story of old Jacob (*Genesis*, 46), who is taken to Egypt before he dies and can there see his son Joseph again, who was thought to be dead, and asks him to bury him in his homeland (see above), may have been comforting for Freud. Freud had so often identified with Joseph in his relationship with his father, and now he could see himself in the role of Jacob (Israel), the Jewish father who, before his death, turns to his son Ernst, to whom he was to give the family or *Philippson Bible* a little later (see Chapter 1).²⁰⁰

This newly possible and deepened identification with Jacob, the Jewish father, is also reflected in a changed theoretical version of the concept of God and father. At the end of his Moses study, Freud had to admit that his previous explanations (meaning above all the thesis of the primordial patricide, which is repeated in the assumed murder of Moses) were not sufficient to explain in particular the

¹⁹⁹ Grubrich-Simitis has insightfully shown that the difficult situation in which Freud found himself in every respect during the process of writing his last book actualized his early experiences of loss: "The Moses book proves to be a text that bears the hallmarks of the re-experiencing in the present of that early injury" (Grubrich-Simitis, 1997, p. 56).

²⁰⁰ By referring to Ahasver, moreover, Freud makes himself in ironic defamiliarization an "eternal Jew", for in the Christian folk tales since the thirteenth century *Ahasuerus* is the name for the "eternal" or the "wandering Jew" and means a person of unknown origin who mocked Jesus on the way to his crucifixion.

emergence of the Jewish religion. This, he argues, was connected with the “grandeur of a new idea of God” (Freud, 1939a, p. 123), and there had to be another moment than those mentioned so far involved in its emergence. Blumenberg (2006 and 2012) has discovered this missing moment in the “acceptance of the father”, his acceptance and appreciative recognition in the inner world. Both, patricide *and* the “acceptance of the father”, are necessary and constitutive for the emergence of Judaism or the renewing Jewish tradition, two sides of a reconciling process. From this it follows that the explanatory scheme of the compulsive neurotic character of every religion, which is still predominant in *Totem and Taboo*, does not fit the Jewish-monotheistic one. In contrast to the cruel primordial father in *Totem and Taboo*, in *Man Moses and Monotheism* Freud is concerned with another, namely a father “accepted” in the inner world and with another father-son relationship that creates a space for the survival of the son. Every Jewish child is chosen to live by remembering and mourning – through attacking, rejecting and forgetting the paternal / parental tradition – and this is precisely what Freud does in writing his late work on Moses and Judaism as a father-religion. This two-facedness also reflects the fate of the two tablets of the law, which Jacob Freud had reminded his son of in his dedicatory letter on his son’s 35th birthday (see Chapter 1): the (paternal) law must be shattered with one pair, in order to be able to raise it up again and in a new way with a second pair. However, a closer reading of Freud’s late writing in the next chapter will also show that he really succeeded in accepting the father, but not, until the end, in accepting the and his mother.

Freud died on September 23, 1939. Two days earlier, on September 21, he had reminded his personal physician Max Schur (1897-1969) of an old promise to give him a lethal injection if he was no longer able: “My dear Schur, you certainly remember our first talk. You promised me then not to forsake me when my time comes. Now it’s nothing but torture and makes no sense any more” (Schur, 1972, p. 529). Schur administered a sufficient dose of morphine twice, 12 hours apart, and Freud passed away at 3 am. The dawning September 23, the 10th of Tishri 5700 according to the Jewish calendar, was not only a Sabbath, but it also fell that year on the highest Jewish holiday, *Yom Kippur* (see Berke, 2015, p. 182). Can it be a coincidence that Freud chose to die on this day, which is so significant for Judaism? This day, along with the two-day New Year’s festival of *Rosh ha-Shanah*, which takes place ten days earlier, forms the High Holidays of Judaism and marks the conclusion of the ten days of repentance and penitence. And one can truly say that Freud’s life and death have come full circle and that he has returned home to the Judaism of his fathers.

Chapter 5

Dream and Holy Writ: The Jewish Scriptural Tradition in *The Interpretation of Dreams and in Moses and Monotheism*

“Whether his ‘Moses’ is a Moses may be very questionable. But he is *the* Moses whom Freud created for himself as a model and whom he emulated. Now he himself stands at the end of life and work, on the border mountain between the transparent past and the veiled future. With the quiet voice of reason he still seeks in this last moment to penetrate the fog of violence and outrage that lies before him” (Simon, 1975, p. 211; own translation).

Introduction

In order to come closer to the significance of the Jewish tradition of scripture and scriptural interpretation for Freudian psychoanalysis, we will begin by recounting three foundational biblical accounts as well as a post-biblical story. They will help to clarify what can be understood by Jewish identity and a Jewish hermeneutic derived from it. The first narrative is about how Abram became Abraham, the first Hebrew and progenitor of all Hebrews. Abram was not born a Hebrew, but was born in Ur, the land of the Chaldees. He did not acquire his identity as a Hebrew until he heeded God’s call to leave the land of his birth. “Now the LORD said unto Abram: ‘Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto the land that I will show thee’” (*Genesis*, 12, 1). In response to this invitation from God, Abram crossed a river in the direction of a land whose name Canaan he did not yet know. Only through this act Abram becomes Abraham and a *Hebrew*. This name alone precisely expresses what is meant, for the Hebrew *Ivri* means the one who crosses, the one who crosses. Horvilleur (2020, p. 22; own translation) concludes:

“The Hebrew identity that is formed with him is consequently linked to the tearing away from the land of birth. It has no origin of its own, no beginning. [...] a Hebrew [...] has no naming country of origin. His name does not refer to origin, but to the rupture with origin”.

Seen in this way, a Hebrew takes the position of non-identity with his or her own origin. The Promised Land is not the land of birth, and the desire to reach it is not understood as a return to origin, but as a desire directed towards the future. Since the break with origin is constitutive, the Jewish self-understanding cannot form and establish itself as a self-contained and unbroken

identity; it builds on a void that cannot be filled, since the way back to the origin (as in the paradise narrative through the *cherubim*) is and remains blocked.

A continuation of this first scene is found in the narrative of the Exodus, that is, of the exodus of the Israelites from the slave house of Egypt. Here it is no longer just about the exodus of an individual, but about a collective exodus and the *birth* of a people. And indeed, the scribes understood this key moment in Jewish-Israelite history, this “root experience” (Fackenheim, 1982, p. 17; see chapter 4), as analogous to a birthing process (Horvilleur, 2020, p. 23): according to this, the Nile Delta stands for the womb of the people, and according to the legend, Jacob’s seed multiplies at this mouth until the Egyptian womb opens. The ten plagues that come upon the Egyptian people are understood as birth pains that eventually lead to deliverance: The sea parts, the Hebrew people leave the land of Egypt—the “mother of the world” (*Om El Donya*), as it is called in Arabic, and they heed the instruction never to return, setting out on the long journey to the Promised Land.

A third story also follows this pattern of exodus, of breaking away, and deals with the name *Israel*, which the Hebrew people receive from a certain point on. In the book of *Genesis*, the story of Abraham’s grandson Jacob tells how, after bringing all his camp across the river Jabbok, he spent the night there on the bank and fought with God:

“And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob’s thigh was strained, as he wrestled with him. And he said: ‘Let me go, for the day breaketh.’ And he said: ‘I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.’ And he said unto him: ‘What is thy name?’ And he said: ‘Jacob.’ And he said: ‘Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel;²⁰¹ for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast prevailed.’ And Jacob asked him, and said: ‘Tell me, I pray thee, thy name.’ And he said: ‘Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name?’ And he blessed him there” (*Genesis*, 32, 25-30).

The name *Israel* is also not a name of origin, but is bestowed after a struggle and has been won. Moreover, this struggle is connected with an injury: Finding identity through a struggle does not lead to a radiant perfection, but to a disability and instability. Only those who are imperfect or, psychoanalytically speaking, who can acknowledge their own castration can align themselves with the transcendence of a God whose name must remain unnamed and unattainable.²⁰² The same

²⁰¹ Later, in the 35th chapter, God’s speech begins with God also renaming Jacob Israel (*Genesis*, 35, 10), and it is noticeable that this is done without reference to the narrative of the battle at the Jabbok (that is, as if the renaming had not yet taken place).

²⁰² In the tractate *Chulin* (91a) of the *Babylonian Talmud*, it is openly stated that Jacob lost his manhood in battle, so that he became a woman, as it is said in Jeremiah: “And Rabbi Yehoshua ben Levi says: Why is its name called sciatic nerve [*gid hanashe*]? It is because the sciatic nerve left [*nasha*] its place and rose. And similarly the verse says: ‘The mighty men of Babylon have ceased to fight, they remain in their strongholds; their might has left

pattern of denial and veiling of the answer is found in the later story of Moses' calling and the only apparent revelation of God's name (*Exodus*, 2, 23 – 4, 17). When Moses asks God on behalf of the Israelites what his name is, God's almost defiant answer, following a "why?-therefore!-structure", is: "I AM THAT I AM" (*Exodus*, 3, 14). To this day, the name of God (the "Eternal One" in the translations of Mendelssohn and Philippson) may not be pronounced in Judaism and is simply called *Ha Shem* (the Name). Such a God, who is not identical with an (his) unpronounceable name, eludes cult, as well as appropriation in general, and finds space only in a voiceless and presence-less (consonantal) script, which is only revealed through its always open interpretation (cf. on this also Etgeton, 1996, pp. 28-30). The human being, then, is marred, imperfect, and his God is forever unavailable to him (cf. on the latter remarks above all Benk, 2008, pp. 27-29).

The last story to be recalled here no longer comes from the Bible and has already been mentioned several times because of its importance for Freud: it is the legendary story of Jochanan ben Zakkai, the leader of a small group of moderate Pharisees, who, in the course of the Jewish War, suspected that the Jerusalem Temple could no longer be saved and, according to legend, had himself carried out of the city in a coffin, as it were, as an apparent dead man. He went before the Roman commander Vespasian, asked him to allow him to open a Torah school and court of justice in Jabne (near modern Tel Aviv), and was granted permission to do so. "From that time on", Freud has commented, "the Holy Writ and intellectual concern with it were what held the scattered people together" (Freud, 1939a, p. 114; see Chapter 4 and below). In this act, handed down in legend, an epochal turning point is symbolized: Judaism was completely transformed from a sacrifice-centred religion with a central temple and place of worship into a community of scripture and tradition, in which the Torah and its interpretation were henceforth central and ensured its continued existence. The assumption of existence in the Diaspora, i.e. the placelessness of exiled Judaism, as it were, continues the tendency documented with the three biblical stories and radicalises it. In a sense, homelessness becomes the programme, the Bible alone is now the "portative fatherland" (Heine), and the encounter with the divine since then takes place, as it were "dematerialised", essentially in the reading and exegesis of the sacred texts.

This placelessness and homelessness has eminent consequences for the Jewish program of scriptural interpretation. Legendre (2010, p. 173) has argued that in Western thought the Jewish position stands above all in opposition to the Roman-Christian understanding of Scripture, in which the human body of Jesus Christ, raptured to God, fills the void associated with all knowledge and vouches for the "truth of all knowledge". Conditioned by "the collision of a human body with the divine" (ibid.; own translation) or the inscription of the great divine Other in a human-social

[*nashata*], *they are become as women*' (Jeremiah 51:30)".

instance, this person becomes the omniscient and Lord of all interpretations – dogmatically authenticated by his deputies: Emperor and Pope, who are considered living voices of divine law (ibid.) and infallible. In the “Sinaitic thought” (Vogt-Moykopf, 2009) of “exegetical reason” (Bruckstein, 2001), in the “hermeneutics of excerpt” (Blumenberg, 2012) or the *hermeneutics of exile*, on the other hand, access to Scripture is elementally bound to mediation by interpreters and to freedom of interpretation. The voids of the text are not filled, but are explicitly kept open for a continued reading and thus for the possibility of the constant writing on and the production of new readings of the text. Each reader must, as it were, move out, not to find and create the original meaning, but his or her own access to the text. In the Lurianic Kabbalah we come across the following parable which illustrates this basic idea: Each word of the Torah has six hundred thousand “faces” or entrances, reckoned by the number of the Children of Israel who were standing at Mount Sinai at the time of the revelation. Each face is visible, facing, and decipherable to only one among them. Gershom Scholem comments on this parable as follows: “Each face is turned toward only one of them; he alone can see it and decipher it. Each man has his own unique access to Revelation. Authority no longer resides in a single unmistakable ‘meaning’ of the divine communication, but in its infinite capacity for taking on new forms” (Scholem, 1965a, p. 13).

Horvilleur (2020, p. 104; own translation and emphasis W.H.) emphasizes in summary that the Hebrews “are not to be seen as a people of Scripture, but as a people of Scripture *interpretation* [...]”. And Wurmser (2001, p. 61; own translation) also speaks of this: “The whole Jewish culture is quite properly a *culture of interpretation*, a culture based on the sanctification of the Word and its interpretation”. It is not Scripture alone, but the constantly renewing and perpetuating interpretive approach to it that characterizes the Jewish (textual) tradition. Is this not reminiscent of *The Interpretation of Dreams* and already the titling of Freud’s book? Freud did not call this fundamental work of psychoanalysis “A General Theory of Dreams” or “On the Psychology of Dream Processes”, but rather, by its very title, brought his new paradigm of interpretation to the fore: *The Interpretation of Dreams*. And it is quite fitting that Freud, contrary to what is often reported, did not call the dream the royal road to the unconscious, but emphasized that the “*The interpretation (sic!) of dreams is the royal road to a knowledge of the unconscious activities of the mind*” (Freud, 1900a, p. 607). We will follow up on these indications in the following section and attempt to trace, in broad outline, how Freud secretly incorporated the Talmudic-rabbinic textual tradition into his *method* and treated the dream “as a *Holy Writ*” (Freud, 1900a, p. 513; emphasis W.H.) – the analysis will indeed be limited to the method of dream interpretation, since the claimed structural similarity with the Talmudic way of thinking can best be substantiated via the Freudian dream and text approach (individual dreams have already been dealt with in the last chapter in

particular). Then, in a second step, it will be shown how Freud, in his testamentary late writing *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a), treated, as it were, Holy Writs like dreams in reverse and wrote a psychoanalytic midrash. *The Interpretation of Dreams* and *Moses and Monotheism*, perhaps Freud's two most important works, thus stand in a relationship of correspondence to each other, and their Jewish-influenced textual hermeneutics link Freud's early and late works as well as individual and cultural analysis.²⁰³

*I. On the structural similarity of Talmudic-Rabbinic text reading and psychoanalytic dream interpretation*²⁰⁴

If we turn to the first chapter of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, it must be noticed that Freud, who there deals extensively with the scientific literature of dream problems, does not mention the Jewish tradition of dream interpretation at all for a long time and later only in passing in a footnote. This note was added in 1914, and it is succinctly limited to the following references: "Dream-interpretation among the Jews has been discussed by Almoli (1848), Amram (1901), and Löwinger (1908); also, quite recently and taking account of psychoanalytic findings, by Lauer (1913)" (Freud, 1900a, p. 3). These works were presumably (subsequently) made accessible through bibliographical studies, but otherwise did not find any *direct* expression in the work.²⁰⁵ Of the biblical method of dream interpretation we learn *expressis verbis* only in passing (see below), of the Talmudic way of interpreting dreams actually nothing at all – only in Freud's mention that he treated the dream like a "Holy Writ" is there a discrete (but nevertheless decisive) hint. This certainly has to do with the fact that the biblical and especially the Talmudic method had an extremely bad press in the nineteenth century (Freud probably already experienced this in school lessons – see Chapter 3), namely was considered outdated and virtually the epitome of unscientificity. In contrast, the reference to the dream theory of mainly Greek-Hellenic antiquity was much more attractive to a humanistically educated audience, and Freud, who struggled strongly for the scientific reputation of precisely his controversial dream theory, expected greater recognition from it.

²⁰³ Unfortunately, I only became aware of Susan A. Handelman's study (1982) late in the day, in which some of the thoughts expressed in my book on psychoanalysis and Talmudic Judaism (Hegener, 2017) and here were already formulated as well.

²⁰⁴ In the following section, I draw on considerations I developed in the book *Heilige Texte. Psychoanalyse und Talmudisches Judentum* (Hegener, 2017) and expand and clarify them here.

²⁰⁵ In the *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, Freud mentions another book that is relevant in this context and with which he obviously had more to do. He states that in Hebrew literature the house is depicted as a woman and that the door stands for the sexual opening and notes: "I take these examples from a paper by Dr. L. Levy of Brünn [1914]" (Freud, 1916-17a, p. 161). In the original German, Freud mentions the title of this book by Brünn: »Ich entnehme diese Belege einer Abhandlung von I. Levy in Brünn: Die Sexualsymbolik der Bibel und des Talmuds« (Freud, 1916-17a, S. 164).

Freud expressed his reservation about the historian Alter Druyanov (1880-1938), who had pointed out to him (and obviously not as the first) in a letter the similarity of his dream theory and method to the Talmudic and Kabbalistic way of interpretation, as follows in his letter of reply on October 3, 1910: “The remarks of the Talmud on the dream problems have been repeatedly called to my attention [sic!] I must say, however, that the approach to the understanding of the dream in the ancient Greeks is a far more striking one” (quoted in Rolnik, 2013, p. 40; own translation). At this time in particular, Freud was still very keen to keep psychoanalysis free from the accusation of an alleged Jewish particularism and to profile it as a science that shared in the universalist and humanist heritage, for which Greco-Roman antiquity in particular stood (cf. on this Le Rider, 2004; see also Hegener 2016 and chapter 4). Perhaps, however, Freud unspokenly gave the Jewish Talmudic-Rabbinic textual and dream hermeneutics more space in his book than it might seem at first glance. This assumption will now be examined on the basis of a cursory reading of this work, which, as we were able to show in detail in Chapter 4, was produced not least as a reaction to the death of Freud’s father and in the processing of his formative influence.

The first chapter on the scientific literature on dreams, which Freud did not find productive and which he only dutifully explored, is followed by the chapter on “The Method of Interpreting Dreams”, and Freud immediately makes it clear that he places his whole approach in a certain, but only roughly and not specifically named tradition. He writes: “The title that I have chosen for my work makes plain which of the traditional approaches to the problem of dreams I am inclined to follow. The aim which I have set before myself is to show that dreams are capable of being interpreted [...]” (Freud, 1900a, p. 95). But, one would like to inquire immediately, in what scientific or cultural context is this tradition found at all? Where is the position taken that dreams are capable of interpretation? The scientific theories, Freud immediately adds, leave no room at all for the problem of dream interpretation, since they do not consider the dream to be a fully valid and independent mental act at all, but at most take into account the precipitation of bodily processes in the psychic, which itself, however, cannot claim any autonomy. Viewed in this way, dreams do not contain any “meaning” at all, which “fits into the chain of our mental acts”, and since, conversely, “‘interpreting’ a dream implies assigning a ‘meaning’ to it” (ibid.), no method of dream interpretation can in principle be developed from this tradition.

It is different, however, as Freud continues, with the “lay” opinion: this is driven by the dark suspicion that there is an albeit hidden meaning to dreams. But despite this correct insight, the two methods that have developed in this context give rise to major and ultimately unsolvable problems. The first of the two popular (and thus non-scientific) methods, “*symbolic*” *dream-interpreting*, treats the dream as a whole and attempts to replace its enigmatic content with an understandable and

analogous content. Freud immediately adds critically that this dream-interpretation method fails from the outset in those dreams that would appear not merely incomprehensible but also confused. As a paradigmatic example of this kind of procedure, he cites the “explanation of Pharaoh’s dream propounded by Joseph in the Bible” (ibid., p. 96). This refers to the story told in the Book of *Genesis* (41, 17-32) of the interpretation of the dream of the seven fat cows and the seven dry cows, which occurred twice. Joseph interprets that the seven fat cows symbolize seven years of plenty, which would then be followed by seven years of famine. In this sense, the seven cows are a symbolic disguise and translation of an underlying meaning that points to the future and underlies the dream with a meaning to be inferred prognostically. This kind of dream interpretation understands dreams as a revelatory medium of a divine origin or will and occurs repeatedly in the *Jewish Bible* (see, for example, *Genesis*, 20, 3; *Numbers*, 12, 6; *Judges* 7, 13; *Job*, 33, 35; 1 *Samuel*, 28, 6 and 15). Two figures in particular stand for this form of dream interpretation in the Bible, namely Joseph and Daniel. We saw in chapter 1 that Freud was identified with the dream interpreter Joseph, for he notes in a footnote to *The Interpretation of Dreams*:

“It will be noticed that the name Josef plays a great part in my dreams (cf. the dream about my uncle [p. 137 ff.]). My own ego finds it very easy to hide itself behind people of that name, since Joseph was the name of a man famous in the Bible as an interpreter of dreams” (ibid., p. 483).²⁰⁶

Recall that Jacob Freud mentions the Book of *Daniel* several times in the Hebrew version of the entry on the death of his father Schlomo (see chapter 1). Daniel’s form of dream interpretation is more interesting than Joseph’s, since he moves beyond the framework of a classical prophetic interpretation (cf. on this Albani, 2010, pp. 63-84).²⁰⁷ This can be seen, for example, in the way the prophet Daniel interprets the fear of King Nebuchadnezzar in the 2nd chapter of the Book of *Daniel*, confronting him with the finitude of his phallic-narcissistically occupied body, which is represented in a magnificent statue and is broken into pieces in a dream (van der Zwan, 2018). The

²⁰⁶ Ernst Simon (1971), who in his essay “Der Traum in den Überlieferungen der Juden” (The Dream in the Traditions of the Jews) placed the psychoanalytic method of dream interpretation in the Jewish tradition, assumes that Freud as a child must have heard the Psalm verse (126, 1) “A Song of Ascents. When the LORD brought back those that returned to Zion, We were like unto them that dream“ at his family’s Friday evening table, for it is sung every Sabbath (ibid., p. 194). Simon also shows that the biblical interpretation of dreams in Joseph and also in Daniel (see below) increasingly renounces magic, refers, quite in contrast to the courtly interpretation of dreams, to God “as the author and guarantor of the correct interpretation” (ibid., p. 186; own translation), and that it is precisely in this that its superiority becomes apparent.

