Young Manhood and Early Maturity: 1882-1900

WE NOW TAKE UP what will prove for our topic to be the most important years in Freud's life: his late 20s, his 30s, and his early 40s. These were his adult years before his major ideas were published and before he became a public figure. At the end of this period he was engaged in founding psychoanalysis, but throughout this time Freud was an ambitious but unknown physician-scientist struggling to make a name.

Engagement Letters: Easter, Pentecost, and Other Christian Themes

Freud and Martha Bernays became engaged in June 1882 and were married when Freud was 30 and his wife 25, in September 1886.[1] Schur comments in his biography on this four-year engagement (a period that ended when Freud was in a financial position to support a family): "To the dismay of the lovers, but to the delight of future biographers and critics, Freud and his beloved were separated most of the time. Freud wrote to her practically every day."[2] These letters tell us much about Freud's attitude toward religion when, in his late 20s, he was preoccupied with his fiancée and with furthering his scientific research career. Eissler calls this time of Freud's engagement a *"Sturm und Drang"* period.[3] The immediately preceding years at the University found Freud "vacillating in his interests, doubtful about his place in the world and mildly hypochondriacal,"[4] though under no great psychological tension. But Freud during his engagement is well described by Eissler as "passionately ambitious, acutely rivalrous, and suffering from spells of short-lasting, almost pathological jealousy."[5] It was also a time in which Freud was frequently depressed and hopeless almost to the point of despair. Elements of these reactions can be seen in the correspondence quoted below.

A major contributor to these reactions, especially to the jealousy and depression, was almost certainly Freud's separation anxiety. This old anxiety would have been reactivated by the fact that his assiduously courted fiancée left Vienna the day after their engagement and returned with her mother for a 12-week stay at Wandsbek near Hamburg in northern Germany. Later, in June of the next year, the Bernays moved back

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[1] Jones (1953, pp. 98 ff.).
[2] Schur (1972, p. 30).
[3] Eissler (1971, p. 233)
[4] Eissler (1971, pp. 233-234).
[5] Eissler (1971, p. 234).

to Wandsbek.[6] (The Bernays were Orthodox Jews who had rather recently moved from Hamburg to Vienna, and the mother always preferred the northern city. It is, moreover, likely that Freud's future mother-in-law was unenthusiastic about Sigmund. After all, he was a poor man; a free-thinker who rejected Jewish practices; and a man who brooked no rivals for Martha's allegiance.[7])

The woman to whom he wrote the letters is of great relevance, and I pause here to provide some information about her background and character. Martha Bernays was a petite, attractive girl who came from a culturally distinguished Jewish family. Her grandfather, Isaac Bernays, had been the chief Rabbi of Hamburg, and had fought actively in the 1840s against the Jewish Reform movement, which had been especially strong at the time.[8] Grandfather Bernays was a friend of the great writer Heinrich Heine, and the Bernays were related to Heine through marriage.[9] Two of Isaac's sons, Martha's uncles, went into academic life; one, Michael Bernays, became a professor at the University of Munich. He reached this rank in part because he converted to Christianity.[10] Some such conversions were deeply religious, while others involved only modest religious elements, but commonly they were primarily motivated by personal expedience. Because of official barriers to them, many Jews whose faith was not strong converted to remove hindrances to their advancement. Heine himself converted, and apparently his conversion was of the type that involved some small amount of genuine religious motivation.[11] The other Bernays brother and Martha's father both remained true to their Jewish heritage.[12]

Martha's father Berman, who had died prior to Freud's meeting Martha,[13] had been a merchant, and his family was decidedly Jewish; the parents have been described as adhering to the strict rules of Orthodox Judaism.[14] (Martin Freud has also described Emmeline Bernays, Martha's mother, as Orthodox.[15]) The Jewish Sabbath and holidays were regularly observed in the Bernays home.[16] Martha herself does not appear to have been strongly religious in any intellectual sense, but she had a deep family loyalty, was observant, and had almost certainly a respect and love for the traditional observances. Although Martha was quite capable of standing up to Freud, she nevertheless went along with the rejection of religious observances in family life.[17] In the Sigmund Freud household there were no Jewish observances. Martha acquiesced in this with a reluctance that remained throughout their long and in many ways successful marriage. On this issue, Roazen writes:

> In 1938 Martha and Freud were still carrying on a long-standing humorous (and yet serious)