²⁰⁷ It would be interesting to explore what role it plays for dream interpretation that Israelite scriptural prophecy, under the auspices of gradually asserting monotheism, distinguished itself precisely from the institutionalized form of ancient Near Eastern prophecy in the ancient royal houses (this now increasingly appeared as “false prophecy”) as well as being explicitly critical of domination and cult, and whether and if so, how exactly this finds a correspondence in the fact that Freud, too, practised psychotherapy in an institutionalized framework not given at the time, and in a kind of radical rhetoric released the speech of his analysands.

stone symbolizes not the king's supremacy but the permanence of death. The clay that appears in the dream is a reminder of this very fact, reminding the king that his body too will not survive death in a statue (which he understands as his incarnation). The reality of the body and death challenges any narcissistic presumption. This realization appears to be the cause of the king's enormous body-anxiety. The process of interpretation, while tied to the prediction of a new kingdom, at the same time shows Daniel not only as a soothsayer, but as a (proto-)psychoanalyst *avant la lettre*.

The popular method of symbolic dream interpretation, to which the biblical treatment of dreams also belongs, is subjected by Freud to a clear criticism: it shows a significant limitation, since it is dependent on the witty idea and the unmediated intuition; it is therefore actually rather an art exercise that requires a special talent. What this method consequently lacks is a procedure that can be learned and handled according to certain specifications that guarantee replicability, that is, which is accorded the status of a scientific procedure. But this was what mattered: Freud had to find and develop a strictly methodologically guided, scientific procedure that allowed psychoanalysis to be inserted into the ordinary canon of scientific-medical research and that could, in principle, be learned by any scientifically trained person (cf. Reicheneder, 2016). Freud was disturbed by the biblical-prophetic form of dream interpretation because it claimed to be able to predict the future through connection to a divine power and therefore could not be methodologically-scientifically based. If Freud's new method, which claimed to be strictly scientific, had been associated with this, it could hardly have been taken seriously and would have earned him the reproach of unscientificity as well as Jewish particularism at this, as it were, neuralgic point, where it was a matter of introducing psychoanalysis as a general theory of the psychic and establishing it academically. Freud, moreover, was not concerned with predictive or fortuitous access to the future, but with the key to the dreamer's past (cf. Frieden, 1990).

The second popular method of dream interpretation mentioned by Freud proceeds in a different way and does not claim to be bound to any special talent – and yet it follows a very comparable understanding of scripture and meaning. Freud calls it the “'decoding' method, “since it treats dreams as a kind of cryptography in which each sign can be translated into another sign having a known meaning, in accordance with a fixed key” (Freud, 1900a, p. 96). Here what Freud found fault with in the first method is excluded from the outset. There is hardly any room for the subjective arbitrariness of interpretation, since it is, after all, a question of the largely *mechanical* transference of meanings on the basis of dream books. Such a transfer, however, leads to a serious disadvantage, because it completely disregards the individual specificity of each dream and its embedding in the respective life story of the dreamer. This limitation, however, Freud adds, was corrected by the reflections on the dream interpretation of Artemidoros from Daldis (first half of the

second century BCE). Artemidoros had attached particular importance to basing the interpretation of dreams on observation and experience, and had wanted to distinguish his art strictly from other, deceptive arts. In his method, consideration was given not only to the dream content, but also to the person and circumstances of the dreamer, so that the same dream element would have a different meaning for the rich or the wealthy or the married than for the poor or the single. Freud adds that this author has handed down to us the “the most complete and painstaking study of dream-interpretation as practised in the Graeco-Roman world” (ibid., p. 97), and Artemidoros thus stands as a model for ancient Roman dream interpretation in general. Yet, rightly seen, even in this procedure the door is opened to arbitrariness, which cannot be controlled: An element in a dream means what it reminds the dream interpreter (and not the dreamer) of; he or she determines the meaning of the respective dream. The interpretive art of this method is therefore “identical with magic” (ibid., p. 98).

An essential advantage of the decoding method, on the other hand – and Freud will follow this up with his method – is that it does not take the dream as a whole, but aims the work of interpretation at each piece of the dream content, “as though the dream were a geological conglomerate in which each fragment of rock required a separate assessment” (ibid.). In spite of this advantage, however, this second popular method, taken as a whole, also falls under the verdict of unscientificity, chiefly because there are no guarantees whatever as to the reliability of the “dream books”. But if, in addition to the biblical method, even the “the most complete and painstaking study of dream-interpretation as practised in the Graeco-Roman world” is not scientifically useful, the question remains, and remains open, whether there is any other tradition to which Freud could connect. For the time being, let us summarize: in a balancing act that was not without danger, Freud had declared that he followed the popular arts of dream interpretation in the fundamental assumption that the dream was capable of interpretation and that through its interpretation its meaning could be given. This proximity made it all the more urgent to emphasize and safeguard the strict scientificity of his own procedure. Looking at it even more closely, Freud had to assert that the assumption of the interpretation of dreams could be combined with their scientificity: “I must affirm that dreams really have a meaning and that a scientific procedure for interpreting them is possible” (ibid. p. 99). In order to combine these two concerns, he now introduces his own method into the discussion in a next step. His method, as Freud points out, is the result of his psychoanalytic work, in which he achieves, through a special procedure, that the “solution” of the symptoms of illness and the “solution” of the hidden meanings inscribed in them coincide in one (“Lösung” and “Auflösung” in the German original). It had seemed obvious to him to treat the dream itself as a symptom and to apply the method of its interpretation to it as well. In this context, he calls the method he later called

“free association” that of “free-standing ideas” (ibid., p. 107; “freisteigende Einfälle” in the German Original). The patient, and now also the dreamer, is asked to pay attention to and communicate everything that crosses his mind; he should not suppress any idea because it seems unimportant, nonsensical or does not belong to the subject. Freud adds an important observation to this: In his psychoanalytic work he had noticed that the psychic state during reflection was quite different from that during pure self-perception. In reflection, “there is one more psychical activity at work than in the most attentive self-observation” (ibid., p. 100), namely, a critique that censors emerging ideas and thoughts and prevents their perception. If it were possible to suppress this criticism, an “innumerable ideas come into his consciousness of which he could otherwise never have got hold” (ibid., p. 101.). Only this method, then, opens up a whole spectrum of connections and meanings that would otherwise have remained intangible, giving the dream a whole new meaning. With this newly acquired material, the interpretation of both the pathological ideas and the dream images can be accomplished. Freud thus frees the speech precisely for the unheard and marginalized and thus unfolds the scenario of a radically enlightened rhetoric that defies all censorship and dogmatism. He develops a method “*en détail*, not *en masse*” (ibid., p. 104), in which the dream is presented to the dreamer “in pieces” and every detail, no matter how seemingly insignificant, every apparently incidental detail receives full and unrestricted attention. Thus, as in the decoding method, the dream is no longer interpreted as a whole, but in every detail, but the central work of interpretation shifts from the dream interpreter to the dreamer himself, who for the time being can, should and may express his own ideas about every element of his dream. To the exclusion of magic, each person can and must find a highly individual approach to his or her dream.

In order to come closer to answering the question of whether Freud found a model for his method of dream interpretation in the understanding of dreams in Talmudic Judaism, and whether this is where the tradition that has so far remained open is to be sought, we will examine both the general and formal agreement in the interpretive procedure of Talmudic text reading and psychoanalytic dream interpretation, as well as a more concrete and detailed connection to the interpretive treatment of dreams in Talmudic literature and psychoanalysis.

Blumenberg (1996) already pointed out about 25 years ago an astonishing correspondence between the formal structure of the Talmud and that of a dream, which, according to the Freudian method, is first narrated and then associated with (see also already Simenauer, 1963). In order to be able to understand this, we should, as a first step, visualize again the printed page of the *Babylonian Talmud* (see chapter 2), as it can be found for the first time in the first edition printed in Venice between 1520 and 1523, which originated from the Christian publisher and printer Daniel Bomberg (1470/80-1549) and which, with modifications and additions, contains its classical external form

that is still valid today (illustration in Barnavi, 1994, p. 63; the page from Tractate *Berakhot* of the Vilna edition of the Talmud reproduced in Fig. 11 also follows this scheme). The various textual components are arranged in a special graphic form in which commentary follows commentary: In the centre of the page is the basic text of the Talmud, consisting of the *Mishnah* (by which is meant the first major transcript of the oral Torah and the basic religious-legal tradition in Judaism), and the *Gemara*, which is the first commentary explanation of the *Mishnah*. Inside and around both of these is the commentary of Raschi. This is followed in a further circular movement by the notes and commentaries of the so-called *Tossafists*, and is followed by 1. the codification and systematization of the Halakhah by Moses Maimonides and Joseph Karo, 2. the interpretation of Rabbenu Chananei ben Chuschi'el, and 3. a commentary by Nissim ben Jacob ibn Shahin. Finally, at later dates, the "proofs" of Joel Sirkes, the annotations of Akiba Eger, a list of corresponding texts from various passages in the Talmud and from traditional literature, and a list of biblical references to the text of the *Gemara* were added. The high esteem in which the quasi-infinite commentary is held, which is manifested here in the body of the text itself, is further emphasized and reinforced by a difference in the extent of the main components of the text: the section from the *Mishnah* sometimes consists of only five or six lines, while the *Gemara* sometimes consists of 20 or 30 pages of explanations.

Let us now take a comparative look at the structure of the dream and its interpretation, as well as its integration into the psychoanalytic situation: the written dream is, as Freud remarks in a later part of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, "brief, meagre and laconic in comparison with the extent and wealth of the dream-thoughts. If a dream is written out it may perhaps fill half a page. The analysis setting out the dream-thoughts underlying it may occupy six, eight or a dozen times as much space" (Freud, 1900a, p. 279). In the psychoanalytic situation, too, the dream narrative, which is quite short by comparison, is regularly followed by associations that proliferate and are in principle infinite in number; they alone, and not any dream books, establish the condition of possibility for tracing the manifest dream content back to its latent dream thoughts. In addition to this, the dream narrative is necessarily bound up in a relationship which determines its interpretation. This is already true of the written account of a dream, as Freud explains. Before the detailed presentation and interpretation of the initial dream of psychoanalysis (dream of Irma's injection; cf. Reicheneder, 2016), we find the following preliminary remark:

"Accordingly I shall proceed to choose out one of my own dreams and demonstrate upon it my method of interpretation. In the case of every such dream some remarks by way of preamble will be necessary. And now I must ask the reader to make my interests his own for quite a while, and to plunge, along with me, into the minutest details of my life; for a

transference of this kind is peremptorily demanded by our interest in the hidden meaning of dreams” (Freud, 1900a, pp. 104-105).

In these lines, as Blumenberg (2012, pp. 62-63) has precisely elaborated, a certain hermeneutic scene unfolds between the author Freud, the dream (text) and the reader, who rotate in their position. On the one hand, it can be said that the reader of the dream report moves into the position of the analyst who, by transference, immerses himself in the details of Freud’s life and interprets his dream. On the other hand, however, the reader also poses his or her own questions to the text, which in this way becomes “the bearer of knowledge and enigma” (ibid., p. 63; own translation) and itself moves into the place of the analyst. In any case, it can be said that without the assumed reader the hermeneutic triangle necessary for the interpretation of the dream would remain incomplete and would not be possible.

But the dependence of the dream on the relationship applies even more to the dream told in psychoanalysis. Ferenczi answered the question: “To whom does one relate one’s dreams?” in this way: “We analysts know that one feels impelled to relate one’s dreams to the very person to whom the content relates” (Ferenczi, 1913, p. 349). This now means that the telling of a dream is involved in a transference relationship, takes shape in it, and represents a unique constellation not only in the history of the dreamer, but also a special and unrepeatable moment in that relationship. Even if the seemingly same dream is retold to the same person at a later time, new associations and interpretations arise again. This is all the more true when the dream is told to another person: “I [...] am prepared to find that the same piece of content may conceal a different meaning when it occurs in various people or in various contexts“ (Freud, 1900a, p. 104).

For these reasons, the interpretation of a dream is not fixed or prescribed, but dynamically changeable and *inconclusive*. For this reason alone, there is no ‘original’ or prescribed meaning of the dream; it is a fundamentally vagabond one, and it unfolds only in its diasporic dispersion and dissemination. In the course of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud provides further justification: In the comparison of dream content with dream thoughts, the work of condensation of the dream becomes clear. One often underestimates the extent of the condensation and considers the material of dream thoughts brought to light to be complete. However, one can “never possible to be sure that a dream has been completely interpreted” (ibid.). It is always possible that another meaning is revealed by the same dream. A definitive dream interpretation already fails: “Strictly speaking, then, it is impossible to determine the amount of condensation” (ibid.). And later in the text Freud becomes even more fundamental and limits the possibility of dream interpretation by referring to a

condensed “tangle of dream-thoughts” occurring in every dream, even the “thoroughly interpreted” ones, which is the “navel of the dream”:²⁰⁸

“There is often a passage in even the most thoroughly interpreted dream which has to be left obscure; this is because we become aware during the work of interpretation that at that point there is a tangle of dream-thoughts which cannot be unravelled and which moreover adds nothing to our knowledge of the content of the dream. This is the *dream’s navel*, *the spot where it reaches down into the unknown*” (Freud, 1900a, p. 524; emphasis W.H.).

If we look more closely at the image Freud chooses at this point, the dream appears like a delivered embryo that is forever separated from the maternal body and origin in an act of circumcision. This maternal origin is never again accessible and consequently unrecognisable. In this sense, Freud reports his interpretation of a patient who had dreamt that she had heard at the butcher’s that the goods she wanted were not obtainable any longer. This formulation goes back to one of his own remarks in one of the preliminary lessons: “A few days earlier I had explained to the patient that the earliest experiences of childhood were ‘*not obtainable any longer* as such’, but were replaced in analysis by ‘*transferences*’ and dreams” (ibid., p. 184). Only in distortion and transference (to which the dream also belongs) can a sense appear at all. To put it still another way: when an (infantile) desire is dreamed, it always already comes too late and owes itself to a fundamental loss – this can be called, following Derrida, the *différance*-structure of the dream.

Here, too, there is a correspondence with the Torah and the Jewish textual tradition. According to rabbinical regulation, the Torah for its synagogal use may only be written in its consonant stock (supplemented by some fixed tick marks). Thus, to read the Torah is already to interpret it and produces infinite layers of meaning. The Torah, as Scholem put it, “can be interpreted in an infinite fullness of meaning”; the word of God contained in it “is in fact infinitely pregnant with meaning, but has no fixed interpretation. [...] it is purely and simply that which is interpretable” (Scholem, 1970, p. 180).²⁰⁹ And this is exactly what can be said for the dream: even to tell it means to interpret it and to interpret it in the relationship in which it is involved (strictly speaking, even dreaming is an interpretation). Without this interpretive relational context, the dream remains meaningless, but within this context it is the interpretable par excellence and infinite in its layers of meaning and sense.

²⁰⁸ In a footnote to his associations with the Irma dream he had already explained: “There is at least one spot in every dream at which it is unplumbable – a *navel*, as it were, that is its *point of contact with the unknown*“ (Freud, 1900a, p. 111; emphasis W.H.).

²⁰⁹ In the German original Scholem adds: „Selber bedeutungslos, ist es das Deutbare schlechthin (Meaningless itself, it is the interpretable par excellence)“ (Scholem, 1970, S. 51)

After these general remarks on the structural similarity between dream and Jewish textual reading, the question arises as to what references there are to the dream and dream interpretation in the Talmud. In this regard, the first thing to note is the following: Although the biblical tradition according to which the dream is God's medium of revelation unavailable to man and there are some connections in rabbinic literature between dream and prophecy (cf. on this Kristianpoller, 1923, pp. 104-108), the Talmudic scholars, because of their understanding of and approach to Scripture, show a certain scepticism towards such an interpretation of the dream and a divine origin imputed to it. The reservation about prophetic dreams is already evident in the fact that it is emphasized that the dream is an act of the soul and can be interpreted psychologically. In the tractate *Berakhot*, to which we will turn in a moment in more detail, it is said, with two references to the Book of *Daniel*, that the dream only shows what the dreaming person also feels, thus placing it in the chain of mental acts:

“Rabbi Shmuel bar Nahmani said that Rabbi Yonatan said: A person is shown in his dream only the thoughts of his heart when he was awake, as evidenced by what Daniel said to Nebuchadnezzar, as it is stated: ‘As for you, O king, your thoughts came upon your bed, what should come to pass hereafter’ (Daniel 2:29). And if you wish, say instead that it is derived from here, a related verse: ‘And that you may know the thoughts of your heart’ (Daniel 2:30). How will you know the thoughts of your heart? By their being revealed to you in a dream. Rava said: Know that this is the case, for one is neither shown a golden palm tree nor an elephant going through the eye of a needle in a dream. In other words, dreams only contain images that enter a person’s mind” (Berakhot, 55b).

In another place it is said that those who have the word of God do not need the prophetic power of dreams, as they can do without magic at all. For the rabbis, therefore, the prophetic dream is for the Gentiles and not for the believing Jews:

“With regard to the verse: ‘The prophet that has a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that has My word, let him speak My word faithfully. What has the straw to do with the grain? says the Lord’ (Jeremiah 23:28), the Gemara asks: What do straw and grain have to do with a dream? Rather, Rabbi Yohanan said in the name of Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai: Just as it is impossible for the grain to grow without straw, so too it is impossible to dream without idle matters. Even a dream that will be fulfilled in the future contains some element of nonsense” (Berakhot, 55a).

A directly sceptical commentary on prophetic dreams, which will also have to do with the Talmudic scribes' fundamental reservation about magical practices, is found in the tractate *Synhedrin*, which states:

“In a case *where one was distressed about money that his father left him as an inheritance, because he could not find it, and the master of the dream, i.e., someone in his dream, came and said to him: It is such and such an amount of money and it is in such and such a place, but the money is second tithe, and he found this amount in the place of which he dreamed; and this was an actual incident that was brought before the Sages, and they said that he can spend the money, as matters appearing in dreams do not make a difference in determining the practical halakha*” (*Synhedrin*, 30a).

The most detailed and interesting explanations in the Talmud about dreams are found in the already mentioned tractate *Berakhot* (cf. also from a psychoanalytic perspective Huttler, 1999 and Haddad, 1996, pp. 208-220, Bruckstein, 2018)²¹⁰ – it is at the same time the tractate that is also addressed twice in Jacob Freud's dedicatory letter for the 35th birthday of his son Sigmund (see chapter 1). The tractate comprises 9 chapters and 57 paragraphs; the passages in the dream can be read in the last, the 9th chapter, in paragraphs 55 a and b. In general terms, this can be said: *Berakhot* (Hebrew: בְּרָכוֹת, English: blessing) is formally the first tractate of the First of the Six Orders of the *Mishnah*, called *Zera'm* – *Seeds*, and accordingly the first in both *Talmudim*. In the strict sense it does not belong to this first order, but because of its importance it stands at the beginning of the entire *Mishnah*, and is expounded in both *Talmudim*. Essentially, it contains the order of service for the daily prescribed times of prayer, as well as a description and content of the tribal prayers and blessings (cf. Krupp, 2007, pp. 155-156). The fact that the dream is treated in this central passage of the *Mishnah* and *Talmudim* already speaks to the importance that the rabbis attached to it. The discussion of the dream begins in Tractate *Berakhot* with the following sayings of Rabbi Hisda, which contains a widely known and frequently quoted phrase:

“*Rav Hisda said: One should see any dream, and not a fast. In other words, any dream is preferable to a dream during a fast. And Rav Hisda said: A dream not interpreted is like a*

²¹⁰ Bruckstein (2018, p.11; own translation) aptly summarizes the Talmudic scholars' approach to dreams specifically in Tractate *Berakhot* as follows: “Veiled, repressed, or forgotten *slivers of scripture* that have become lost as *images in dreams* provide the rabbis with the key to interpretation. Things repressed from consciousness and memory clothe themselves in forgotten *splinters of language*, which reappear in dreams *disguised as images*. The dream images, according to the Talmudic masters, are in fact *dark, forgotten omitted portions of Scripture* that conceal a mystery that can only be revealed through the *narrative trail of the interpreter*. In their interpretation of dreams, then, the rabbinic interpreters follow memory traces that reinscribed in the dream narrative what had been banished from memory in a doubly veiled manner: Dream images in the dreamer's narrative point the way to omitted poetic slivers of language, which in turn hold a key to interpretation in pictographic disguise.”

letter not read. As long as it is not interpreted it cannot be fulfilled; the interpretation of a dream creates its meaning. *And Rav Hisda said: A good dream is not entirely fulfilled and a bad dream is not entirely fulfilled” (Berakhot, 55a).*

Already with these introductory words it is stated that not the dream itself is of importance in the Talmudic understanding, but that it acquires this only through its interpretation. The reference to the dream that occurs as a result of fasting can probably be understood in such a way that the contents of the dream in these cases reveal their meaning as it were undisguised (i.e. presumably the imperatively felt hunger)²¹¹ and therefore require no further interpretation. These dreams are regarded as the exception, which confirm the rule that dreams are not self-understandable because of the distortion they have undergone, but must be interpreted in a certain process. Freud also describes the exception of such dreams, calling them “dreams of an infantile type” (Freud, 1901a, p. 673) and assuming that this type “raises no problem of interpretation and the meaning of which is obvious” (Freud, 1900a, p. 509). But an uninterpreted dream is otherwise really like an unopened letter, that is, a letter that is not delivered and does not find an addressee without whom the dream cannot be interpretively deciphered (and this formula is considered so important that it is repeated again a few lines later). In a midrash this fundamental idea is stated even more radically: “There is no dream without its interpretation” (*Sifre Num*, § 119, cited in Kristianpoller, 1923, p. 135; own translation). Alexander Kristianpoller, in his study *Traum und Traumdeutung im Talmud* (1923, p. 135; own translation), appropriately commented on these thoughts thus, “The dream comes into effect only after the interpretation”. All Dreams, as it is said later in the tractate *Berakhot*, “*follow the mouth of the interpreter” (Berakhot, 55b)*, and by this is also meant now: according to its interpretation. And so it is also said, “the interpretation is relevant to the dream” (ibid.). To this is added an argument well known in psychoanalysis: It is reported that there were 24 dream interpreters in Jerusalem to whom a dream was told, and “*What one interpreted for me the other did not interpret for me” (ibid.)*. Rava comments on this as follows:

“*Rava said, one must attach a caveat to this: This is only in a case where it is interpreted for him in a manner akin to the dream, where the interpretation is relevant to the dream, as it is stated in the story of Joseph’s interpretation of the dreams of Pharaoh’s two ministers: ‘Each man according to his dream he did interpret’ (Genesis 41:12)” (ibid.)*.

²¹¹ In his metapsychological writing, “Repression”, Freud holds that hunger, quite unlike sexuality, does not need to be repressed. If hunger remains unsatisfied, it becomes imperative and “can be allayed by nothing but the action that satisfies it” (Freud, 1915d, p. 146).

The meaning of a dream, then, is elementally dependent on the relationship in question; only the interpretation of a dream integrated into a relationship puts it into effect, as it were – like a letter, the dream is also always addressed. This further means that meaning cannot be presupposed as pre-existent, since it only emerges at all through the process of interpretation and is infinitely changeable. And since the respective relations are highly individual and irreducible, different meanings come into play in each case. A greater difference to the decoding method is hardly conceivable, in which the meaning of the dream is presupposed and is found quite independently of the relationship in a dream book. Symbolic dream interpretation, too, has nothing to do with the relationship, but follows entirely and solely the divine inspiration of the dream interpreter, and the dreamer contributes nothing to the process of interpretation, but can merely let it pass over him or her.

In the medieval collection *Midrash ha-Gadol* (The Great Midrash) we find an explanation of this basic idea formulated in the tractate *Berakhot* of the as it were indeterminable-infinite interpretability of the dream, which is referred to the Torah and here is even increased. Here reference is made to one of the central hermeneutical rules of scriptural interpretation (*Middot*) of the probably most important Pharisaic-Tannaite scholar, Rabbi Hillel, namely the rule of the conclusion from the lighter (*Kal*) to the heavier (*Chamur*), which is called *Kal vaChomer* (קל וחומר):

“Behold it is said, ‘A dream comes with a fullness of meaning.’ From this there is a conclusion from the lighter to the heavier: ‘The content of a dream neither exalts nor degrades, and yet a single dream can have so many meanings; how much more is this true of the weightier words of the Torah, that one verse of Scripture yields many senses’” (quoted in Margulies, 1947, p. 39; own translation).

This gives rise to a distinction in the Talmud between a bad dream interpreter and a good dream interpreter, which Kristianpoller (1923, p. 30; own interpretation) summarized in his study *Traum und Traumdeutung im Talmud* – and this summary applies remarkably well in parts to the difference between the popular forms of dream interpretation described by Freud and his own:

“The Kutaeen [in rabbinical literature the Samaritans who reject the oral teaching of the Talmud are called ‘Kutaeer’; here to be understood as the epitome of the bad dream interpreter – W. H.] interprets the dream, as it were, according to a fixed key and naturally relates everything to the future greatness of the questioner. But the gifted dream interpreter (with us R. Jisma’el) is different; he examines each case for itself and seeks to find out the connection of the dream with real life.”

In contrast to a good interpreter of dreams, Bar Hedja is mentioned at length, who interpreted favourable to the dream of the one who gave him fee, and conversely, evil to all who did not give him fee. When Rava found a dream book at Bar Heddaya and read in it: “All dreams follow the mouth”, he became enraged and said, “*Scoundrel. It was dependent on you, and you caused me so much suffering*” (*Berakhot*, 56a). On the other hand, it is recommended to tell the dream only to a “friend” who will not use what is revealed in it manipulatively against the dreamer and to his disadvantage.

The primacy of interpretation in Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism, the high esteem in which oral traditions and their modes of interpretation are held, leads to the fact that, in relation to the dream, it only begins to exist, so to speak, through its interpretation. We can put it this way again: the meaning of the dream is found by creating it in a relationship. We can find an exact correspondence to this idea in Freudian psychoanalysis and its methodology, since Freud rejects the applicability of fixed interpretative keys for dream interpretation a priori and is also and especially interested in the meaning of absurd and confused dreams, which can ultimately only be understood from the dreamer’s ideas.

Relatively early in the last chapter, “The Psychology of Dream-Processes” (Freud, 1900a, pp. 509-622), Freud emphasizes this feature of his form of dream interpretation:

“Examples could be found in every analysis to show that precisely the most trivial elements of a dream are indispensable to its interpretation and that the work in hand is held up if attention is not paid to these elements until too late. We have attached no less importance in interpreting dreams to every shade of the form of words in which they were laid before us” (ibid., p. 512-513).

After a few more lines, Freud arrives at the following statement, which clearly emphasizes the convergence between dream interpretation and the reading and interpretation of texts considered sacred in the Jewish tradition: “In short, we have treated as *Holy Writ* what previous writers have regarded as an arbitrary improvisation, hurriedly patched together in the embarrassment of the moment. This contradiction stands in need of an explanation” (ibid., p. 513; emphasis W.H.).

*II. Moses and Monotheism: a secular-psychoanalytic midrash*²¹²

Freud begins the first of the three treatises (“Moses an Egyptian”) of his last book, *Moses and Monotheism*, which is not only a work of cultural theory but carries the legacy of all Freudian psychoanalysis, with the following remarkable sentences:

“To deprive a people of the man whom they take pride in as the greatest of their sons is not a thing to be gladly or carelessly undertaken, least of all by someone who is himself one of them. But we cannot allow any such reflection to induce us to put the truth aside in favour of what are supposed to be national interests; and, moreover, the clarification of a set of facts may be expected to bring us a gain in knowledge” (Freud, 139a, p. 6).

Yigal Blumenberg (2012) has shown in his groundbreaking study of Freud’s late writing that these opening remarks are programmatic for the entire work. Freud begins with the personal confession that (as a Jew) it was not easy for him to question Moses’ Jewish origins. This statement, on closer inspection, contains a hidden meaning that brings Moses and Freud together in their position as strangers: By declaring Moses a stranger, an Egyptian, right from the first lines and thus excluding him from the Jewish collective, Freud also makes himself a stranger to this collective and distances himself from it. Thus, already initially, there is a peculiar oscillation between exclusion and inclusion, between belonging and foreignness, which, as we also wanted to show with the introductory founding biblical and extra-biblical stories, reflects a specifically Jewish experience and position. Freud ‘exiles’ himself, denies himself his identification with the collective Jewish identity, and at the same time, precisely through this, reasserts his belonging to the Jewish people. This belonging was massively attacked and threatened by the rampant exterminationist anti-Semitism of the National Socialist regime of terror (and the self-Gleichschaltung of the “German Psychoanalytic Society” (DPG), which engaged in the systematic exclusion of all Jewish members and, to a greater extent, surrendered itself to a “Deutsche Seelenheilkunde”; see above) during the period when Freud was writing his “grand farewell speech” (Simon, 1975, p. 210; own translation). The resulting historical and personal rupture inscribed itself in the book in many ways, exposing Freud to a conflict of loyalties: On the one hand, the discrimination threatening his Jewish identity forced an assurance of his own heritage and renewed connection with parental and especially paternal tradition (see Chapter 4). On the other hand, he could only assure himself by

²¹² Here I partly summarize and elaborate on findings that I have articulated elsewhere (Hegener, 2001a, 2014a, Chapter 5, 2014b and 2017).

simultaneously stepping out of the biblical tradition as a psychoanalyst and confronting it as a stranger who set aside supposed national interests in favour of a commitment to truth.

In his study *Freud and the Non-European*, the Palestinian-American literary scholar Edward Said (2003) also followed the consideration that Freud, in the opening words of his book, already understood Moses as both a relative and an excluded person, and that Freud, through his assumed Egyptian origins, introduced something unquestionably foreign, “non-European” (something “Arabic”, as it were) into the figure of Moses (cf. Butler, 2012, pp. 28-53). In the Freudian narrative, Jewishness thus does not circumscribe a closed identity, but rather something non-identical, heterogeneous and fractured underlies it, a non-Jewish origin, that is, an already primordial rupture in origin. Last but not least, and this is remarkable against the background of the social context of the work’s origin, Freud thus avoids any racist classification and justification of Jewish identity, which is deeply rooted in biblical *and* post-biblical Rabbinic-Talmudic history.

It is now again interesting to see, and represents a further performative effect, that the conflict between rupture and fidelity evident in the writing finds a counterpart in Freud’s fundamental determination of the character of the “Holy Writings”. Freud records at the beginning of his 1934 first draft of his book (*The Man Moses. A Historical Novel*)²¹³ that he could only refer to the “holy books” in his analysis of the events associated with Moses, the Jewish tradition being “a tradition from a single source, not confirmed from any other side, probably recording in writing too late, in itself contradictory, no doubt reworked several times over and *distorted* by the influence of new influence of new tendencies [...]” (Freud, 2021b, p. 14; in the translation I follow Grubrich-Simitis, 1996, p. 195; own emphasis). Freud was of the opinion that the “holy books” he examined only reproduced actual events in a revised, and thus distorted, form, and in this way created the Jewish tradition. As is well known, Freud assumed that the supposed murder of Moses had been the repressed and latency-held decisive event, which the “holy books” had distorted, but also preserved precisely in their distortion. Freud now arrives at a revealing comparison in which what is represented (the murder of Moses) is, as it were, reflected in the form of its representation:

“In its implications the distortion of a text resembles a murder: the difficulty is not in perpetrating the deed, but in getting rid of its traces. We might well lend the word ‘*Entstellung* [distortion]’ the double meaning to which it has a claim but of which to-day it makes no use.

²¹³ This first version of the Moses work was previously available only in excerpts (Grubrich-Simitis, 1996, p. 191-203) and has been published only recently (Freud, 2021b) – the full text could no longer be considered here. The most striking difference in content between the first version and the final text is that in Freud’s 1934 manuscript his thesis of the murder of Moses (as a repetition of the murder of the primordial father) is not yet to be found, i.e., it found its way into the third treatise of his book only subsequently.

It should mean not only ‘to change the appearance of something’ but also ‘to put something in another place, to displace’” (Freud, 1939a, p. 42).

And in a certain sense Freud does the same: as a psychoanalyst he takes the “Holy Writs” of the biblical tradition and deprives them of their traditional content (thus, as it were, deletes it), he distorts this content by placing it differently and anew. Precisely by doing so, however, he rewrites and continues the narratives in the form of his own “historical novel” (thus the subtitle of his first manuscript from 1934 already mentioned) or, as Blumenberg (2012, pp. 161 and 171) has made plausible, of his own secularized and psychoanalytic midrash – by which, as we have seen, in the Jewish scriptural tradition an exegetical interpretation of biblical passages related to the present is meant. Here, too, it is like with the tablets of the law: in the tension between rupture and fidelity, Freud destroys the first pair (the tradition) and re-establishes the Jewish tradition with the second pair (his writing about Moses).

A word on *distortion* (*Entstellung*) should be added here before tracing more precisely how Freud deals with the biblical sources in the text: This term is not only tradition-forming, but has a tradition in Freud’s work himself. Already in *The Interpretation of Dreams* he uses it overarchingly as a term for describing the work of the dream and, starting from it, of the unconscious in general: the latent (dream) thought cannot penetrate directly, but only in a distorted form as manifest (dream) content. And in general, unconscious contents are not themselves or directly accessible, but only through their representatives or descendants, that is, through the work of disfiguration. If Freud had declared in 1900 in *The Interpretation of Dreams* that he treated the dream like a “Holy Writs” he declares in 1939 in *Moses and Monotheism*, in a sense the other way around, that the Holy Writs are to be read like dreams, since, analogous to the mechanisms that determine them, they have come into being through this, that highly traumatic and conflictual events had entered them, had been distorted there, thus displaced, condensed, and paradoxically, through their repression, had been preserved in a tradition-forming way – both books, perhaps Freud’s most important books, thus stand in a correspondence to each other that relates individual and collective memory to each other. Through this insight, Freud can penetrate to a highly complex concept of tradition and “historical truth”, which, beyond a simple biologism or (psycho-)Lamarckism often imputed to him, allows a new and expanded understanding of historical processes (cf. on this above all Bernstein, 1998 and Eickhoff, 2004). Freud’s aforementioned remark that he could only refer to “one tradition from a single source” in his study of the figure of Moses, namely the *Jewish Bible*, is repeated in the second paragraph of the first treatise when he writes: “We have no information about him except from the sacred books of the Jews and their traditions as recorded in writing” (Freud, 1939a, p. 6). Despite this limitation,

Freud believes that it is possible to conclude from the biblical writings that Moses was a real-historical figure, pointing to historical criticism that is much more sparing with the traditions today than in their early days (ibid., p. 7). These statements are astonishing and at the same time characteristic: They are astonishing because the historical criticism since its beginnings considered the biblical texts as no (more) reliable sources and early already made efforts to compare the biblical narratives – as far as just possible – with archaeological findings and extra-biblical sources. With regard to Moses, for example, there is a long history of attempts to place him in the history of Egypt and to connect him with figures from ancient Egyptian sources (cf. on this from the perspective of the history of memory Assmann, 1998). Freud is recognizably not really interested in all this, or only very selectively, and proceeds from the text itself and its distortions. And precisely here lies the characteristic of his approach, which is not to be understood as historical-critical in the proper sense, but rather concentrates on the written tradition and attempts to wrest a meaning and a certain truth content from it. In his unpublished first version, Freud emphasizes that he is “neither a historical researcher nor an artist” (Freud, 2021b, p. 12; here I again follow the translation of Grubich-Simitis, 1996, p. 195) and outlines his approach as follows:²¹⁴

“One thus undertakes to treat each and every one of the possibilities given in the material as a clue, and to fill in the gaps between one piece and the next, so to speak, according to the law of small resistance, that is, to give preference to that assumption to which one may ascribe the greatest probability. What one obtains by means of this technique may also be taken as a kind of ‘historical novel’; it has no or only an indeterminable reality value, for probability, however great, does not coincide with truth, truth is often improbable, and actual evidence can be replaced only to a meagre extent by deductions and considerations” (Freud, 2021b, p. 14; translation from Grubrich-Simitis, 1996, p. 195).

And all this is done with the intention, as Freud adds, “to contribute to the solution of a problem that is still current today” (ibid.; own translation). If we were to replace the expression “historical novel” with midrash in this passage, we would have before us an astonishingly precise formulation of what the rabbis have done in dealing with the sacred texts since Talmudic times. They, too, are not concerned with their “reality value” in the strict sense, but with nesting in the texts, filling in their gaps and contradictions, rewriting them, and in the process finding new and creative answers to pressing contemporary questions. In his influential book *Intertextuality and the Reading of*

²¹⁴ Relegated to a footnote, Freud expresses this insight: “Although the suspicion that Moses was an Egyptian has been voiced often enough without reference to his name, from the earliest times up to the present” (Freud, 1939a, p. 8).

Midrash, the well-known Jewish philosopher of religion and Talmud scholar Daniel Boyarin describes the procedure of the rabbis as follows:

“In place of the hero of the spirit in communion with the true timeless essence of the heroes of the Bible, I will imagine the rabbis as readers doing the best they could to make sense of the Bible for themselves and their times and in themselves and their times in short, as readers. The text of the Torah is gapped and dialogical, and into the gaps the reader slips, interpreting and completing the text in accordance with the codes of his or her culture” (Boyarin, 1994, p. 14).

The difference between the two approaches can be further pointed out: If the biblical text shows contradictions, a historical-critical researcher would assume, according to certain source theories, that it is a combination of different texts written at different times and in different contexts and would try to separate them from each other. Classical Jewish interpreters, on the other hand, treat the text as a synchronic unit and reject such an approach. They take the biblical text as a whole and understand it as analogous to a historical prose narrative, as it were, in which the author has accommodated different voices that engage in an *inter-textual* dialogue with one another (cf. *ibid.*). In the midrashic method, the Bible is understood as a vast system of references, and disparate sections are brought together for the purpose of producing new narratives. Each part of the Bible can thus be understood as a commentary on or addition to another part of the Bible (for this definition of midrash, see also Boyarin, 2012, p. 76).

Freud, too, conceives of the biblical text as a unity of content (“from a single source”), which is, however, highly contradictory in itself, since conflicting forces and motifs have entered into and operated within it, which have continued to distort the text. Since he is not primarily interested in the authenticity of the biblical sources and the verification of historical facts (although it sometimes seems that way), the only possibility for him is to look for traces in the text itself that may reveal something of the underlying “historical truth” and be understood as analogous to “psychic reality”. Just as in delusion the symptoms contain the repressed truth, so the “pious solution”, though “not the *material*”, nevertheless reflects “the *historical* truth” (Freud, 1939a, p. 128), which must be deciphered psychoanalytically. And as in the rabbinic midrash, Freud takes the liberty of interpretation, the proof of which is precisely the apparent absurdity and improbability of the statement—quite as if Freud wanted to say with his highly controversial theses (Moses of the Egyptians, murder of Moses, return of the repressed Aton religion in Jewish monotheism) that one can only approach the “historical truth” in exaggeration.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Adorno (1974, p. 29) states, „In psycho-analysis nothing is true except the exaggerations.“

Already the first treatise (“Moses an Egyptian”) is exemplary for this approach to the text. The starting point for Freud is a tradition about the heroic figure of Moses in its “confusion and contradictions and their unmistakable signs of centuries of continuous and tendentious revisions and super-impositions” (ibid., p. 15). Freud ventures an attempt to wrest from it “the kernel of historical truth” (ibid.) and asks about the peculiarity of the name Moses: Why, he asks more precisely, has none of the many researchers yet considered the possibility of drawing from the fact that the name Moses(s) “derived from the Egyptian vocabulary” (ibid., p. 7) the obvious conclusion that the bearer of this name was an Egyptian? Freud is surprised that, especially from the numerous theophoric names in ancient Egypt (he mentions Ah-moses, Thut-moses, Ra-moses) in which Moses occurs, this conclusion has not yet been drawn. Freud suspected that this idea had been “too monstrous” and that the “reverence for Biblical tradition was invincible” (ibid., p. 8). Even Freud himself, who had variously engaged with and identified with the figure of Moses (see Chapter 4), was only able to take this final “monstrous” step after reacquainting himself with the Jewish tradition and reassuring himself of its affinity (Blumenberg, 2012, pp. 105-113). In returning the name, Freud also makes Moses a stranger and radically questions one of the central Jewish narratives – and he no longer does so under the protection of anonymity, as he initially did with his text “The Moses of Michelangelo” (Freud, 1914b). It is important to emphasize now, however, that Freud formulates this questioning of Jewish tradition precisely as a Jew and with the desire to contribute to the elucidation of a pressing contemporary problem, eliminatory anti-Semitism, by psychoanalytic means. In the second part of his treatise, Freud asks whether he has new and psychoanalytic arguments to contribute to his thesis and, referring to Rank’s work *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden* (Rank, 1909), comes to speak of the sagas of important national heroes and religious founders. The average structure of these sagas contains the following features: The hero comes from a distinguished, usually royal family. During his pregnancy, a warning prediction is made that the father will be in danger when he gives birth. At the instigation of the father or his representatives, the child is therefore abandoned and given to the water in a small box. The child, however, is miraculously rescued by animals or lowly people and suckled by a lowly woman. In later years the child achieves fame and takes revenge on the father. But if we now compare the biblical myth of Moses’ abandonment with this average saga, we notice an almost inverse narrative structure: Moses is a child of Jewish Levites and is taken in by the Egyptian princess and raised in the Egyptian royal house. In a next step, Freud notes that in the myth the first family that abandons the hero is the invented one, and the second that takes him in is the “real” one. Freud grasps “courage” (Freud, 1939a, p. 14) and concludes that “Moses was an Egyptian – probably an aristocrat – whom the legend was designed to turn into a Jew” (ibid.). Freud invokes an ominous “third level – that of reality” (ibid., p. 13) in all

this, forgetting his own reference to having nothing but the biblical sources at his disposal, and abandoning the position of rabbinic interpreter. The leap from these sources into a supposed “reality” seems unconvincing and makes Freud overlook the fact that the inverse narrative structure of the Bible refers to Jewish tradition, which forbids any exaggeration of Moses (be it royal or even divine) (cf. on this Blumenberg, 2012, pp. 114-121).

Right at the beginning of the second treatise “If Moses was an Egyptian...” Freud justifies himself for further publication on the subject. His conjectures would only be based on psychological probabilities and not on evidence; what had emerged was “like a bronze statue with feet of clay” (Freud, 1939a, p. 16). Freud adds a remarkable formulation to this: “And lastly, it did not seem attractive to find oneself classed with the schoolmen and *Talmudists* who delight in exhibiting their ingenuity without regard to how remote from reality their thesis may be” (ibid.; emphasis W.H.). In this pejorative formulation Freud involuntarily expresses the closeness of his approach to that of the “Talmudists”, i.e., the rabbinic scholars, who are in fact not concerned with the question of whether or not their interpretations have a real-world counterpart. But the presupposed standard in these sentences is the historical-critical biblical research, and Freud has to avoid the impression that his methodological procedure has something to do with the often reviled and rejected Jewish-Rabbinic tradition. In fact, however, he does the same as the “Talmudists”, lets his psychoanalytical ingenuity play and wrests an improbable interpretation from the traces of the text.

Briefly, let us recall here Freud’s argumentation and the result of his reconstruction, which he develops in his second treatise: Freud traces the emergence of Judaism, which he considers the ideal-typical monotheistic religion, to the founding and creative act of the Egyptian Moses, who had been a distinguished man, official and priest, a zealous adherent of the monotheistic faith, which the Pharaoh Amenhotep IV, the later Akhenaten, had made the ruling religion in Egypt around 1360 BCE against the hitherto dominant Ammon priests who adhered to a polytheistic faith. After the death of the Pharaoh, the collapse of his dynasty and religion, which had forced Moses to leave his fatherland, he had given the Jews this spiritualized Aton religion and thus created their special character. What they later praised in their God YHWH literally applied to him, to Moses. But the Semitic tribe could not cope with this spiritually superior religion for the time being and, here Freud refers to the work of the Christian antiquities researcher Ernst Sellin (1867-1946) *Moses und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte* (Moses and his significance for Israelite-Jewish religious history) (Sellin, 1922), slew Moses.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ Sellin emphasizes that “the founder of the Jewe community stood up for his religion with his own life, that he died as a martyr to it” (Sellin, 1922, p. 7; own translation) and that the memory of “the great passion of the former shepherd of the people” (ibid.) has endured for centuries – a position that Freud also roughly held. The Old Testament scholar Sellin, however, was otherwise not concerned with uncovering or reconstructing an individual crime, but rather, in an entirely Christian understanding, above all with demonstrating the unity of the “Old” and

Freud understands the murder of Moses as a repetition of the original crime, which he had already placed at the beginning of the entire history of religion some 20 years earlier in his writing *Totem and Taboo* (Freud, 1912-13a): the crime of the murder of the primordial father by the clan of his sons. This killing, he writes, triggered a tremendous sense of guilt and led to the formation of taboos and laws. The Jews, Freud continues his “construction” (Freud, 1939a, p. 28), had unconsciously taken up this prehistoric act and, after the murder of Moses, had taken up the worship of the volcanic god YHWH dwelling on Mount Sinai (Horeb). Only in the course of the six to eight centuries of latency the never completely extinguished religion of Moses or Aton asserted itself and was outwardly merged with the cult of YHWH. Freud considers this process to be virtually prototypical: religions owe their existence to the compelling power of the return of the repressed, which, analogous to individual development, asserts itself after a phase of latency, or to the compulsive repetition of historical traumas (I take parts of this short version from a letter of Freud to Lou Andreas-Salomé; Freud, 1966a, pp. 204-205).