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[6] Letters (p. 7, note).
[7] Jones (1953, pp. 101, 116-118, 120).
[8] Jones (1953, pp. 100-101).
[9] Jones (1953, pp. 100-101).
[10] Jones (1953, p. 101).
[11] Heine's baptism and subsequent complex attitude toward the German Christianity of his day were well known in Freud's time. See Clark (1980, p. 12); see also Chapter 6 of this volume (note 161).
[12] Jones (1953, p. 101).
[13] Jones (1953, p. 101).
[14] Jones (1953, p. 116).
[15] M. Freud (1957, p. 13).
[16] Rainey (1975, p. 63).
[17] Jones (1953, Ch. 7, e.g., pp. 110, 116, 118-119).

argument over the issue of lighting candles on Friday evening; Martha joked at Freud's monstrous stubbornness which prevented her from performing the ritual, while he firmly maintained that the practice was foolish and superstitious.[18]

Jones makes it clear that over Jewish practices there was some real conflict between Freud and Martha's family.[19] In going against such practices, Freud was taking risks with respect to his relationship with Martha and her mother, Emmeline: He was jeopardizing his marriage plans, for Martha was a seriously practicing Jew.

It is important for the reader to keep several points in mind as we examine these letters. They were, of course, Freud's love letters to his fiancée. But they were far more than simple expressions of affection. They were interesting, disturbing, often moving expressions of Freud's character and philosophy of life. In these letters, he was implicitly introducing himself to his future wife, letting her know what kind of man he was, telling her about his emotions, his values, his aspirations. At times we find hints that he was trying to look unrealistically good, but, considering the tendency for all lovers to misrepresent themselves in this way, Freud's letters were models of frankness; they were (and are), in addition, impressive examples of literary expression.

We may begin by noting a general—and striking—religious quality to the correspondence. All told, there are 94 published letters from Freud to Martha (some 1500 love letters were written and saved; only this group of 94 has been published),[20] and one is struck by the surprising number of references to God or to the Bible that are scattered throughout. For a "natural atheist," Freud certainly referred to what he did not believe in rather often. Here are a number of examples[21]:

May God punish him for it. (Letter 4)
…as I have always expected Christian Fürchtegott [fear of God] Gellert to look. (Letter 6)
…as if…they…lived in fear of God. (Letter 6)
…fear of God…love of God…love of God…Joy of God… (Letter 7)
[and also other references to God, all in an explicitly positive Jewish context] the Almighty. (Letter 8)
the Bible. (Letter 16)
…he is a miserable devil living by the grace of God's patience. (Letter 31) [in this statement, "he" and "a miserable devil" referred to Freud.]
They are, thank God… (Letter 40)
May we never have another like it. Amen. (Letter 50)
…the privilege of the Almighty that to Him… (Letter 52, to Minna Bernays, Martha's sister)
God only knows what I owe him already! (Letter 65) ["Him" was a friend—or was it God?]
I am quite calm and very curious about how the dear Lord is going to bring us together again.[22] [In this letter of March 1885, Freud was in an atypical confident mood.]
…and God was on their side. (Letter 85) ["Their" refers to the Biblical patriarchs.]
Thank God it's over. (Letter 94)

These references to God, even if just "figures of speech," were typically made in contexts where they were far from required by the sense of the topic. In addition, these expressions almost always conveyed considerable affect. Only in a pre-Freudian

[18] Roazen (1975, p. 48).
[19] Jones (1953, Ch. 7, e.g., pp. 118-119).
[20] Jones (1953, Ch. 14); see also Letters.
[21] All of the examples in this list are from Letters, except where indicated.
[22] Jones (1953, p. 171).

mentality can they be considered as "unimportant"; it was Freud himself who taught us to take such things seriously.

It is the specifically Christian nature of Freud's interests and preoccupations that is of the greatest relevance to us. Let us begin by looking at Freud's references to Whitsunday, or Pentecost.[23] At the end of a lengthy letter, written on May 29, 1884, he concluded as follows:

> Fond Pentecost greetings, darling. What memories this season brings back—precious, lovely ones, and some bitter ones as well. If only you had stayed here! Your leaving will cost me part of my life. I shall be with you for your birthday, after all.
>
> Once more, a fond Pentecost greeting from
> Your
> Sigmund[24]