Freud explicitly emphasizes the importance of duality in this (re)construction, as well as that of the *Nachträglichkeit*, when he writes:

“Our findings may be thus expressed in the most concise formula. Jewish history is familiar to us for its dualities: *two* groups of people who came together to form the nation, *two* kingdoms into which this nation fell apart, *two* gods’ names in the documentary sources of the Bible. To these we add two fresh ones: the foundation of two religions – the first repressed by the second but nevertheless later emerging victoriously behind it, and *two* religious founders, who are both called by the same name of Moses and whose personalities we have to distinguish from each other. All of these dualities are the necessary consequences of the first one: the fact that one portion of the people had an experience which must be regarded as traumatic and which the other portion escaped” (Freud, 1939a, p. 51).

Is this structure not strikingly reminiscent of that of the story with the two tablets of the law and its Rabbinic-Talmudic interpretation, of which Jacob Freud reminded his son in a central place in his *Widmungsschreiben* for his son’s 35th birthday: the first tablets of the law, which were shattered and symbolize the break with Jewish tradition, and the second, which stand for the renewed acceptance of this tradition? The patricide and the necessary questioning of the paternal world are paired with the stubborn acceptance of this tradition and its progressive transformation.

New Testaments. Sellin saw in the tragic fate of Moses a prefiguration, as it were, of the death of Christ on the cross and related it to the Servant Songs in *Deutero-Isaiah* (*Isaiah*, 42, 1-4; 49, 1-6; 50, 4-9; 52, 13-53), which the evangelists already regarded as a reference for the passion of Jesus.

But it is precisely this decisive transformation that Freud neglects and overlooks in his construction: Mosaic monotheism is not a simple copy of the Aton religion, which only returns with a new label after a latency period. This is much more a *henotheism* and, even more concretely, a *heliotheism*, for it unites the previous deities in a sun cult and declares the celestial body sun to be a god. For the Jewish-Mosaic monotheism this conception is entirely foreign and frowned upon, since for them the sun, which is expressly emphasized in the first creation narrative (*Genesis*, 1, 14-16),²¹⁷ is nothing but a luminary from which a calendar can be derived. The sun thus belongs to the realm of creation, and its deification and its connection with a god-kingdom, as was also customary in Babylon, where this priestly scriptural text originated, is strictly rejected. Such a deification would lead to an equation of creation and creator and would thus contradict the basic trait of the developed biblical monotheism. In addition, Akhenaten's "monotheism" originated in a royal house, while biblical monotheism is essentially the product of a prophetic and explicitly critical subculture (the place of its formation is precisely not the royal house of Saul, David or Solomon) and owes itself to the processing of the multiple experience of exile – the difference between polytheism and strict biblical monotheism, which was already mentioned in Chapter 4, is therefore not a numerical one, but one about the whole (cf. Y. Kaufmann, 1961).

The difference between Akhenaten and Moses could hardly be greater (cf. Friedman, 2010): While Amenhotep IV declares himself to be Akhenaten, i.e. the one who, as it were, serves God as his son and with him exclusively rules the world, Jewish tradition, as we have already seen several times, has avoided any exaltation of the person of Moses (see also here chapter 4). Rather, if anything, a line of connection could be drawn between Akhenaten and Jesus, who was exalted in Christian history to the status of Son of God and Christ. It might also fit, as Blumenberg (2012, p. 126) has pointed out, that Freud assumed that in the innovation of Akhenaten "universal god Aton to whom restriction to a single country and a single people no longer applied" (Freud, 1939a, p. 58; own translation) was brought forth. But this idea fits precisely not with early Judaism, which is bound to country and people, but much more with Christianity, with its universalism of salvation propagated since Paul.

Another influence of Christian traditions can be seen in Freud's juxtaposition of law and prophets. In order to understand this, let us first quote two passages from Freud's writings on Moses:

"It is no longer possible to estimate the share taken by the Levites in the final victory of the Mosaic god over Yahweh. They had taken the side of Moses in the past, when the compromise

²¹⁷ The verses are: "And God said: 'Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and years; and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth.' And it was so. And God made the two great lights: the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night; and the stars" (*Genesis*, 1, 14-16).

was reached at Kadesh, in a still live memory of the master whose retinue and compatriots they had been. During the centuries since then they had become merged with the people or with the priesthood, and it had become the main function of the priests to develop and supervise the ritual, and besides this to preserve the, holy writ and revise it in accordance with their aims. *But was not all sacrifice and all ceremonial at bottom only magic and sorcery, such as had been unconditionally rejected by the old Mosaic teaching?*” (Freud, 1939a, p. 50; emphasis W.H.).

A few pages later, already in the third treatise, it continues:

“On this the people and the priesthood who had become dominant among them were at one. But whereas the priests exhausted their efforts in erecting the ceremonial for his worship, they came in opposition to intense currents among the people which sought to revive two others of the doctrines of Moses about his god. The voices of the Prophets never tired of declaring that *God despised ceremonial and sacrifice and required only that people should believe in him and lead a life in truth and justice*. And when they praised the simplicity and holiness of life in the wilderness they were certainly under the influence of the Mosaic ideals” (ibid., p. 63; emphasis W.H.).

However much Freud agrees with the Jewish tradition expressed in Philippon's biblical work and gives Moses a central position as the founder of religion, he follows a certain Christian pattern, which we examined more closely in the second chapter. In these passages Freud plays off the “ritual Torah” and prophecy against each other, which is strongly reminiscent of the criticism of Julius Wellhausen: the latter had claimed in his very influential writings that the Israelite tradition could not be understood without the prophets, but very well without the ritual regulations laid down in the Torah (for Wellhausen no more than a “disturbing spirit”), i.e. without the exilic-post-exilic legislation contained in the Priestly Scriptures. This hypothesis has become known by the formula “*lex post prophetas*” (see more detailed chapter 2). Thus the unity of the *Jewish Bible* was attacked and dissolved. This devaluation of the law has a long history in Protestantism and in Protestant-Lutheran biblical scholarship, which contrasted the Jewish law with faith in the Pauline tradition and denigrated it as a mere “ritual law”. Here Freud's strong aversion to all Jewish rituals and ceremonies certainly plays an important role (see Chapter 4). This led to Freud overlooking the fact that the “ceremonial laws”, i.e., those ritually performed regulations concerning feast and festival days, admission into the religious covenant, mourning customs, prayer belts, shawls, etc., are not magical performances. Every rite in Judaism is integrated into a narrative and concretised with the help of

the body and gestures; it is thus the “gestural memory” or the gestural part of the “narrative” and “textual memory” of Judaism and thus integrated into its comprehensive written tradition (cf. on this Ouaknin, 2002, especially pp. 7-11 and Ouaknin, 1998). In this sense, the ritual is a form of “living scripture” (Mendelssohn) that can be read, as can other sacred texts.

Scholem pointed with equal understanding to the two-facedness of the Jewish rite, which Freud precisely cannot see: On the one hand, there is, as it were, a hypertrophy of the ritual that permeates the entire course of life; on the other hand, however, the ritual completely detaches itself from nature and all magical or mythical processes, and a “natural rite” becomes a pure “historical rite”.

“Thus this history-saturated ritual was accompanied by no magical action. [...] The ritual of Rabbinical Judaism makes nothing happen and *transforms* nothing. Though not devoid of feeling, remembrance lacks the passion of conjuration, and indeed there is something strangely sober and dry about the rites of remembrance with which the Jew calls to mind his unique historical identity” (Scholem, 1965a, p. 121).

After Freud had published the two essays “Moses, an Egyptian” (1937b) at the beginning of 1937 and “If Moses was an Egyptian...” (1937e) had been published separately in the journal *Imago* in 1937, he believed that his strength would no longer suffice for a continuation of the difficult work and wanted to leave it at that with these two writings. But Freud knew at the same time that a whole piece, perhaps even the most important, was still missing and decided to continue the work. Thus arose a third part, entitled “Moses, His People, and Monotheistic Religion”, which is about twice as long as the first two essays. All three essays were incorporated in a final step in the book *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a), published in Holland in 1939, shortly before Freud’s death. Part of the third treatise, the later chapter, “The Advance in Intellectuality”, had previously been read on behalf of the author by his daughter Anna Freud at the Paris International Psychoanalytic Congress on August 2, 1938, and published separately in 1939 in the 24th volume of the *Internationalen Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und Imago*. This third part, with which Freud must have been particularly dissatisfied and which he hesitated above all to publish, but which he at the same time assumed contained “what was really open to objection and dangerous” (ibid., p. 102), he revised several times and added two contradictory, even mutually cancelling prefaces (the Viennese preface of March 1938 rejects the possibility of publication, the London one of June of the same year justifies it): The first version dates from 1934 (“historical novel” – see above), the second from 1936 (cf. ibid., p. 56), and while still in exile in London he revised the third part and continued writing on it (ibid., p. 103). Finally, the table of contents of the discovered manuscript of the third treatise suggests that Freud first considered printing it separately and only in a second step decided

to publish all three parts in book form (cf. Grubrich-Simitis, 1991, pp. 90f.; Hegener, 2001a, ch. 2). This almost chaotic and for Freud rather untypical writing and publishing process already indicates that Freud was torn both internally and externally and what it must have cost him to write this last book.

This third treatise is indeed the most substantial and cannot be presented here even approximately in its significance. In this rather rough overview, only some aspects that are relevant for the context of this book shall be picked out. In advance, however, it should at least be mentioned that this third part of Moses's writing contains not only a theory of cultural memory and the transgenerational as well as cultural transmission of (traumatic) events, which has provided important impulses in the debate on cultural studies in recent decades, but also a first elaborated psychoanalytic theory of anti-Semitism, which still probably has the greatest explanatory power and scope (cf. on this, Hegener, 2019), and finally important elements of a psychoanalytic theory of religion, which goes far beyond the assumptions formulated by Freud until then.

But now to the treatise itself: In the paragraph "The Advance in Intellectuality", Freud mentions the figure of Jochanan ben Zakkai, who has been mentioned several times in this book and also at the beginning of this chapter. Freud places him in a line with Moses and assumes that he carried on and radicalized the Mosaic inheritance:

"Moses, as we know, conveyed to the Jews an exalted sense of being a chosen people. The dematerialization of God brought a fresh and valuable contribution to their secret treasure. The Jews retained their inclination to intellectual interests. The nation's political misfortune taught it to value at its true worth the one possession that remained to it—its literature. Immediately after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by Titus, the Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai asked permission to open the first Torah school in Jabneh. From that time on, the Holy Writ and intellectual concern with it were what held the scattered people together" (Freud, 1939a, p. 114).

This so important figure in Jewish religious history was, unlike Moses, largely unknown in the non-Jewish context and his mention shows that Freud not only took up the Mosaic heritage, which was considered universal, but also the no less universal but still more specifically Jewish tradition (cf. Bodenheimer, 2002, pp. 151-168 and Hegener, 2014b). If we look at the achievement of the group around Jochanan ben Zakkai even more closely, we can state: Its members wanted precisely not to replace what had been destroyed in the Jewish War, but to deliberately keep the resulting void open as a religious expectation. Into this void a renewed Jewish scriptural tradition has emerged. To it belongs, as we have already seen, beside the canonization of the Bible also and primarily the

creation of the basis for the codification of the post-biblical, i.e. the oral and rabbinical tradition. This refers to the exegetical writings of the Midrashim, the collection, discussion and commentary of the traditional religious laws by leading scholars, which reached the end of the second century C.E., and which were included in the great works of the *Mishnah*, and finally, until about the ninth century C.E., the two *Talmudim*, i.e. the *Palestinian Talmud* or *Talmud of Jerusalem (Yerushalmi)* and the *Talmud of Babylon (Bavli)*.

With the mention of Jochanan ben Sakkai and his placement in Jewish religious history, Freud also refers beyond the biblical-Mosaic tradition to the post-biblical rabbinic-Talmudic heritage and inscribes his own science, psychoanalysis, in this double context of tradition. This marks the culmination of his rapprochement of Judaism and psychoanalysis and his rapprochement with his father at the end of his life, and the tone of his analysis of religion changes markedly. Thus, towards the end of his testamentary work, Freud sums up the results of his analysis of the Jewish-Mosaic religion in words that can hardly conceal pride and admiration. In the following sentences he finds an answer to where the peculiar character of the Jewish people stems from and has made “their survival to the present day possible” despite the most severe persecutions:

“We found that the man Moses impressed this character on them by giving them a religion which increased their self-esteem so much that they thought themselves superior to all other peoples. Thereafter they survived by keeping apart from others. Mixtures of blood interfered little with this, since what held them together was an ideal factor, the possession in common of certain intellectual and emotional wealth. The religion of Moses led to this result because (1) it allowed the people to take a share in the grandeur of a new idea of God, (2) it asserted that this people had been chosen by this great God and were destined to receive evidences of his special favour and (3) it forced upon the people an advance in intellectuality which, important enough in itself, opened the way, in addition, to the appreciation of intellectual work and to further renunciations of instinct” (Freud, 1939a, p. 122).

Here we are no longer talking about religion as a “universal obsessional neurosis” (Freud, 1907b, p. 126), but about the magnificence of a new conception of God in Judaism, which found its first form with Moses and its intensification and continuation with its further “dematerialization” in Rabbinic-Talmudic Judaism, led to enormous cultural progress and, singularly, to the preservation of Judaism since antiquity.²¹⁸ This form of religion has promoted all that, in Freud’s understanding,

²¹⁸ With this formulation, a continuity between biblical Judaism or at least between Second Temple Judaism and rabbinic Judaism is assumed and the highly controversial question of the historical relationship between Judaism and Christianity (if such sweeping terms are appropriate at all) is addressed. Various models are discussed in the literature: The most common is that of the mother and daughter religion or the family tree model. According to this model, Judaism is usually regarded as the mother from which the daughter gradually emerged more and more

psychoanalysis also stands for, namely the high esteem of intellectual activity, renunciation of drives and an ethical attitude.

In the last quotation, however, the reference to “advance in intellectuality” also indicates a limitation that we have already noted in the previous chapter: the full reapproximation to the paternal tradition is still connected in his last work with a devaluation of the importance of the mother and with a problematic and untenable juxtaposition of sensuality and nature (motherhood) on the one hand and spirituality and progress (fatherhood) on the other (cf. Whitebook, 2017, pp. 407-453):

“But this turning from the mother to the father points in addition to a victory of intellectuality over sensuality – that is, an advance in civilization, since maternity is proved by the evidence of the senses while paternity is a hypothesis, based on an inference and a premiss. Taking sides in this way with a thought-process in preference to a sense perception has proved to be a momentous step“ (Freud, 1939a, p. 113).

From the fact that motherhood is certain and sensually evident, whereas fatherhood is uncertain and based on an assumption (in an old Latin formulation: *mater certissima, pater semper incertus est*) – which, however, is only true until the introduction of genetic paternity tests – and therefore the connection between father and child is rather and regularly established symbolically-linguistically by naming, Freud draws a questionable conclusion that leads to a conspicuous devaluation of motherhood and an identification of the mother with a “sensuality” that stands for something downright primitive:

“An advance in intellectuality consists in deciding against direct sense-perception in favour of what are known as the higher intellectual processes – that is, memories reflections and inferences. It consists, for instance, in deciding that paternity is more important than maternity, although it cannot, like the latter, be established by the evidence of the senses, and that for that reason the child should bear his father’s name and be his heir. Or it declares that

independently and finally decidedly broke away. This model is often also described with the phytomorphic metaphor “(Jewish) root – (Christian) branches”. This family model challenges the old and just presented model, widespread especially in Protestantism, according to which Christianity represents the good tradition of ancient Israel and the prophets (“early Judaism”), while the Jews broke away from it and created their own (law) religion (“late Judaism”). More recently, a different family model has been increasingly discussed, which assumes that “Judaism” and “Christianity”, as these terms suggest, were not initially unified faiths, but rather twins or even Siamese twins. It was only through imperial legislation in the Roman Empire that the *religiones* were demarcated from each other (cf. Boyarin, 2009). Despite all plausibility of these considerations, it remains undeniable that early Christianity has its conditions of origin in the time of Second Temple Judaism, was initially a Jewish sect, and then constituted itself increasingly aggressively against Judaism (and this finds a counterpart in Rabbinic Talmudic Judaism, which demarcated itself from Christianity).

our God is the greatest and mightiest, although he is invisible like a gale of wind or like the soul” (ibid., pp. 116-117).

Once Freud had defined precisely the ego (“memories reflections and inferences”) as “a bodily ego” (Freud, 1923b, p. 25) and not contrasted it with the senses and the body in a Platonic as well as in an entirely unpsychoanalytic *and* an un-Jewish understanding. When it comes to motherhood, Freud seems to forget the most important insight of his drive theory, that intellectual processes are sensually grounded and that, conversely, the body is a psychically cathected one.²¹⁹

The juxtaposition of sensuality (motherhood) and spirituality (fatherhood) and the devaluation of sensuality and motherhood is not found only in *Moses and Monotheism*, but already 20 years earlier in a footnote in the “Notes Upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis” (Rat Man), in which Freud furthermore associates fatherhood with a certain, ultimately Aristotelian model of procreation:

“A great advance was made in civilization when men decided to put their inferences upon a level with the testimony of their senses and to make the step from matriarchy to patriarchy. The prehistoric figures which show a smaller person sitting upon the head of a larger one are representations of patrilineal descent; Athena had no mother, but sprang from the head of Zeus. A witness who testifies to something before a court of law is still called ‘Zeuge’ [literally, ‘begetter’] in German, after the part played by the male in the act of procreation; so too in hieroglyphics the word for a ‘witness’ is written with a representation of the male organ” (Freud, 1909d, p. 232).

Here procreation (in contrast to the biological fact that the female body has an equal share in the process of fusion of egg and sperm and the emergence of the zygote) is equated with masculinity and intellectuality. This notion is Aristotelian in its historical origins and assumes that the female body is merely the vessel for the procreating male seed (cf. Treusch-Dieter, 1990, pp. 54-72 and Derrida, 1997, pp. 85-89). This became the model for the idea of a spiritual male procreative potency (*logos spermatikos*) and gave rise to a strictly patrilineal genealogy, that is, a paternal succession scheme in the generational sequence. Judaism, however, which Freud problematically associates with this scheme by referring to the “advance in intellectuality”, has in the course of its

²¹⁹ At this (and only at this) point there is indeed a similarity with the conception of *ethical monotheism* as developed by Hermann Cohen (1842-1818) in his book *Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums (Religion of Reason from the Sources of Judaism)*, published posthumously in 1919 (on this see Schäfer, 2002, pp. 36-38). In this book, too, a highly problematic antithesis of sensuality and understanding/intellectuality is found in the tradition of critical idealism going back to Kant, which he projects back into the biblical stories. But to conclude from this, as Schäfer does with his thesis, that because Cohen’s model was nineteenth-century Protestant Christianity, Freud’s “triumph of spirituality” was the “birth of Jewish monotheism out of the spirit of Christianity” (ibid., p. 406) is incomprehensible and borders on the absurd. Without this problematic intensification towards Christianity, a comparable thesis can already be found in Boyarin (1997, pp. 244-270); he too discovers a mimicry to Protestantism in Cohen and many other contemporary Jewish authors as well as in Freud’s late writing.

history made a matrilineal line of descent the standard for the transmission of affiliation: according to halakhic rules, a Jew is the one who descends from a Jewish mother.

Von Braun (2018, pp. 131-184) shows that a first approach of such Jewish matrilinearity had already emerged in the Babylonian exile. Under the influence of increasing Hellenization and under the impression that quite a few Jews from Judea had married women from other cultures, scribes of the time came to the conclusion that in the situation of exile additional efforts were needed to keep the Jewish communities together. The introduction of an additional matrilineal lineage created more uniqueness (*mater certissima*), and the individual Jew and Jewess now also belonged bodily to their people/religion.

“That is, the lost temple shifted to the letters of Scripture, while the lost homeland was *located* (literally) in the maternal body. [...] In short, in exile, the female body (as the centre of the family) replaced the Holy Land. The maternal bloodline completed the spiritual genealogy of the father” (ibid., p. 144; own translation).

The full transition to matrilinearity took place over the period of about a century and over several generations after the destruction of the Second Temple and the beginning of the existence of the Jewish communities in the Diaspora. *Membership* in Judaism was now bindingly regulated through the maternal line (in terms of kinship relations, inheritance arrangements, and even the transmission of the priesthood, the paternal line continued to apply). Now, too, the real and most important reason for this regulation was the security of maternal descent; and the fact that it was only exiled Judaism that agreed on this speaks to the close connection between matrilinearity and statelessness (ibid., p. 153). It also fits, as Brumlik (2015) has pointed out, that the disempowerment of the priesthood was an additional reason for this innovation: already in the Second Temple period, the group of Pharisees competed with that of the high priests, the *Cohanim* and the *Levites*, who performed the Temple service and inherited their positions in male line. After the destruction of the temple they visibly lost their importance, and no power was associated with the spiritual offices after the introduction of matrilinearity. “Thus also the Judean caste society was transformed into a meritocratic, i.e., a learned republic based on the merit of learning” (ibid., p. 32; own translation).

Freud, as we have seen several times, repeatedly referred to this transition, but in relation to gender relations he preferred the Hellenistic-Aristotelian conception of procreation and disregarded the Jewish variant of belonging via descent from the mother.²²⁰ In this model, motherhood and

²²⁰ Freud’s elevation of intellectuality and devaluation of sensuality is also reminiscent of an earlier self-description: “As a young man I knew no longing other than for philosophical knowledge, and now I am about to fulfil it as I move from medicine to psychology. I became a therapist against my will [...]” (Freud, 1985c, p. 179). Here, the philosophical-spiritual insight stands higher than the direct and sensually experienced contact with the patient and the analysand.

fatherhood, as well as sensuality and spirituality, complement each other in a way that fits much better with the psychoanalytic understanding.²²¹ We find with the preference for the Hellenistic scheme also now confirmed that Freud could not until the end of his life find either theoretically or personally a recognition of the importance of motherhood, and that here a limit had been reached which he was not able to cross. Even in the statements quoted above, one can hear the echoes of his complaint to his childhood friend Eduard Silberstein that mothers (and his mother in particular) “care only for the physical well-being of their sons; when it comes to their intellectual development the control is out of their hands” (Freud, 1989a, p. 17). How Freud's relationship to and with his Judaism would have looked if he had not had to devalue motherhood (and his mother) in such a way must remain open and requires further research.²²²

²²¹ Boyarin (1997, pp. 244-270) also takes up this point, showing that Freud attempted to ground Judaism in a purely masculine way that was contrary to tradition, and this may have been one reason why he speaks of the „*man* Moses“ even by the German title *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion*.

²²² In a reading of the (first) creation narrative (Genesis, 1,1-2,3(4a)), Kosman (2012, pp. 154-213) has worked out that already in this initial story “feminine” and “masculine” are connected with each other in a certain way. The idea that this account unfolds is not that of a creation out of nothing (*creatio ex nihilo*), but of a creation out of matter (*creatio ex materia*). In everything that God brings forth in the first six days of creation, he turns to something that already exists so that something new can emerge from it, which is already potentially present in his “womb”. This happens, unlike in the other ancient creation myths, not as a violent act in which, out of the male fear of the female body, the male element overcomes the female amorphousness through the creation of language and culture (as Freud also ultimately assumes), but as a gentle and dialogical call (“he spoke”) that does not tear apart matter, the female body (and does not personify it as a threatening goddess). Man plays a special role in this, since he is the only creation that contains the possibility of conducting a dialogue between two completely different entities – this establishes his God-likeness.

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Summary

In a sentence added to his “An Autobiographical Study” (Freud, 1925d), Freud emphasises in 1935, i.e. only a few years before his death, looking back on his life: “My deep engrossment in the Bible story (almost as soon as I had learnt the art of reading) had, as I recognized much later, an enduring effect upon the direction of my interest” (Freud, 1935d, p. 763). Two things are remarkable about this statement: on the one hand, Freud emphasises how strongly it was precisely his early preoccupation with “Bible story”, and not, for example, his later acquired classical humanist grammar school education, which is often highlighted in literature, that decisively determined his entire intellectual and emotional life. On the other hand, he must state that he was only able to recognise the power of this influence with a characteristic delay, i.e. the mechanisms of *Nachträglichkeit* and bi-temporality that he describes in many ways were also at work here. If one subjects this statement to an initial examination in a kind of overall view, one can indeed determine that this deepening and preoccupation with the Bible gave the development of his spiritual life a framework, as it were, and connects its beginning with its end in a returning movement: Freud not only began his spiritual life with the Bible in an early religious instruction with his mother as well as, above all, in a common reading with his father, but also ended it with it, after a return to his original interests – if one thinks, namely, of the biblical material that he worked through in his last and testamentary book *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) and which really drove him in the years before his death.

This first statement alone makes it clear that for Freud the Jewish Bible was far more than a random book or a casual educational resource that served him well, for example, only for illustrative purposes. The present paper will show in detail that Freud was introduced to the Jewish tradition through his early and intensive reading of the Bible, which was integrated into specific family relational experiences. He was able to immerse himself in the “Bible story”, i.e. in the narrative form of its books, which is characteristic of the Jewish Bible in particular, and there to become acquainted with the “foundational histories” and “foundational memories” (Assmann, 2012, pp. 59, 61 and 37) that were essential in shaping his self-understanding as a Jew and, in general, his approach to the world and to scripture. These stories were at the same time a foil or, as it were, a “narrative cover” with the help of which Freud could give expression and shape to his inner conflicts and fears and into which he could integrate them. The various mentions of the Bible in his private correspondence show that he often resorted to the Bible when he found himself in crisis situations and needed reassurance. This only became more public at the end of Freud's life, when, in

the face of National Socialist persecution and the emerging eliminatory anti-Semitism, and marked by his severe cancer, he openly recalled the *Jewish Bible* and the post-biblical Talmudic tradition, reassured himself of his origins and inscribed psychoanalysis in Jewish tradition and intellectual history. Despite all the fluctuations and vicissitudes in his relationship to Judaism over the decades of his life, the reference to the *Jewish Bible* was a constant factor in Freud's life. This is all the more remarkable in view of his so clearly articulated unbelief; in the *Jewish Bible*, formulated the other way round, he was able to find a central point of reference for his Jewish affiliation despite his unbelief.

If one looks beyond the person of Freud, it can be said that the Jewish Bible, across all directions and denominations, must be accorded a high status in the process of the formation of modern Judaism. Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran (2007) in their study *The Hebrew Bible Reborn. From Holy Scripture to the Books of Books*, Yaacov Shavit and Morchai Eran (2007) were able to show impressively how in the German-speaking world, in a process that took about three centuries and probably reached its climax in the second half of the 19th century, Jews increasingly learned to see the Bible as the most important source and the most significant heritage of a common scriptural culture that has endured for millennia, and how they reappropriated it, albeit in new and changed ways. Both in public discourse and in private life, the Bible became formative for one's own self-understanding and was understood as the indispensable and unique contribution of Jewish religion and culture to the development of all humanity. In the course of this "Biblical Revolution", it became, in summary, the decisive building block and key moment of a stubborn Jewish identity and developed its influence even into the Zionist movements.

In order to be able to access the Bible at all with this intention and effect, good Jewish-German translations had to be created that could be used outside of liturgical use in synagogue services (where only the Hebrew text was read) and, in their faithfulness to the Masoretic version, offered an acceptable alternative to the prevailing Christian biblical works that were distributed among Jews with missionary zeal. In the context of the new translations that increasingly emerged from the end of the 17th century onwards (see especially Bechtoldt, 2005, and Gillman, 2018), a surviving ancient text was transformed into a "modern Jewish Bible" (Levenson, 2011), and the "Holy Scriptures" thus became, in a sense, the "Book of Books" (Shavit & Eran, 2007), which now became not only a religious but, for many Jews, a (sometimes even exclusively) cultural-worldly point of reference. The aforementioned *Philippson's Bible*, which Freud became acquainted with so early on and with whose help he was introduced above all to "Bible story", is such a 19th century translation work. It perhaps even represents the or, to put it more cautiously, a high point of Jewish

translation culture and had to be painstakingly wrested from the tradition of Christian dispossession (creation of an “Old Testament”; colonial appropriation of the *Masoretic* text through Luther's programme of a “Verdeutschung”; devaluation of the Jewish approach to the Bible within the framework of historical-critical biblical studies). In relation to Freud, it can be justifiably said that without such a translation, which contains specific features such as an extensive commentary and gives Moses and the Torah a central position, it would probably not have come to the strong and “enduring” influence by the Jewish Bible that is so clearly expressed in the quotation mentioned at the beginning of this summary.

Despite all agreement on the meaning of the Bible and even appropriate translations (which was long disputed in Orthodox circles), considerable conflicts arose in the various currents of Judaism, which had to do above all with the following question: Can the biblical text be understood at all without the great post-biblical rabbinic-Talmudic commentary literature or precisely only in the unity of written and oral tradition? From the orthodox and neo-orthodox side, the Jewish Enlightenment movement was accused of separating the written Torah (extended: the Bible) from the oral (and later written) or Talmudic-rabbinic tradition: It merely copied Protestant biblicism and its principle of *sola scriptura*, moved in the direction of a heretical turning away from the Jewish tradition and thus risked a self-denunciation of Judaism. Conversely, or complementary to this, representatives of the Jewish Enlightenment movement *Haskala* reproached that the excessive presence of the Talmud had led to a neglect of the Bible and its reading, and that its re-appropriation, especially through good translations, was now necessary. Only in this way is it possible to bring the universally valid heritage of Judaism closer to the next generations of Jewish children as well as to the non-Jewish world.

How can Freud, with his Jewish socialisation, be positioned in this field of tension? Of decisive importance for answering this question is probably the fact that both of Freud's parents came from Eastern European Jewry and that his father, Jacob Freud, according to all available knowledge, underwent a traditional Jewish education, which became effective in the common reading of the (Philippon) Bible. His intimate familiarity with both the biblical and the post-biblical Talmudic tradition is impressively confirmed by the accessible family documents and by relevant historical studies. Jacob Freud grew up in Tysmenitz, Galicia, where rabbinic Judaism traditionally had a strong influence, but in his youth came under the influence of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, which was also growing there, “alienated” (Freud, 1957e, p. 227) from his homeland and settled in Moravia. All previous attempts to place him either purely in the liberal current in Judaism or in the Jewish Enlightenment movement of the *Haskalah*, or in an “Orthodox” Judaism, disregard the

fundamental tension in which Jacob Freud's life stood. On the one hand, he turned away from tradition, in some ways even broke with it, but on the other hand he remained connected to it and continued it precisely through his break, as a close reading and interpretation of his entries in the family Bible show.

In this tension of betrayal and fidelity and “unbrokenly broken” (Bodenheimer, 2012), which could be driven to the point of paradox, perhaps lies at all a constitutive feature of Jewish tradition formation and transmission, which was evident in the 18th and 19th centuries under the auspices of Enlightenment, secularisation and an accelerated scientific development. With the gift of the newly bound family Bible to his son Sigmund for his 35th birthday, together with the enclosed dedicatory letter, Jacob Freud conveyed a certain message that can be understood in this context. In the centre of this letter, in lines 9 and 10, we can read: “Since then the book has been kept/hidden like the broken tablets [of the law] in an ark with me”. Jacob Freud wanted to tell his son that he had kept the (family) Bible for him since the days of reading it together in his childhood and through the years of his turning away from the Jewish religion, and thus integrated Freud's development into the context of a central Mosaic narrative and its Talmudic interpretation. It is therefore the case that Jacob Freud wanted his son to understand that he could understand his sometimes vehement attack on the Jewish faith and tradition not least from the experiences of his own life story and did not condemn him. Yes, he even welcomed this attack, since it was unavoidably necessary for Freud to find his very own access to the Jewish tradition. Jacob gave his son Sigmund Freud the (family) Bible in a feeling of paternal love and in the confidence that he would not forget the biblical tradition and the Jewish tradition in general, but would continue it stubbornly.

And indeed Freud did this in many ways, continuing in his own way the tense dialectic of betrayal and fidelity: Jacob Freud died only a few years after Freud's 35th birthday, and this event, according to his own account, “revolutionised” his soul (so Freud to Ernest Jones; Freud & Jones, 1993, pp. 369f.). He subsequently began his self-analysis, joined the *B'nai-B'rith Lodge* and was able to write the basic psychoanalytic text *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a). In this work, Freud takes up the paternal tradition in his own idiosyncratic way, finally stating that “we have treated [the dreams] as Holy Writ” (ibid., p. 518). Based on this statement, it can indeed be shown, right down to the individual steps of interpretation, that Freud's method of dream interpretation is analogous to the methodical approach to scripture based in Talmudic-rabbinic Judaism and forms its, as it were, secularised continuation. While Freud treated dreams as “Holy Writ” in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in his late work *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a) he treated the texts of biblical tradition, which were considered sacred, as dreams and interpreted them with the help of his

psychoanalytical method, which itself cannot deny its origin in the aforementioned Jewish tradition. With his testamentary late work, Freud created, as it were, a secular psychoanalytic *midrash*. If we take the two fundamental works of Freud's oeuvre together, which mark the full beginning and end of his psychoanalytic work, we can see how clinical method and cultural analysis interpenetrate under the premise of a Jewish Talmudic approach to the text and the world.

At this point, a sentence by Karl Abraham comes to mind, who, with the deep feeling of a spiritual kinship, pointed out to Freud on 11 May 1908 the Talmudic traces in his book on wit (Freud, 1905c) and wrote to him: "After all, the talmudic way of thinking cannot disappear in us just like that" (Freud & Abraham, 2002, p. 39). And after a close reading of the texts, it indeed turns out that, as Abraham says with unsurpassed precision, the "talmudic way of thinking" that created an entire scriptural and world approach can in no way be considered to have disappeared, despite all the turning away – just as, according to psychoanalytic understanding, nothing at all, and certainly nothing of such great influence, can "disappear". The reference to the Talmud, however, should and had to remain rather invisible and hidden, apart from a few direct references; the "talmudic way of thinking" could not show itself in its universal claim under the dominance of the Christian dominant culture and was considered outdated and merely particular Jewish at the latest since the time of the Enlightenment. Freud, who feared that psychoanalysis could be declared a merely particular "Jewish-national affair", could only bring this very important part of the Jewish tradition to bear in a masked way. At a certain point, after meeting Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) and hoping for his entry of psychoanalysis into the "promised land of psychiatry" (Freud, 1974a, p. 196), he was even in danger of making the Jewish roots of psychoanalysis completely unrecognisable in order to secure its academic-scientific and social success and continued existence. Conversely, in the course of history, the violent disappointments in the relationship with Jung and his increasingly apparent anti-Semitism, as well as the painful realisation of the danger inherent in the denial of the Jewish roots of psychoanalysis, led to feelings of guilt, wishes for reparation and an increased recollection of the paternal tradition and its central figure Moses.

Despite a widely developed Freud biography in the German-speaking world and numerous detailed studies on all possible aspects of Freud's life and work, there is a lack of well-founded studies on the significance and impact of his parents' (Eastern) Jewish origins as well as the unity of both written and oral, of biblical and Talmudic tradition, which had its home precisely in Eastern Judaism. It is as if the "appropriation taboo" (Beland) prevailing in Germany after the Shoah, which is effective towards Freud's work as a whole, particularly refers to this part of his origins. Here, presumably, the feelings of guilt about appropriating something that was destroyed by one's own

parents and grandparents are still particularly powerful. When it comes to the Freudian work being part of the Jewish heritage, the suspicion quickly arises (and is occasionally expressed openly) that psychoanalysis is to be appropriated Jewishly or even declared to be something religious. This paper attempts to counteract this in several thematic approaches.

The work is divided into five larger chapters and begins with the most precise documentation and analysis possible of Jacob Freud's entries in the *Philippson Bible*, which will be called “Jewish textures” here, since they contain and, as it were, orchestrate the entire richness of his Jewish religious and cultural educational history (Chapter 1). It is important for me to let the texts speak for themselves, to present German translations of all Hebrew entries (which has not been done so far or is being done here for the first time) and, if possible, to pursue all references to the Jewish scriptural tradition (Bible, Talmud, prayers) in a psychoanalytical dream and Talmudic text analysis in *detail*. An astonishing result of looking at the entries from the year of Freud's birth is that important lines of conflict in the history of Jacob Freud can be found here, but also determinant anticipations of the no less conflictual development of Sigismund or Sigmund Freud's Jewish self-understanding. As already mentioned, the lines of rupture and conflict stand in a tension of betrayal and loyalty to Jewish tradition that transcends the individual life stories. Especially Jacob Freud's artfully designed dedication letter for Freud's 35th birthday, stylised like a letter and written in a special literary form (*melitzah*) known in enlightened Judaism and containing a mosaic of pieces from all parts of the Jewish scriptural tradition, conveys a message to his son and, as will be shown, opened up decisive personal and professional development spaces for him. Added to this chapter is another birthday letter, also penned by Jacob Freud, addressed to Freud's younger brother Alexander Freud (1866-1943) and again containing a multitude of scriptural references culminating in a similar statement and message: Referring to the Talmudic tractate *Berakhoth*, already invoked in the dedicatory letter and crucial precisely for the Talmudic understanding of the dream and its interpretation, they call for attacking not the sinner or the sinner, but the sin, and for exercising forbearance. Finally, this chapter also contains more detailed information about the edition history of the *Philippson Bible* and the possible background and context of its acquisition as a family Bible by Jacob Freud.

In the *second chapter*, the long history of Jewish Bible translations will be traced in order to be able to better classify and understand Philippson's Bible work in terms of its significance within this process. Emphasis will be placed on the first Yiddish and then German translations that were produced in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, and cannot be explained without the preceding hegemonic effect that the Bible translation by Martin Luther (1483-1546) had. In an act of colonial dispossession, Luther wanted to “Germanise” the “Old Testament” altogether and create an access

to the Hebrew language that was independent of mediation by Jewish scholars (which at the time meant above all: by converts) and of Jewish commentary literature. With the Enlightenment, there was also a growing need on the Jewish side in the German-speaking world to create modern translations of the Bible, which could above all offer an alternative to the downright oppressive *Luther Bible*. The dialectical tension between rupture and fidelity, which has already been described several times, is also evident now: on the one hand, the translation works of this time show unmistakable characteristics of the modernisation process (creation of utility Bibles for non-synagogical use; individualisation of authorship; development of scholarly commentaries; need for aesthetically pleasing formats), but at the same time they try to place themselves in the continuity of Jewish tradition (literal translations; bilingual editions; consideration of the Talmudic literature taught in the Scriptures). With his translation, Ludwig Philippson also had to position himself in the 19th century against the increasingly dominant, Protestant-influenced historical-critical biblical scholarship, through which, within the framework of the then emerging “Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis”, the idea spread that the development of the Israelite religion had proceeded in a continuously regressive process from a natural religion to a theocratic priestly religion and that there was a break between the exilic-post-exilic legislation and prophecy. The hypothesis of a post-exilic religious-national process of Israel's decline towards Judaism has become known under the formula *lex post prophetas*. With this, the uniformity and "authenticity" of the Jewish Bible was attacked, and Philippson's biblical work is not least to be understood as a concrete counter-draft to this devaluation. Contrary to what is often found in psychoanalytic literature, Ludwig Philippson was not a pure representative of Reform Judaism, but represented an extremely moderate reform that hoped for a religious revival in *all of* Judaism and for this very reason also strove for a balance with (neo-)Orthodoxy – and it is precisely out of this intermediate position, as can be assumed, that this edition of the Bible was so suitable for Jacob and Sigmund Freud and could be so “enduring” in its effect.

In the *third chapter*, an attempt will be made to reconstruct Freud's religious-school socialisation. For this purpose, the available curricula and the textbooks used for religious education at the two schools Freud attended in Vienna were documented and examined: What is meant is a private and that means necessarily a Jewish primary schools and the Leopoldstadt Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium. As far as the primary schools is concerned, it is still unclear exactly which of the numerous possible schools Freud went to and how many school years he spent there (in this chapter, the first archival evidence is presented in this regard for the degree in the subject of religion in the last grade in the primary schools). Regardless of the answer to this question, a certain subject matter was compulsory and certain teaching materials were prescribed – if they could not be worked out in

a primary school, this had to be done privately, in home lessons. If one looks at these more closely, it is noticeable that the learning of the Hebrew language was at the very centre of the lessons and that this emphasis pursued the explicit goal of enabling the pupils to read the biblical text in its original version and to participate in the synagogue service. Samuel Hammerschlag, Freud's religion teacher and mentor, wrote "Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien" ("The Programme of the Israeli Religious School in Vienna"), Samuel Hammerschlag formulated accordingly that "the lecture of the Bible in the original language must form the basis and starting point for all religious instruction [...]". (Hammerschlag, 1869, p. 3; own translation). The language primers, for example, were intended to enable the children to *read* the Hebrew text (the Hebrew cursive script, which was clearly different from the printed script, was not taught). Historically, teaching in this way was the result of a longer reform process and was recognisably different from the form of teaching based on catechisms that had been valid until then. This reformed religious education also enabled Freud to acquire the biblical text more freely without catechetical regimentation and to find his own approach to it. From the results of this chapter, which suggest that Freud had had Hebrew lessons for several years and was at least familiar with reading the "sacred language", the question arises as to why he repeatedly claimed that he had never learned this language. A well-founded answer to this question, however, can only be found in the overall context of his early development.

In the *fourth chapter*, I would like to trace the development of Freud's Jewish self-understanding over the period of his life in a kind of miniature and special biography. A clear focus is placed on his early development, and it will be shown that his relationship with his parents followed highly disparate patterns, which in their diversity exerted a great influence on his relationship to the Jewish faith, the Jewish Bible as well as the Hebrew language. While Freud was capable of ambivalence in his relationship with his father, revolted against him and mourned his death, and was able to form his stubborn Jewish identity in general in his confrontation with him, his relationship with his mother was marked by profound and traumatic losses, which, according to a central thesis of this chapter, led to a loss of faith and language. Freud was never able to detach himself from her and mourn the death of his mother, who throughout his life showed a great intolerance towards actually all losses and experiences of separation. The relationship with her could not be transformed, which is not least reflected in the fact that Freud was never able to penetrate to the theoretical conception of an independent female development and held on to a blank idealisation of the mother-son relationship throughout his life. It was the balancing relationship with his father, bound up in an intensive joint reading of the Bible, that helped him to be able to understand himself as a Jew despite the aforementioned loss of faith and language. However, as indicated above, this sense of

belonging was subject to fluctuations: It ranged from his turning away from and attacking the Jewish tradition during his adolescence and early adulthood, to its re-appropriation after his father's death in 1896, to his initial willingness in his relationship with Carl Gustav Jung and the Swiss psychiatrists, to sacrifice psychoanalytic *shibboleths* for the academic-university recognition of psychoanalysis as a science, to the rediscovery of the figure of Moses associated with feelings of guilt and desires for reparation during the period of separation from Jung, to a broad return to both the biblical and the Talmudic tradition since at least the beginning of the 1930s.

Finally, in *chapter five*, I will pursue the question of how the biblical and Talmudic tradition was reflected in Freud's thinking and writing through a more detailed analysis of two of his most important, if not *the* most important, works: *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1900a) and *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud, 1939a). As already mentioned above, these books take up the Jewish approach to the world and scripture broadly and, in the analysis of the dream text and the biblical scriptures, unfold the scenario of a talmudic hermeneutics in which no pre-established or fixed meaning is presupposed, which is merely to be found, but rather the plastic meaning must be created and perpetuated anew in the relationship between text and reader. All in all, it is clear that Freudian psychoanalysis is the contemporary science that has absorbed the biblical Talmudic heritage like no other and has transformed it with its very own means and signs. At the same time, however, psychoanalysis is the discourse that is constantly in danger of sealing the Talmudic heritage through its own institutionalisation (see Bruckstein, n.d.) – a danger to which Freud already succumbed, which became a destructive reality under National Socialism and is also more than virulent in post-war Germany through its broad medicalisation and professionalisation. Yes, one could even say that the Talmud had to disappear first so that the “talmudic way of thinking” (Abraham) could nestle largely unrecognised in psychoanalysis and survive its destruction damaged there.

Zusammenfassung

In einem seiner »Selbstdarstellung« (Freud, 1925d) hinzugefügten Satz betont Freud 1935, also nur wenige Jahre vor seinem Tod, rückblickend auf sein Leben: „Frühzeitige Vertiefung in die biblische Geschichte, kaum daß ich die Kunst des Lesens erlernt hatte, hat, wie ich erst viel später erkannte, die Richtung meines Interesses nachhaltig bestimmt“ (Freud, 1935d, S. 763). Bemerkenswert an dieser Aussage ist zweierlei: Zum einen hebt Freud hervor, wie stark gerade die schon früh einsetzende Beschäftigung mit der »biblischen Geschichte«, und nicht etwa seine später erworbene und in der Literatur oft herausgestellte klassisch-humanistische Gymnasialbildung, sein ganzes intellektuelles und emotionales Leben maßgeblich „bestimmt“ hat. Zum anderen muss er feststellen, dass er die Macht dieses Einflusses erst mit einer charakteristischen Verspätung (an-)erkennen konnte, also auch hier die von ihm vielfältig beschriebenen Mechanismen der Nachträglichkeit und der Zweizeitigkeit wirksam waren. Unterzieht man diese Aussage in einer Art Gesamtschau einer ersten Überprüfung, so kann man tatsächlich feststellen, dass diese »Vertiefung« und Beschäftigung mit der Bibel der Entwicklung seines geistigen Lebens gleichsam einen Rahmen gegeben hat und dessen Beginn mit seinem Ende in einer zurückkommenden Bewegung miteinander verbindet: Freud hat nicht nur in einem frühen religiösen Unterricht mit seiner Mutter sowie vor allem in einer gemeinsamen Lektüre mit seinem Vater sein geistiges Leben mit der Bibel begonnen, sondern es damit, nach einer Rückkehr zu seinen ursprünglichen Interessen, auch beendet – denkt man nämlich an den biblischen Stoff, den er in seinem letzten und testamentarischen Buch *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* (Freud, 1939a) verarbeitet und der ihn in den Jahren vor seinem Tod regelrecht umgetrieben hat.

Schon diese erste Feststellung macht deutlich, dass die Jüdische Bibel für Freud weit mehr war als ein beliebiges Buch oder ein beiläufiges Bildungsgut, das ihm etwa nur für illustrative Zwecke gute Dienste geleistet hat. In der vorliegenden Schrift soll ausführlich gezeigt werden, dass Freud über die schon früh einsetzende und intensive Lektüre der Bibel, die in spezifische familiäre Beziehungserfahrungen eingebunden war, in die jüdische Tradition eingeführt wurde. Er konnte in die „biblische *Geschichte*“, also in die gerade für die Jüdische Bibel charakteristische narrative Gestalt ihrer Bücher eintauchen und dort die für das jüdische Selbstverständnis „fundierenden Geschichten“ und „fundierenden Erinnerungen“ (Assmann, 1999, S. 76–83 und 52) kennenlernen, die sein Selbstverständnis als Jude sowie überhaupt seinen Welt- und Schriftzugang wesentlich geprägt haben. Diese Geschichten waren zugleich auch eine Folie oder gleichsam eine „narrative Hülle“, mit deren Hilfe Freud seinen inneren Konflikten und Ängsten Ausdruck und Gestalt geben

und in die er sie einbinden konnte. Gerade die verschiedenen Erwähnungen der Bibel in den privaten Korrespondenzen zeigen, dass er häufig dann auf die Bibel zurückgegriffen hat, wenn er sich in krisenhaften Situationen befand und eines rückversichernden Haltes bedurfte. Öffentlicher tritt dies erst am Ende von Freuds Leben in volle Erscheinung, als er sich im Angesicht der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungen und des sich abzeichnenden eliminatorischen Antisemitismus sowie gezeichnet durch seine schwere Krebserkrankung auf die *Jüdische Bibel* und die nachbiblische talmudische Tradition offen zurückbesonnen, sich darüber seiner Herkunft versichert sowie die Psychoanalyse in die jüdische Tradition und Geistesgeschichte eingeschrieben hat. Trotz all der zu konstatierenden Schwankungen und Wechselfälle in seinem Verhältnis zum und zu seinem Judentum über die Jahrzehnte seines Lebens hinweg war der Bezug auf die *Jüdische Bibel* in Freuds Leben eine konstante Größe. Dies ist angesichts seines so deutlich artikulierten Unglaubens umso bemerkenswerter; in der *Jüdischen Bibel* konnte er, umgekehrt formuliert, trotz seines Unglaubens einen zentralen Bezugspunkt für seine jüdische Zugehörigkeit finden.

Weitet man den Blick über die Person Freuds hinaus, so lässt sich überhaupt feststellen, dass der Jüdischen Bibel, über alle Richtungen und Denominationen hinweg, im Prozess der Herausbildung eines modernen Judentums ein hoher Stellenwert zugesprochen werden muss. Yaacov Shavit und Mordechai Eran (2007) haben in ihrer Studie *The Hebrew Bible Reborn. From Holy Scripture to the Books of Books* eindrucksvoll zeigen können, wie im deutschsprachigen Raum in einem etwa über drei Jahrhunderte ablaufenden Prozess, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wohl seinen Höhepunkt erreicht hat, Jüdinnen und Juden zunehmend die Bibel als die wichtigste Quelle und das bedeutendste Erbe einer gemeinsamen, Jahrtausende überdauernden Schriftkultur anzusehen gelernt und sich, allerdings auf neue und gewandelte Weise, wieder angeeignet haben. Die Bibel wurde sowohl im öffentlichen Diskurs als auch im privaten Leben prägend für das eigene Selbstverständnis und als der unverzichtbare und einzigartige Beitrag der jüdischen Religion und Kultur zur Entwicklung der gesamten Menschheit begriffen. Im Zuge dieser »Biblichen Revolution« wurde sie, zusammenfassend gesagt, zum maßgeblichen Baustein und Schlüsselmoment einer eigensinnigen jüdischen Identität und entfaltete bis hinein in die zionistischen Bewegungen ihren Einfluss.

Um auf die Bibel mit dieser Absicht und mit diesem Effekt überhaupt zugreifen zu können, mussten gute jüdisch-deutsche Übersetzungen geschaffen werden, die außerhalb der liturgischen Verwendung im synagogalen Gottesdienst (dort wurde ausschließlich der hebräische Text gelesen) genutzt werden konnten und in ihrer Treue zur masoretischen Fassung eine akzeptable Alternative zu den vorherrschenden christlichen Bibelwerken boten, die mit missionarischem Eifer unter den

Jüdinnen und Juden vertrieben wurden. Im Rahmen der verstärkt seit Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts entstehenden neuen Übersetzungen (siehe dazu vor allem Bechtoldt, 2005, und Gillman, 2018) wurde ein überlieferter antiker Text in eine „moderne jüdische Bibel“ (Levenson, 2011) umgeschaffen, und aus der „Heiligen Schrift“ wurde so gewissermaßen das „Buch der Bücher“ (Shavit & Eran, 2007), das nun nicht mehr nur ein religiöser, sondern für viele Jüdinnen und Juden ein (manchmal gar ausschließlich) kulturell-weltlicher Bezugspunkt wurde. Die bereits erwähnte *Philippson'sche Bibel*, die Freud so »frühzeitig« kennengelernt hat und mit dessen Hilfe er vor allem in die „biblische Geschichte“ eingeführt wurde, ist ein solches Übersetzungswerk des 19. Jahrhunderts und stellt vielleicht sogar den oder, etwas vorsichtiger formuliert, *einen* Höhepunkt der jüdischen Übersetzungskultur dar und musste der Tradition christlicher Enteignung (Schaffung eines „Alten Testaments“; koloniale Aneignung des *masoretischen* Textes durch Luthers Programm einer „Verdeutschung“; Abwertung des jüdischen Zugangs zur Bibel im Rahmen der historisch-kritischen Bibelwissenschaft) mühsam abgerungen werden. Auf Freud bezogen, lässt sich begründet sagen, dass es ohne eine solche Übersetzung, die spezifische Besonderheiten wie einen umfangreichen Kommentar enthält und Moses und der Tora eine Zentralstellung einräumt, wohl nicht zu der starken und „chhaltigen“ Beeinflussung durch die Jüdische Bibel gekommen wäre, die in dem am Anfang dieser Zusammenfassung erwähnten Zitat so deutlich ausgesprochen ist.

Trotz aller Einigkeit über die Bedeutung der Bibel und sogar angemessener Übersetzungen (was in Kreisen der Orthodoxie lange umstritten war) entstanden in den verschiedenen Strömungen des Judentums erhebliche Konflikte, die vor allem mit folgender Frage zu tun hatten: Lässt sich der biblische Text überhaupt ohne die große nachbiblische rabbinisch-talmudische Kommentarliteratur oder gerade nur in der Einheit von schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung verstehen? Von orthodoxer und neo-orthodoxer Seite her wurde der jüdischen Aufklärungsbewegung die Abtrennung der schriftlichen Tora (erweitert: der Bibel) von der mündlichen (und später verschriftlichten) bzw. talmudisch-rabbinischen Überlieferung vorgeworfen: Sie kopiere bloß den protestantischen Biblizismus und sein Prinzip des *sola scriptura*, bewege sich in Richtung einer ins Häretische neigenden Abwendung von der jüdischen Tradition und riskiere damit eine Selbstpreisgabe des Judentums. Umgekehrt bzw. komplementär dazu lautete der Vorwurf von Vertreter und Vertreterinnen der jüdischen Aufklärungsbewegung *Haskala*, dass die überstarke Präsenz des Talmuds zu einer Vernachlässigung gerade der Bibel und ihrer Lektüre geführt habe und dass es entsprechend jetzt auf ihre Wiederaneignung vor allem durch gute Übersetzungen ankomme. Nur so sei es möglich, den nachwachsenden Generationen jüdischer Kinder sowie der nicht-jüdischen Welt das universell gültige Erbe des Judentums näherzubringen.

Wie nun lässt sich Freud mit seiner jüdischen Sozialisation in diesem Spannungsfeld positionieren? Von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung für die Beantwortung dieser Frage dürfte der Umstand sein, dass beide Eltern Freuds aus dem osteuropäischen Judentum stammten und dass sein Vater, Jacob Freud, aller vorliegenden Kenntnis nach eine traditionelle jüdische Ausbildung durchlaufen hat, die in der gemeinsamen Lektüre der (Philippson-)Bibel wirksam wurde. Seine intime Vertrautheit sowohl mit der biblischen als auch mit der nachbiblisch-talmudischen Tradition wird durch die zugänglichen familiären Dokumente und durch einschlägige historische Studien eindrücklich bestätigt. Jacob Freud wuchs im galizischen Tysmenitz auf, wo das rabbinische Judentum traditionell einen starken Einfluss hatte, geriet aber in seiner Jugend unter den Einfluss der auch dort wachsenden jüdischen Aufklärungsbewegung, „entfremdet[e]“ (Freud, 1957e, S. 227) sich seiner Heimat und ließ sich in Mähren nieder. Alle bisherigen Versuche, ihn entweder rein in der liberalen Strömung im Judentum bzw. der jüdischen Aufklärungsbewegung der Haskala oder aber in einem „orthodoxen“ Judentum zu verorten, lassen die grundlegende Spannung außer Acht, in der Jacob Freuds Leben stand. Er hat sich einerseits von der Tradition abgewendet, in gewisser Weise sogar mit ihr gebrochen, blieb ihr aber andererseits verbunden und hat sie gerade durch seinen Bruch hindurch fortgesetzt, wie nicht zuletzt eine genaue Lektüre und Interpretation seiner Einträge in der Familienbibel zeigen.

In dieser Spannung von Verrat und Treue und „ungebrochen gebrochen“ (Bodenheimer, 2012), die bis ins Paradoxe getrieben werden konnte, liegt vielleicht überhaupt ein konstitutives Merkmal der jüdischen Traditionsbildung und -weitergabe begründet, die sich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert unter den Vorzeichen von Aufklärung, Säkularisation und einer beschleunigten wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung gezeigt hat. Jacob Freud hat seinem Sohn Sigmund mit dem Geschenk der neu eingebundenen Familienbibel zu dessen 35. Geburtstag mitsamt dem beigefügten Widmungsschreiben eine bestimmte Botschaft vermittelt, die in diesem Zusammenhang verstanden werden kann. Im Zentrum dieses Schreibens, in den Zeilen 9 und 10, können wir lesen: „Seitdem war das Buch verwahrt/verborgen wie die zerbrochenen Tafeln [des Gesetzes] in einer Lade bei mir“. Jacob Freud wollte seinem Sohn damit sagen, dass er die (Familien-)Bibel für ihn seit den Tagen der gemeinsamen Lektüre in seiner Kinderzeit und über die Jahre seiner Abwendung von der jüdischen Religion aufbewahrt habe, und hat so Freuds Entwicklung deutend in den Kontext einer zentralen mosaischen Erzählung und ihrer talmudischen Auslegung eingebunden. Es ist mithin so, dass Jacob Freud seinem Sohn zu verstehen geben wollte, dass er dessen zum Teil heftigen Angriff auf den jüdischen Glauben und die jüdische Tradition nicht zuletzt aus den Erfahrungen seiner eigenen Lebensgeschichte heraus verstehen könne und ihn nicht verurteile. Ja, er begrüßte diesen Angriff sogar, da er unumgänglich notwendig ist, damit Freud seinen ganz eigenen Zugang zum

jüdischen Überlieferungszusammenhang finden konnte. Jacob schenkte seinem Sohn Sigmund Freud die (Familien-)Bibel im Gefühl der väterlichen Liebe und in dem Vertrauen, dass er die biblische und überhaupt die jüdische Tradition nicht vergessen, sondern sie eigensinnig fortsetzen werde.

Und tatsächlich hat Freud dies auf vielfältige Weise getan und auf seine Weise die gespannte Dialektik von Verrat und Treue fortgesetzt: Nur wenige Jahre nach Freuds 35. Geburtstag starb Jacob Freud, und dieses Ereignis »revolutionierte« nach seiner eigenen Angabe seine Seele (so Freud an Ernest Jones; Freud & Jones, 1993, S. 369f.). Er begann in der Folge seine Selbstanalyse, trat in die *B'nai-B'rith*-Loge ein und konnte die psychoanalytische Grundschrift *Die Traumdeutung* (Freud, 1900a) schreiben. In diesem Werk greift Freud die väterliche Tradition auf seine eigenwillige Art auf und gibt schließlich an, er habe den „Traum behandelt wie einen heiligen Text“ (ebd., S. 518). Ausgehend von dieser Bekundung lässt sich tatsächlich bis in die einzelnen Deutungsschritte hinein zeigen, dass die Freud'sche Methode der Traumdeutung dem im talmudisch-rabbinischen Judentum gründenden methodischen Schriftzugang analog ist und seine gleichsam säkularisierte Fortsetzung bildet. Während Freud in der *Traumdeutung* die Träume wie „heilige Texte“ behandelt hat, hat er in seinem Spätwerk *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* (Freud, 1939a) gleichsam umgekehrt die als heilig geltenden Texte der biblischen Überlieferung wie Träume behandelt und sie mithilfe seiner psychoanalytischen Methode gedeutet, die selbst aber schon ihre Herkunft aus der genannten jüdischen Traditionslinie nicht verleugnen kann. Mit seinem testamentarischen Spätwerk schuf Freud gleichsam einen säkularen psychoanalytischen *Midrasch*. Nimmt man die beiden grundlegenden Werke des Freud'schen Œuvres zusammen, mit denen der volle Beginn und das Ende seines psychoanalytischen Schaffens markiert sind, so lässt sich erkennen, wie sich unter der Voraussetzung eines jüdisch-talmudischen Text- und Weltzugangs klinische Methode und Kulturanalyse durchdringen.

Es drängt sich an dieser Stelle geradezu ein Satz von Karl Abraham auf, der mit dem tiefen Gefühl einer geistigen Verwandtschaft am 11. Mai 1908 Freud auf die talmudischen Spuren in seinem Buch über den Witz (Freud, 1905c) hingewiesen hat und ihm schrieb: „Die talmudische Denkweise kann ja nicht plötzlich aus uns verschwunden sein“ (Freud & Abraham, 2009a, S. 109). Und nach einer genauen Lektüre der Texte zeigt sich tatsächlich, dass, wie Abraham unübertroffen präzise sagt, die einen ganzen Schrift- und Weltzugang schaffende „talmudische *Denkweise*“ trotz aller Abwendung keineswegs als verschwunden gelten kann – so wie nach psychoanalytischem Verständnis überhaupt nicht, und erst recht nicht etwas von so großem Einfluss „verschwinden“ kann. Der Bezug auf den Talmud sollte und musste aber, abgesehen von einigen wenigen direkten Hinweisen, eher unsichtbar

und verborgen bleiben; die »talmudische Denkweise« konnte sich unter der Vorherrschaft der christlichen Dominanzkultur in ihrem universellen Anspruch nicht zeigen und galt spätestens seit der Zeit der Aufklärung als überkommen und bloß partikular jüdisch. Freud, der fürchtete, dass die Psychoanalyse zu einer bloß partikularen „jüdisch-nationalen Angelegenheit“ erklärt werden könnte, konnte gerade diesen so wichtigen Teil der jüdischen Tradition nur maskiert zur Geltung bringen. Zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt stand er sogar, nachdem er Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) kennengelernt und sich von ihm den Einzug der Psychoanalyse in das „gelobte Land der Psychiatrie“ (Freud, 1974a, S. 218) erhofft hatte, sogar in der Gefahr, die jüdischen Wurzeln der Psychoanalyse zur Sicherung ihres akademisch-wissenschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Erfolges und Fortbestandes ganz unkenntlich zu machen. Umgekehrt führten im Fortgang der Geschichte die heftigen Enttäuschungen im Verhältnis zu Jung und dessen sich zunehmend zeigender Antisemitismus sowie die schmerzliche Bewusstwerdung der Gefahr, die in der Verleugnung der jüdischen Wurzeln der Psychoanalyse liegt, zu Schuldgefühlen, Wiedergutmachungswünschen sowie einer verstärkten Rückbesinnung auf die väterliche Tradition und auf ihre Zentralgestalt Moses.

Trotz einer im deutschsprachigen Raum weit entwickelten Freud-Biografik und zahlreicher Detailstudien zu allen möglichen Aspekten von Freuds Lebens und Werkes fehlen fundierte Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung und Auswirkung der der (ost-)jüdischen Herkunft seiner Eltern sowie der gerade im Ostjudentum beheimatet gewesenen Einheit von sowohl schriftlicher als auch mündlicher, von biblischer und talmudischer Tradition. Es ist, als würde das in Deutschland nach der Shoah vorherrschende „Aneignungstabu“ (Beland), das gegenüber dem Freud’schen Werk insgesamt wirksam ist, sich besonders auf diesen Teil seiner Herkunft beziehen. Hier sind vermutlich die Schuldgefühle, sich etwas anzueignen, was durch die eigenen Eltern und Großeltern zerstört wurde, noch immer besonders mächtig. Schnell steht, wenn es darum geht, dass das Freud’sche Werk Teil des jüdischen Erbes ist, der Verdacht im Raum (und wird gelegentlich auch offen geäußert), die Psychoanalyse solle jüdisch vereinnahmt oder gar zu etwas Religiösem erklärt werden. Die vorliegende Schrift versucht, dem in mehreren thematischen Anläufen entgegen zu wirken.

Die Arbeit gliedert sich in fünf größere Kapitel und beginnt mit einer möglichst genauen Dokumentation und Analyse der Einträge Jacob Freuds in die *Philippson-Bibel*, die hier »jüdische Texturen« genannt werden sollen, da sie den ganzen Reichtum seiner jüdisch religiösen und kulturellen Bildungsgeschichte enthalten und gleichsam orchestrieren (Kapitel 1). Wichtig ist es mir dabei, die Texte selbst sprechen zu lassen, deutsche Übersetzungen aller hebräischen Einträge

vorzulegen (was bislang nicht geschehen ist bzw. hier zum ersten Mal geschieht) und möglichst allen Verweisen auf die jüdische Schrifttradition (Bibel, Talmud, Gebete) einer psychoanalytischen Traum- und talmudischen Textanalyse gleich *en detail* nachzugehen. Ein erstaunliches Resultat der Betrachtung der Einträge aus dem Geburtsjahr Freuds ist, dass sich hier wichtige Konfliktlinien der Geschichte von Jacob Freud, aber auch determinierende Vorgriffe auf die nicht minder konfliktreiche Entwicklung von Sigismund bzw. Sigmund Freuds jüdischem Selbstverständnis finden lassen. Die Bruch- und Konfliktlinien stehen, wie bereits angesprochen, in einer die individuellen Lebensgeschichten übergreifenden Spannung von Verrat und Treue zur jüdischen Tradition. Besonders Jacob Freuds kunstvoll gestaltetes Widmungsschreiben zu Freuds 35. Geburtstag, das wie ein Brief stilisiert und in einer besonderen, im aufgeklärten Judentum bekannten literarischen Form (*Melitzah*) geschrieben ist und ein Mosaik aus Stücken aller Teile der jüdischen Schrifttradition enthält, vermittelt eine Botschaft an seinen Sohn und hat ihm, wie sich zeigen soll, entscheidende persönliche und berufliche Entwicklungsräume eröffnet. Hinzugenommen wird in diesem Kapitel noch ein weiteres Geburtstagsschreiben, das ebenfalls aus der Feder Jacob Freuds stammt, an Freuds jüngeren Bruder Alexander Freud (1866–1943) gerichtet ist und erneut eine Vielzahl von Schriftverweisen enthält, die in einer ähnlichen Aussage und Botschaft kulminieren: Sie rufen unter Bezug auf den Talmudtraktat *Berakhoth*, der bereits im Widmungsschreiben aufgerufen wurde und gerade für das talmudische Verständnis des Traumes und seiner Deutung entscheidend ist, dazu auf, nicht den Sünder oder die Sünderin, sondern die Sünde anzugreifen und Nachsicht zu üben. Dieses Kapitel enthält schließlich auch detailliertere Angaben über die Editionsgeschichte der *Philippson-Bibel* und die möglichen Hintergründe und Zusammenhänge ihres Erwerbs als Familienbibel durch Jacob Freud.

Im *zweiten Kapitel* soll der langen Geschichte der jüdischen Bibelübersetzungen nachgegangen werden, um das Philippson'sche Bibelwerk besser in seinem Stellenwert innerhalb dieses Prozesses einordnen und verstehen zu können. Ein Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf den zuerst jiddischen und dann deutschen Übersetzungen, die im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert entstanden sind, und nicht erklärbar werden ohne die vorausgehende hegemoniale Wirkung, die die Bibelübersetzung durch Martin Luther (1483–1546) entfaltet hat. Luther wollte das „Alte Testament“ in einem Akt kolonialer Enteignung ganz und gar »verdeutsch« und einen Zugang zur hebräischen Sprache schaffen, der unabhängig war von der Vermittlung durch jüdische Gelehrte (was damals vor allem bedeutete: von Konvertiten) und von der jüdischen Kommentarliteratur. Mit der Aufklärung wuchs auch von jüdischer Seite aus im deutschsprachigen Raum das Bedürfnis, moderne Bibelübersetzungen zu schaffen, die vor allem eine Alternative zu der geradezu erdrückenden

Luther-Bibel bieten konnten. Dabei zeigt sich auch jetzt die nun bereits mehrfach beschriebene dialektische Spannung von Bruch und Treue: Einerseits weisen die Übersetzungswerke dieser Zeit unverkennbar Merkmale des Modernisierungsprozesses auf (Schaffung von Gebrauchsbibeln für den nicht-synagogalen Gebrauch; Individualisierung der Autorschaft; Entwicklung von wissenschaftlichen Kommentaren; Bedürfnis nach ästhetisch ansprechenden Formaten), sie versuchen andererseits aber zugleich sich in die Kontinuität der jüdischen Tradition zu stellen (wortgetreue Übersetzungen; zweisprachige Ausgaben; Berücksichtigung der schriftgelehrten talmudischen Literatur). Ludwig Philippson musste sich im 19. Jahrhundert mit seiner Übersetzung zudem gegen die immer dominanter werdende, protestantisch geprägte historisch-kritische Bibelwissenschaft positionieren, durch die sich im Rahmen der damals aufkommenden „Graf-Wellhausen-Hypothese“ die Vorstellung verbreitete, die Entwicklung der israelitischen Religion sei in einen fortlaufend regressiven Prozess von einer Naturreligion zu einer theokratischen Priesterreligion verlaufen und es gebe einen Bruch zwischen der exilisch-nachexilisch entstandenen Gesetzgebung und der Prophetie. Die Hypothese von einem nachexilischen religiös-nationalen Verfallsprozess Israels zum Judentum hin ist bekannt geworden unter der Formel *lex post prophetas*. Damit war die Einheitlichkeit und »Authentie« der Jüdischen Bibel angegriffen, und Philipppsons Bibelwerk ist nicht zuletzt auch als konkreter Gegenentwurf zu dieser Entwertung zu begreifen. Anders als oft in der psychoanalytischen Literatur zu finden ist, war Ludwig Philippson kein reiner Vertreter des Reformjudentums, sondern vertrat eine äußerst gemäßigte Reform, die auf eine religiöse Wiederbelebung im *ganzen* Judentum hoffte und gerade deshalb auch um den Ausgleich mit der (Neo-)Orthodoxie bemüht war – und genau aus dieser Zwischenstellung heraus, wie sich vermuten lässt, war diese Bibelausgaben für Jacob und Sigmund Freud so passend und konnte so „nachhaltig“ in ihrer Wirkung sein.

Im *dritten Kapitel* soll der Versuch unternommen werden, Freuds religiös-schulische Sozialisation zu rekonstruieren. Es wurden dafür die verfügbaren Curricula und die verwendeten Schulbücher des Religionsunterrichtes der beiden Schulen, die Freud in Wien besucht hat, dokumentiert und untersucht: Gemeint ist eine private und das heißt zwingend eine jüdische Volksschule und das Leopoldstädter Communal-Real- und Obergymnasium. Was die Volksschule betrifft, so ist noch immer ungeklärt, auf welche der zahlreichen möglichen Schulen Freud genau gegangen ist und wie viele Schuljahre er dort verbracht hat (in diesem Kapitel wird dazu ein erster archivarischer Beleg für den Abschluss im Fach Religion der letzten Klasse in der Volksschule vorgelegt). Unabhängig von der Beantwortung dieser Frage waren ein bestimmter Unterrichtsstoff verbindlich und bestimmte Lehrmittel vorgegeben – wenn sie nicht in einer Volksschule erarbeitet werden konnten, so musste dies privat, im häuslichen Unterricht geschehen. Betrachtet man diese genauer, so fällt

auf, dass das Erlernen der hebräischen Sprache ganz im Mittelpunkt des Unterrichts stand und diese Schwerpunktsetzung das explizite Ziel verfolgte, die Schüler und Schülerinnen in die Lage zu versetzen, den biblischen Text in seiner Urfassung lesen und am synagogalen Gottesdienst teilnehmen zu können. Samuel Hammerschlag, Freuds Religionslehrer und Mentor, hat in einer Schrift »Das Programm der israel. Religionsschule in Wien« entsprechend formuliert, »dass der Vortrag der Bibel in der Ursprache Basis und Ausgangspunkt für den gesamten Religionsunterricht zu bilden habe [...]« (Hammerschlag, 1869, S. 3). Die Sprachfibeln etwa sollten es den Kindern ermöglichen, den hebräischen Text *lesen* zu können (gelehrt wurde nicht die im Vergleich zur Druckschrift deutlich verschiedene hebräische Schreibschrift). Historisch betrachtet, war der so gefasste Unterricht Resultat eines längeren Reformprozesses und unterschied sich erkennbar von der bis dahin gültigen Form der Vermittlung anhand von Katechismen. Auch dieser reformierte Religionsunterricht hat es Freud mithin ermöglicht, sich ohne katechetische Reglementierung den biblischen Text freier anzueignen und seinen eigenen Zugang zu ihm finden zu können. Von den Ergebnissen dieses Kapitels aus, die nahelegen, dass Freud über mehrere Jahre Hebräischunterricht hatte und zumindest des Lesens der „heiligen Sprache“ kundig gewesen ist, stellt sich die Frage, warum er immer wieder behauptet hat, er habe diese Sprache nie erlernt. Eine begründete Antwort auf diese Frage lässt sich aber nur im Gesamtzusammenhang seiner frühen Entwicklung finden.

Im *vierten Kapitel* möchte ich in einer Art Miniatur- und Spezial-Biografie der Entwicklung von Freuds jüdischem Selbstverständnis über die Zeit seiner Lebensspanne nachgehen. Ein klarer Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf seiner frühen Entwicklung, und es soll gezeigt werden, dass die Beziehung zu seinen Eltern höchst disparaten Mustern folgte, die in ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit einen großen Einfluss auf sein Verhältnis zum jüdischen Glauben, zur Jüdischen Bibel sowie zur hebräischen Sprache ausgeübt haben. Während Freud in der Beziehung zu seinem Vater ambivalenzfähig war, gegen ihn revoltieren und seinen Tod betrauern sowie überhaupt in der Auseinandersetzung mit ihm seine eigensinnige jüdische Identität ausformen konnte, war das Verhältnis zu seiner Mutter durch tiefgreifende und traumatische Verluste geprägt, die, so lautet eine zentrale These dieses Kapitels, zu einem Glaubens- und Sprachverlust geführt hat. Freud konnte sich nie von ihr lösen und den Tod seiner Mutter, die zeitlebens eine große Intoleranz gegenüber eigentlich allen Verlusten und Trennungserfahrungen zeigte, nie betrauern. Die Beziehung zu ihr ließ sich nicht transformieren, was sich nicht zuletzt auch darin zeigt, dass Freud nie zur theoretischen Konzeption einer eigenständigen weiblichen Entwicklung durchdringen konnte und Zeit seines Lebens an einer blanden Idealisierung der Mutter-Sohn-Beziehung festgehalten hat. Es war die ausgleichende Beziehung zu seinem Vater, die in eine intensive gemeinsame Lektüre der Bibel eingebunden war, die ihm geholfen hat, sich trotz des erwähnten Glaubens- und

Sprachverlustes als Jude verstehen zu können. Allerdings war dieses Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit, wie weiter oben schon angedeutet, Schwankungen unterworfen: Sie reichte von der Abwendung von und dem Angriff auf die jüdische Tradition in der Zeit seiner Adoleszenz und seines frühen Erwachsenenlebens über ihre Wiederaneignung nach dem Tod seines Vaters 1896, von seiner anfänglichen Bereitschaft in der Beziehung zu Carl Gustav Jung und den Schweizer Psychiatern, psychoanalytische *Schibboleths* für die akademisch-universitäre Anerkennung der Psychoanalyse als Wissenschaft zu opfern, über die mit Schuldgefühlen und Wiedergutmachungswünschen verbundene Neuentdeckung der Figur des Moses in der Zeit der Trennung von Jung bis hin zu einer breiten Rückkehr zu sowohl der biblischen als auch der talmudischen Tradition seit spätestens dem Beginn der 1930er Jahre.

Im *fünften Kapitel* werde ich schließlich der Frage, wie sich die biblische und talmudische Tradition in Freuds Denken und Schreiben niedergeschlagen hat, anhand einer detaillierteren Analyse zweier seiner wichtigsten, wenn nicht gar *der* wichtigsten Werke nachgehen: der *Traumdeutung* (Freud, 1900a) und *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion* (Freud, 1939a). Wie bereits weiter oben angesprochen, nehmen diese Bücher den jüdischen Welt- und Schriftzugang breit auf und entfalten in der Analyse des Traumtextes und der biblischen Schriften das Szenario einer talmudischen Hermeneutik, in der kein vor- oder festgeschriebener Sinn vorausgesetzt wird, der bloß zu aufzufinden ist, sondern der plastische Sinn in der Beziehung zwischen Text und Leserinnen und Lesern stets aufs Neue geschaffen und fortgeschrieben werden muss. Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass die Freud'sche Psychoanalyse diejenige zeitgenössische Wissenschaft ist, die das biblisch-talmudische Erbe wie wohl keine andere in sich aufgenommen hat und es mit ganz eigenen Mitteln und Vorzeichen transformiert hat. Zugleich aber ist die Psychoanalyse derjenige Diskurs, der fortgesetzt in der Gefahr steht, das talmudische Erbe durch seine eigene Institutionalisierung zu versiegeln (siehe dazu Bruckstein, o.J.) – eine Gefahr, der bereits Freud erlegen ist, die im Nationalsozialismus zur zerstörerischen Realität wurde und auch im Nachkriegsdeutschland durch ihre breite Medizinalisierung und Professionalisierung mehr als virulent ist. Ja, man könnte sogar sagen, dass erst der Talmud verschwinden musste, damit sich die „talmudische Denkweise“ (Abraham) weitgehend unerkannt in die Psychoanalyse einnisten und dort seine Zerstörung beschädigt überleben konnte.

Selbständigkeitserklärung:

Ich versichere, dass die von mir vorgelegte Arbeit selbständig verfasst wurde und bei der Abfassung nur die in der Dissertation angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt sowie alle wörtlich oder inhaltlich übernommenen Stellen als solche gekennzeichnet wurden.

Datum: 30. März 2023

Unterschrift

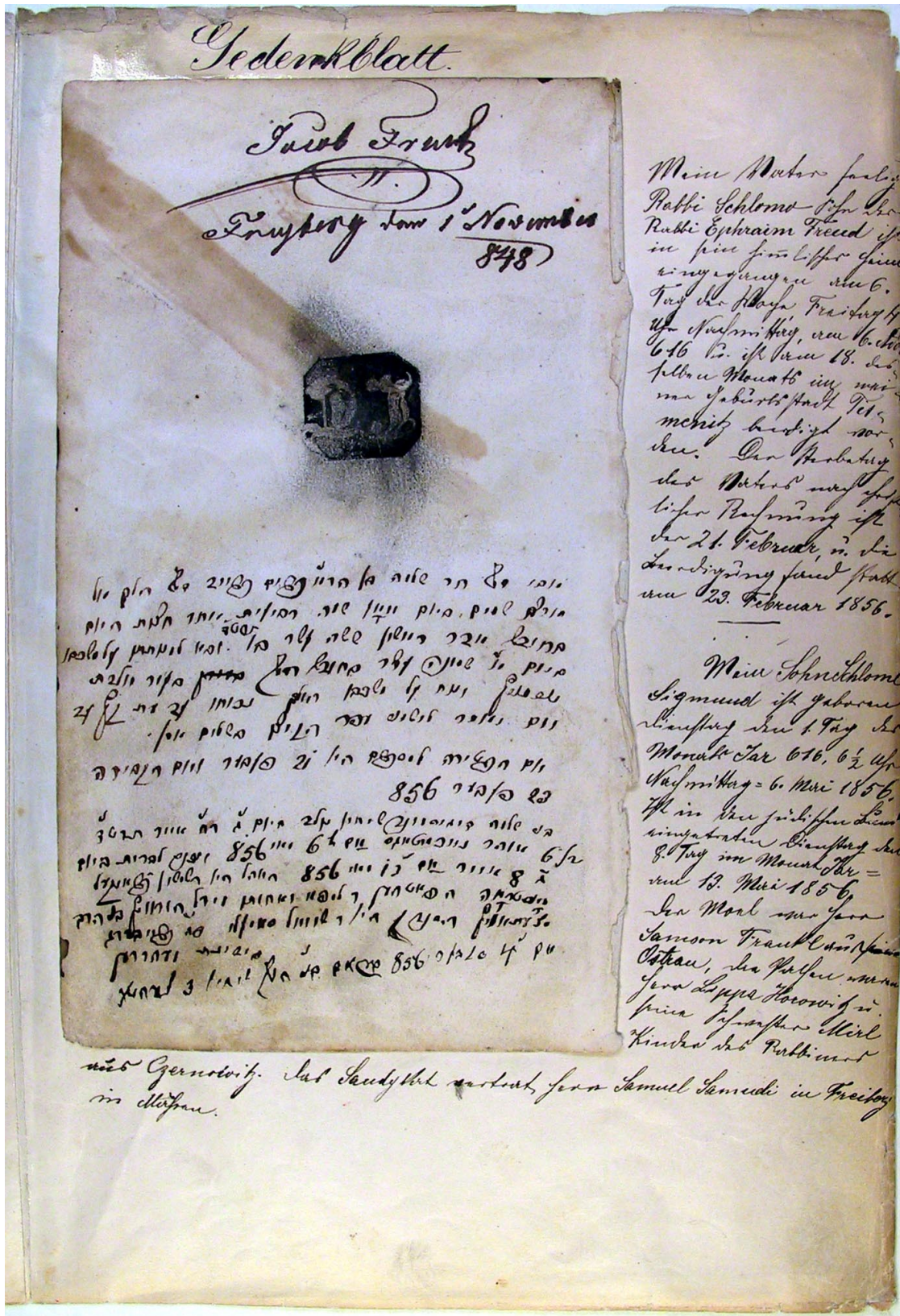


Fig. 1: "Gedenkblatt" with Jacob Freud's early entries about the death of his father, the birth and circumcision of his son, and his first teething (in: Davies & Fichtner 2006, S. 41 und CD-Rom, p1848)

Markrabství moravské
Markgraffthum Mähren

Kraj
Okres
s. k. Gerichtsamt

Tisíc osm set
Cinčtáentacht Hundert

v domě číslo
Dane-Nr.

50

GRUND
NUMMER
002607

odně a křesťanský list. Geburts- u. Taufschein.

zdejší matriky narozených a pokřtěných tom VIII. pag. 7. se tímto úředně dokazuje, že léta Páně:
dem dießparthlichen Geburts- u. Taufregister Tom. pag. wird ämlich bezeugt, daß im Jahre des Heils:

sechshundertfünfzig 1856 dne 6^{ten} Maj zde v Freiberg (Příboř)
am 6^{ten} Maj hier in de Freiberg (Příboř)

narozen a dne 13^{ten} Maj od Herrn Samson Frankel
geboren und am 13^{ten} Maj von Herrn Samson Frankel
aus Mäh. Ohean

die römisch-katholische Kirche polikien byl
nach römisch-katholischer Ritus getauft worden ist:
beschrieben worden ist:

Jméno dítěte Name des Kindes	Náboženství Religion	Mandický, an- maandický syn neb dcera Sohn oder Tochter	Otec: Jeho křestní a rodné jméno, star, bydlící a ná- hodovní, jak jeho otec křestní a rodné jméno, star a bydlící, a jeho matky jméno a příjmení Vater: Zach- u. Familien-Nam, Stand, Wohnort u. Religion, oder dessen Vaters Zach- u. Familien-Nam, Stand u. Wohnort, u. der Mutter Zach- u. Familien-Nam	Matka: Její křestní jméno, náboženství a zda-li vdána jest či svobodná neb vdova? Jejího otce křestní a rodné jméno, star a bydlící, její matky jméno a příjmení Mutter: Zach-Nam, Religion, obverheiratet, ledig oder Wittwe, Nam deren Vaters Zach- u. Familien-Nam, Stand u. Wohnort, u. der Mutter Zach- u. Familien-Nam	Kmotra jediná, star a bydlící Der Pathe- Name, Stand u. Wohnort	Bábov byla Gebamme
Sigismund mor. chelobiter Religion Sohn			Jakob Freud Handelsmann in Freiberg Sohn des Salomon Freud Handelmannnes und der Ehegattin Poppi geb. Hoffmann aus Tysme- chitz - mos. Rel.	Amalia, Tochter des Jakob Nathansohn, Handelsagenten in Wien, und seiner Ehe- gattin Sara geb. Wi- lenz aus Brody - mos. Rel.	Lipeffowitz in dessen Schweser Jgl. Mira aus Pernowitz -	Carilia Smolka aus Frei- berg Nr. 114.

Důkazem toho budíž mojí vlastnoruční podpis a pečet úřední.
Urkund dessen ist des Gefertigten eigenhändige Namens-Unterschrift und das beigedruckte Amtssiegel.

Dáno v Freiberg (Příboř) dne 19^{ten} Juli 1856

P. Ant. G. Sijan
Caplan-Matrikenführer

1301

Tisk a tiskal J. V. Kolesa v Třebíči

Fig. 2: Sigismund Freud's birth certificate (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (2) //www.loc.gov/exhibits/freud/images/vc008101.jpg)

אן יארן אלגע
סלאן קונט דע חויף החלנות ב' אדוק
זכור סך זק נמו קססדי אשך פתחה
ויקנלו אן ודוקת קוים בזה והלס
ספד הספדע התו גאן תו חפוי
ומחוקים אבו בזה נלס
ומבד לבי תגרת סוף ונסות דלת
ומבד על ספד הרות
ילויז הירק הספר כיום סלסמו אמת
מורקן דבר
אוק נלסנו סמק אפולק ואלוקס
מתו עלו יפה דור קבל
ומתו אן עלו פונר אן אר
ומי ריפת אדעק אבדיון
אולסרת וועק
אודעק וועמת עלק וקס ארס פויג
פאר הסרת וועק פ'ס אפן תרגו סוויקע

Fig. 3: Jacob Freud's "Widmungsschreiben" to Sigmund Freud on his 35th birthday (in: Yerushalmi, 1992, S. 116 and E. Freud et al., 1974, S. 134)

My Dear ~~Son~~

My dear son! *Mein Sohn Jakob*
It was in the seventh year of your age that the spirit of God began to move you to learning I would say the spirit of God speaketh to you - make thee up and read in my book, there will be opened to thee the sources of sciences and of intellect; It is the book of the books, it is the well that wise men have digged and lawgivers have drawn the water of their knowledge.

Thou hast seen, in this book, the vision of the Almighty, thou hast heard willingly, thou hast done and hast tried to fly high upon the wings of the holy spirit. From this time I have taken this book - the same Bible - to keep it in my armoury, and as this Bible was several volumes and in bad condition I preserved them as they were - the broken tables of Moses.

On the thirty-fifth year of your age - on your birthday - I brought it out of its retirement; having renewed it I send it to you, as a token of love; from your old father

5/5 - 9

Fig. 4: English translation of Jacob Freud's dedication (in: Davies & Fichtner 2006, S. 42, CD-Rom, p 1848b)

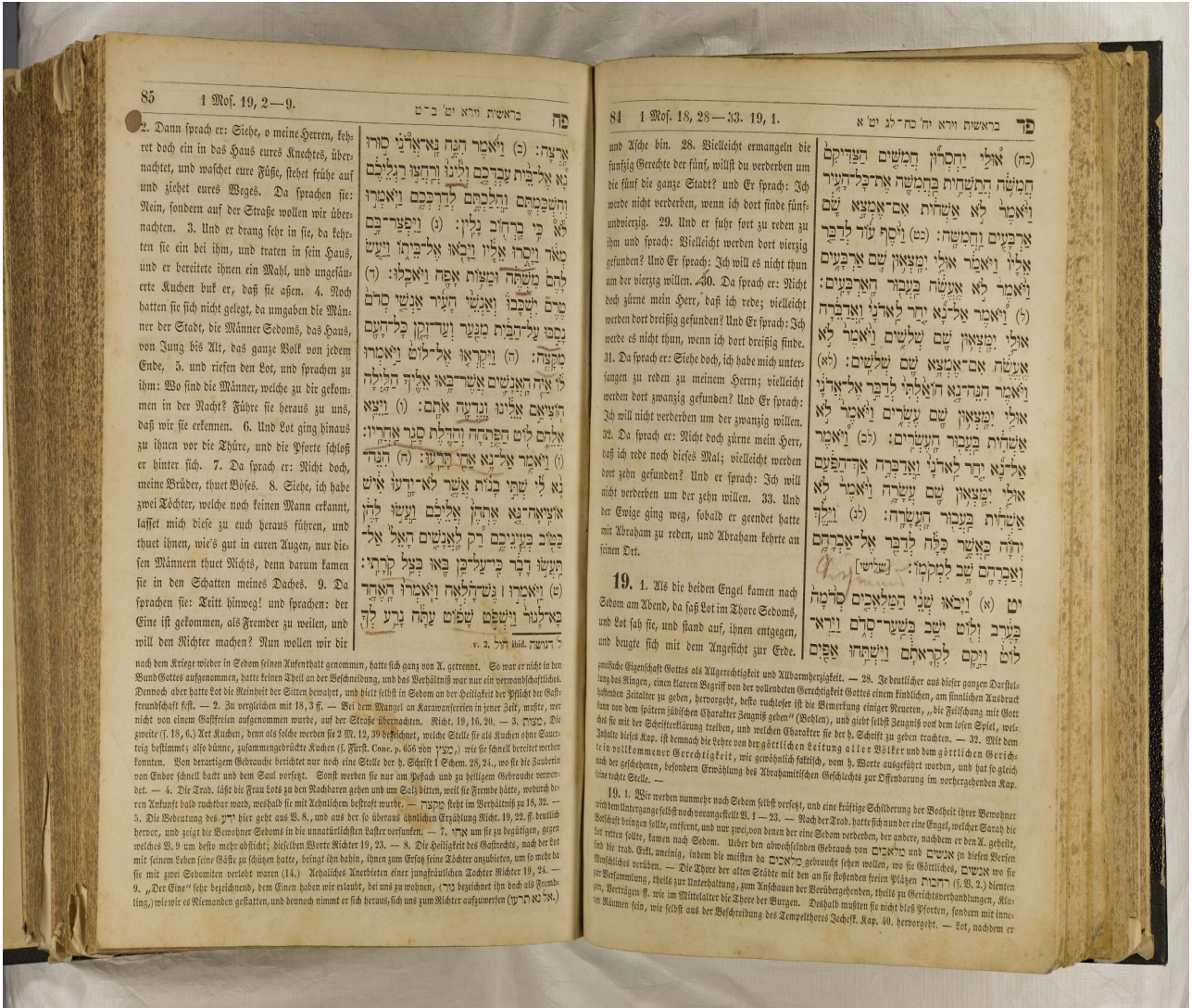


Fig. 5: Photographic print of a page from the Family Bible with underlining and an annotation (the photographic print was made available to me by Bryony Davies of the Freud Museum London)



Fig. 6: Photographic print of a page from the Family Bible with annotations and a colouring of an English woodcut (from the viewer the right horn) (the photographic print was made available to me by Bryony Davies of the *Freud Museum London*)



Fig. 7: Sigismund Freud at the age of about eight with his father (<https://www.freud.org.uk/photo-library/freud-family/>)

Mein lieber Jüngster
 Josef Alexander
 Ich bin sehr glücklich dass du
 2.7 die Geburtstag der Eltern
 und übergeben die Arbeit
 den geliebtesten Glückwunsch
 und wünsche Gott dir alle
 Segnungen und dir alle die
 feine Arbeit und wünsche die
 nachkommende glückselig
 Amen

Dein geliebter übergeben ich
 die, geliebtesten Eltern
 = schiedlich sehr Aufmerksam
 ich, den 19. April 1893
 mein Jüngster, dich von der
 geliebtesten Arbeit der Eltern
 soll dir sein der Eltern
 nicht vergessen mich die
 = nach Voll
 da du ein 2.7 Geburtstag
 = 1.2.1893 wünsche dir
 und alle Segnungen die
 nachkommen sollen dir
 nachkommen
 Amen

Dein liebster Vater
 Jakob Freud
 Wien 19^{te} April 1893

IX. Grünthorgasse 14.

Fig. 8: Front and back of the birthday letter from Jacob to Alexander Freud dated 19 April 1893 (in: Goodnick, 1993, S. 260)



Fig. 9: Title page of the *Blitz Bible*. From: Yiddische Drucke der Universitäts-Bibliothek Frankfurt / Main (<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/jd/content/pageview/1698621>).



Fig. 10: Two pages from Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch (<https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/BookDetailsPL?bi=30012928915#&gid=1&pid=3>)



Fig. 11: The first page from the tractate *Berakhot* of the Vilna edition of the Talmud, which has already been quoted several times (<https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talmud>)



Fig. 12: A page of the 2nd Mikraot Gedolot, the Second Rabbinical Bible by Jacob Ben Chajim Ibn Adonija from 1524, with a passage from the Book of Bereshit / Genesis 41 in the middle, according to the original Hebrew and Targum Onkelos, framed by the commentaries of Rashi (right) and Abraham ibn Ezra (left) (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mikraot_Gedolot#/media/Datei:Jacob_Ben_Chajim_Ibn_Adonijah_1524.jpg)

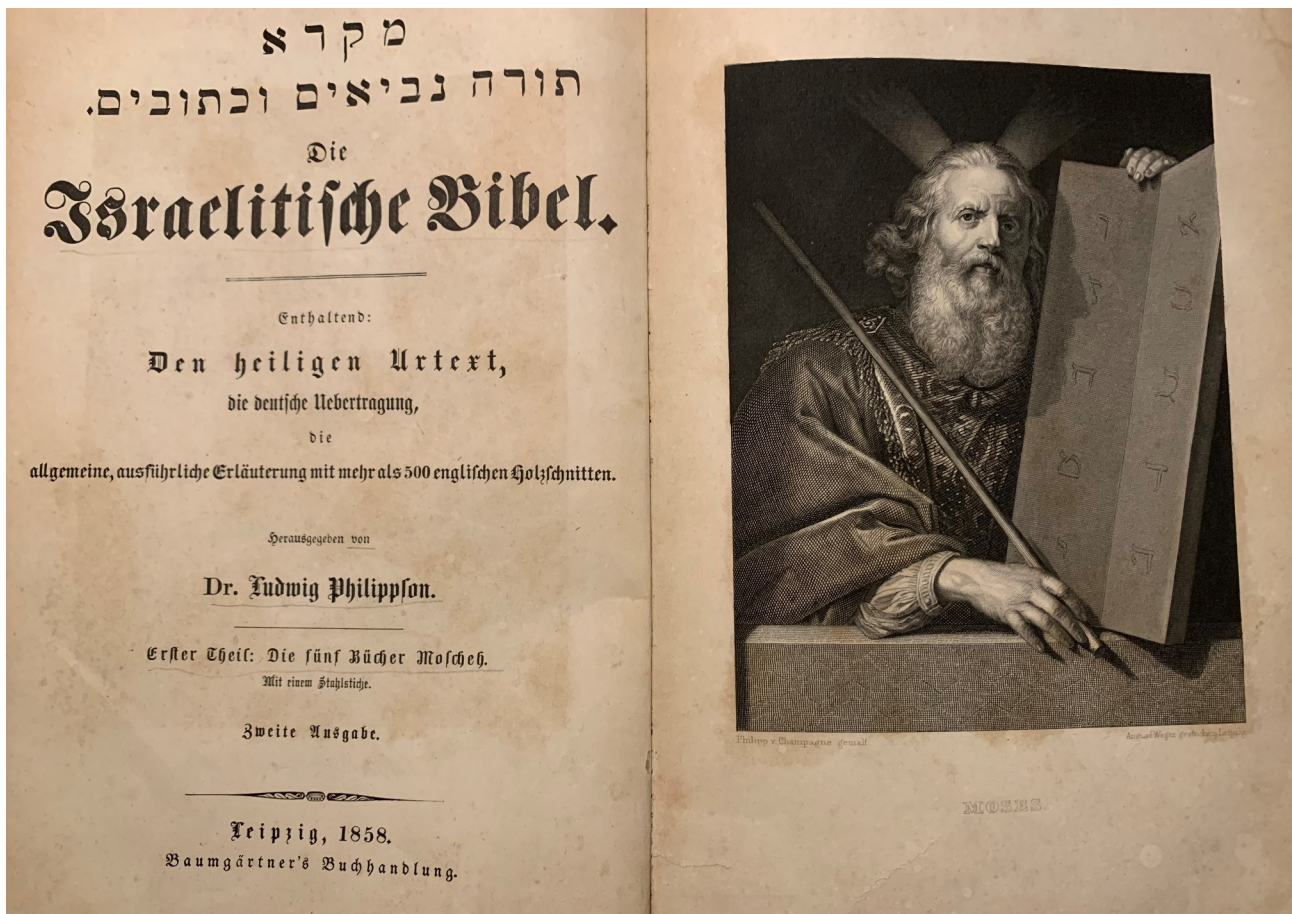


Fig. 13: Title page and frontispiece of the first volume of *Philippon's Bible* (own photographic imprint)

רֵאשִׁית לַמּוֹדִים.

(Reschit Limmudim.)

Hebräische Bibel

von

Rudolf Fuchs.

Erste Abteilung: Die Leselehre.

Dreißigste Auflage.

Inhaltlich unveränderter, nach der neuen Rechtschreibung hergestellter Abdruck
der mit dem Erlasse des hohen k. k. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unter-
richt vom 26. Februar 1869, Z. 1144 approbierten ersten Auflage.

Preis gebunden 32 Heller.

Wien 1911.

Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers.

(Früher im k. k. Schulbücher-Verlage.)

Fig. 14: A Hebrew reading primer from the late 1860s (here in the 13th edition of 1911, the contents of which have not been changed) (own photographic imprint)

Schuljahr 1864/5

1/ Religions - Classe.

Prüfung

Nr.	Namen der Schüler	Namen der Aeltern oder Vormünder	Geburtsort und Vaterland	Wohnung hier	Semester	Betragen	Fleiss	Aufmerksamkeit	Anzahl der versäumten Lehrstunden	Haupt-Classe im Zeugnisse	Anmerkungen
	Chrenkel Zore	Hain	Wien		1						
					2					lob	
	Järker Loy	Tyrol	Rasch		1						
					2					13	
	Jechner Rud	gebj	Wien		1						
					2					13	
	fischer Gm?	Jf	"		1						
					2					9	
	Jew Siz	Jae	Talji		1						
					2					19	
	fischer Auf	Jf	Wien		1						
					2					lob	
	Bränkel				1						

Fig. 15: Extract with details of private religious instruction in the school year 1864-65 (the photographic print was made available to me by Yochai Ben-Ghedalia and Miriam Caloianu of The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP) in Jerusalem)

III. Gymnasium und Realgymnasium.

I. Classe.

1. Semest. a) 4. B. M. Cap. VI (V. 22—27), X (V. 29—35), XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV (V. 37—41), XVI, XVII (V. 6—27), XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV (bis V. 14), XXV (V. 10—15), XXVII, XXXII (bis V. 34).
 b) Uebersetzung der Gebete: Psalm 92 und 93, die Tephila für Freitag Abend.
 c) Grammatik: פִּי, פִּי וְשִׁלְמוֹם וְקָל

I. Classe.

2. „ a) 5. B. M., Cap. I, II, (bis V. 10), III (von V. 18 zu Ende), IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X (von V. 12 zu Ende).
 b) Uebersetzung der Gebete: Gebete beim Aus- und Einheben der Thora, קְרוּשַׁת נְעִירִיצָד.
 c) Grammatik: קָל der עֵינַי וְדַהּ פִּי, פִּי וְעֵינַי

II. Classe.

1. Semest. a) 5. B. M., Cap. XI, XII, (mit Hinweglassung der Verse 20—23), XIII (bis V. 7), XIV (mit Hinweglassung der V. 12—18), XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI (bis V. 9 und von V. 22 zu Ende), XXII (bis V. 11), XXIII, (von V. 20 zu Ende), XXIV (von V. 6 zu Ende), XXV (von V. 1—5 und von V. 13 zu Ende), XXVI, XXIX (von V. 9 zu Ende).
 b) Biblische Geschichte: Wiederholung der Geschichte bis zum Tode Josua's.
 c) Uebersetzung der Gebete: יָבֵא לְצִיּוֹן אֱשֶׁרִי וְאֵנִי תַפְלִיתִי.
 d) Grammatik: פִּי וְשִׁלְמוֹם וְקָל sämtlicher Classen, פִּי וְשִׁלְמוֹם וְקָל

II. Classe.

2. Semest. a) 5. B. M. Cap. XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIV, Josua, Cap. I, IX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, Richter Cap. IV, VIII, IX.
 b) Biblische Geschichte: Vom Tode Josua's bis zum Tode Saul's.
 c) Uebersetzung der Gebete: מוֹסַף לִגְּדוּלֵים תַפְלִית מְנַחֵה לַשַּׁבָּת.
 d) Grammatik: פִּי וְשִׁלְמוֹם וְקָל der übrigen Classen, Flexion der Hauptwörter.

III. Classe.

1. „ a) Sam. A. I, II (bis V. 11), VIII (bis V. 11), XII, XV, XVI, XX, XXV, XXVIII, Reg. A, VIII.
 b) Biblische Geschichte: Vom Tode Sauls bis zum Untergange des Reiches Israel.
 c) Uebersetzung der Gebete: הַלֵּל.
 d) Grammatik: Flexion der Hauptwörter, הַפְעִיל, הַפְעִיל פִּי וְשִׁלְמוֹם וְקָל

III. Classe.

2. „ a) Reg. A, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXI, Reg. B. IV, XVIII, XIX, ferner im Anschlusse an die jeweiligen geschichtlichen Anknüpfungspunkte: Jes. I (bis V. 21), X (von V. 5—18), Micha VI (bis V. 9), Jer. VII (bis V. 16), XXII (V. 10—18), XXV (bis V. 15), XXIX (bis V. 8).
 b) Biblische Geschichte: Bis zum babilionischen Exile.
 c) Grammatik: הַפְעִיל der übrigen, הַפְעִיל וְהַפְעִיל sämtlicher Classen.
 d) Uebersetzung der Gebete: תַפְלֵה לְרֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה אֲבֵל אֲנַחְנוּ הַמָּאֲנוּ תַפְלֵה לְיוֹם נַפְוֹר.

IV. Classe. (auch I. Oberrealschul-Classe.)

1. Semest. a) Wiederholung des Pentateuchs: 1. B. M. bis Cap. 25.
 b) Ausgewählte Sprüche aus den Sprüchen Salomo's bis Cap. 18. (Das Verzeichniss der Sprüche, welche in der Schule genommen werden, liegt im Bibliothekszimmer auf).
 c) Systematischer Religionsunterricht. Nach Breuer's Leitfaden. 1. Theil. *)

IV. Classe.

2. „ a) Wiederholung des Pentateuchs: 1. B. M. von Cap. 27 zu Ende.
 b) Ausgewählte Sprüche aus den Sprüchen Salomo's von Cap. 18 zu Ende.
 c) Systematischer Religionsunterricht. Nach Breuer's Leitfaden. 2. Theil. *)

V. Classe (auch II. Oberrealschul-Classe.)

1. Semest. a) Wiederholung des Pentateuchs 2. B. M. bis Cap. 17.
 b) Psalm 1, 2, 3, 15, 19, 23, 24, 29, 33, 42, 48.
 c) Geschichte der Juden: Vom babylonischen Exile bis zum Regierungsantritte Johann Hyrkan's.

V. Classe.

2. „ a) Wiederholung des Pentateuchs: 2. B. M. von Cap. 17 zu Ende.
 b) Psalm 49, 50, 84, 90, 91, 92, 93, 104, 105.
 c) Geschichte der Juden: Vom Regierungsantritte Hyrkans bis zu den Herodäern.

VI. Classe. (auch III. Oberrealschul-Classe.)

1. Semest. a) Wiederholung des Pentateuchs: 3. B. M. von Cap. 10 zu Ende.

*) Man vergleiche die gleichzeitig mit diesem Programme erscheinende ausführliche Erläuterung desselben.

- b) Psalm 107, 114, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 133, 137, 139.
 c) Geschichte der Juden: Von den Herodäern bis zum Abschlusse der Mischna.

VI. Classe.

2. Semest. a) Wiederholung des Pentateuch 4. B. M.
 b) Jes. 1, 2, 3, (bis V. 13) 5, 6, 10 (von V. 6) 11, 12, 40.
 c) Geschichte der Juden: Bis zum Abschlusse des Talmuds.

Fig. 16: The curriculum of religious education in the version by Samuel Hammerschlag (the photographic prints were made available to me by Domagoj Akrap of the Jewish Museum Vienna)

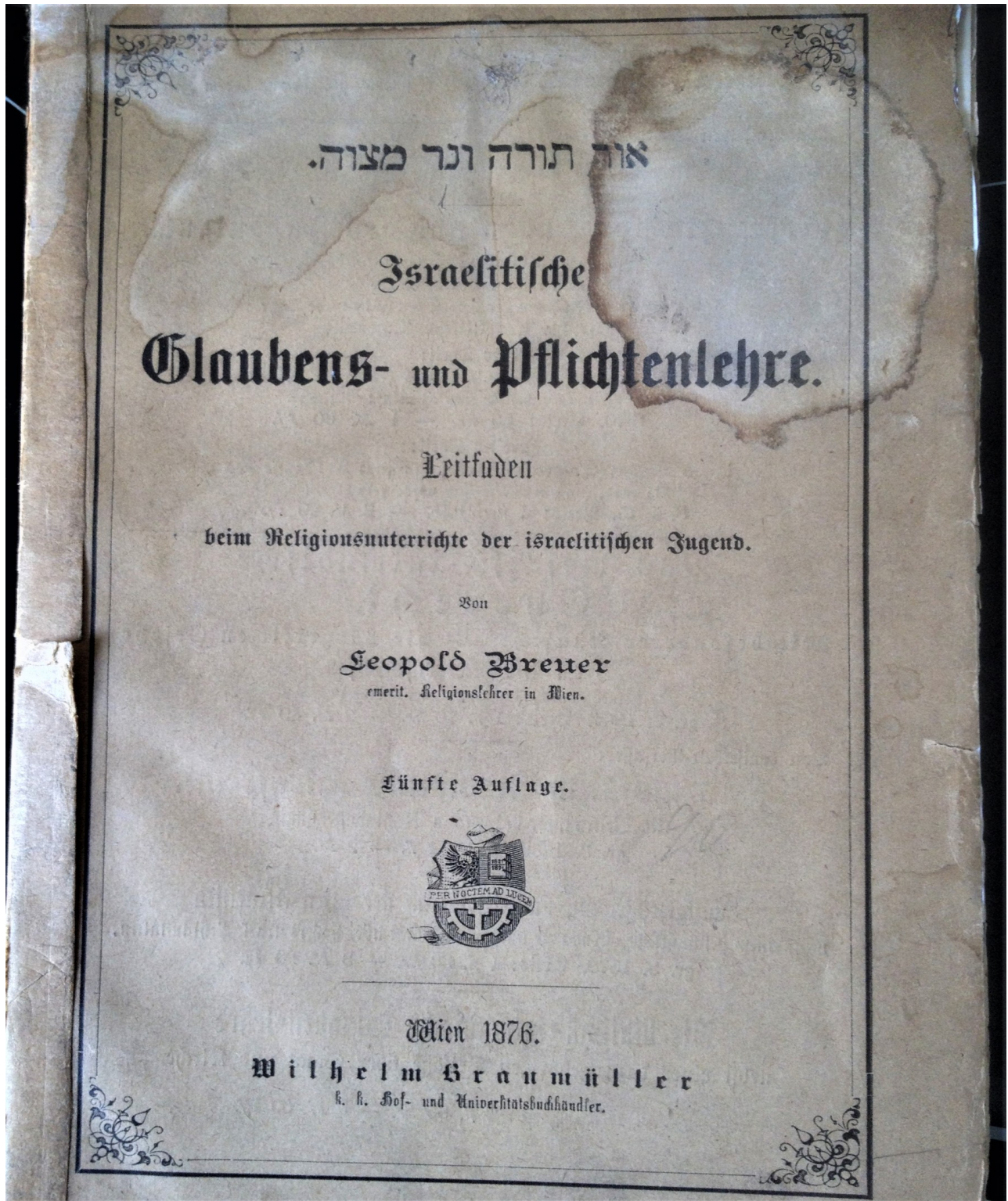


Fig. 17: Leopold Breuer's textbook for religious education in grammar schools (own photographic imprint)



Fig. 18: Jacob Freud's picture of old age (from: <https://www.wikitree.com/photo/jpg/Freud-16>)

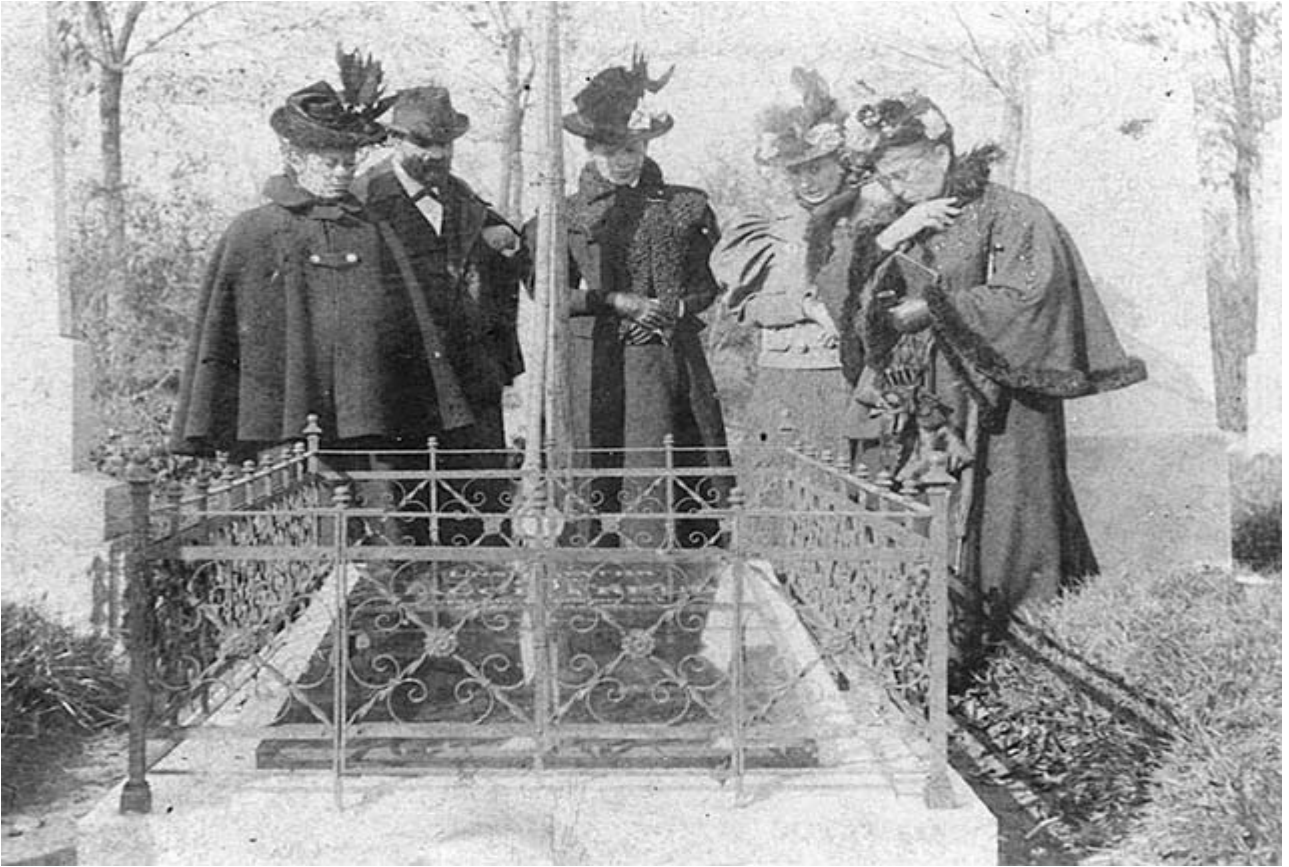


Fig. 19: Sigmund Freud with his mother and three of his sisters at his father's grave in 1897 (<https://www.freud.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/in844.jpg>)