The holiday of Pentecost, usually occurring in May, is of course distinctly Christian, and is seldom referred to outside of its religious significance. (Pentecost is the day that marks the descent of the Holy Spirit to the early Christian community—the Apostles, Mary, and the faithful—50 days after Easter.) In Catholic Moravia, Pentecost was a most important holiday, in some respects rivaling Easter.[25] Since Pentecost was also celebrated throughout the Austrian Empire, it inevitably became a fact of life for everyone, Christian or not. But Freud's reference here was far from a simple factual one; instead, it was quite emotional and fervent. Twice, he explicitly extended "fond Pentecost greetings" to Martha. For a secular Jew to have written this to his decidedly Jewish fiancée is most peculiar indeed. One also notes in the passage in question that Freud referred to memories in such a way as to suggest a more distant time than merely the two years during which Freud had been engaged to Martha. (Freud presumably experienced Pentecost with his Czech nanny.) The concern with separation, combined with "precious, lovely…and some bitter" memories, can, I believe, be best understood as a redintegration of Freud's association of the season of Pentecost with the loss of his nanny as described in Chapter One brought on by the present separation from his fiancée. Freud's reaction to Martha's absence is so peculiar that its link to his early separation trauma seems certain. He writes:

> a frightful yearning—frightful yearning is hardly the right word, better would be uncanny, monstrous, ghastly, gigantic; in short, an indescribable longing for you.[26]

The theme of Pentecost appeared many times throughout Freud's life. All through his various correspondences, he referred to this feast often, generally to suggest a time of year for a meeting or reunion. (In his letters, it was always Freud who initiated the use of the word "Pentecost"; very occasionally, his correspondent would *then* use it once or twice as well.) In a letter to Martha a year later at Pentecost (May 26, 1885), Freud

[23] The German word is *Pfingsten*; hence "Pentecost" is the better translation. "Whitsun(day)" is peculiar to Anglican England.
[24] Letters (p. 112).
[25] Pentecost was an ancient Jewish holiday but there is no evidence that it was celebrated in the Jewish world of 19th-century Eastern Europe. Its Moravian significance was described to me by Rutar (personal communication, 1983); Nemec (personal communication, 1983).
[26] August 1882 letter quoted in Jones (1953, p. 169).

again brought up the subject:

> My precious darling,
> It would seem that as a result of the sympathy existing between us, your Pentecost has been no better than mine; that would be bad. Did you never wonder when you left Vienna how we should ever meet? Don't you remember how pleased I was when you promised to remain here?[27]

Again, there was no *a priori* reason for Freud to raise the topic of Pentecost, except that it was indeed that time of year; again, he brought it up in the context of an underlying melancholy over separation. Also worthy of note is his special pleasure when Martha had promised "to remain." But (like his nanny) she was unable to keep the promise, having had to leave Vienna for family reasons and go to live in Wandsbek.[28]

One of the important pieces of psychological evidence that Freud's nanny was dismissed at the time of Pentecost is the curious fact that years later in 1899 Freud used "the week before Pentecost to write the essay on 'Screen Memories'…[29] In view of the biographical nature of this essay, such an anniversary reaction would reinforce the link among the nanny, separation anxiety, and the time of Pentecost.

There are other, curiously Christian accents in the Freud-Martha correspondence. In one of his first letters to Martha, written June 27, 1882, Freud listed some great places in the world that Martha would enjoy visiting: "the Alps, the waterways of Venice and the splendors of St. Peter's in Rome."[30] Since Freud had not yet seen any of these places himself, the list suggested more his own desires than anything else. As to his listing St. Peter's—the very center of Catholic Christendom—as one of the three places that his Jewish fiancée would most enjoy, it seems perhaps somewhat tactless; it was certainly odd.

During this same period, Freud made clear his rejection of the Jewish marriage ceremony. In October 1883, Freud's sister Anna married Eli Bernays, Martha's older brother. Freud did not attend the wedding of his sister and future brother-in-law.[31] (The reason for his absence is not clear.) In any case, from hearsay descriptions of the ceremonies, Freud labeled them "simply loathsome."[32] In 1884, he did attend the marriage of his friend Joseph Paneth, and in reaction wrote a 16-page letter to Martha expressing his horror at the odious scene, which he described in "a spirit of malign mocking" throughout the course of the long letter.[33]

If we grant, as Jones documents, that Freud wanted Martha to give up her "religious prejudices," how are we to account for the various pro-Christian comments made to her by Freud? A year later in 1885, Freud wrote, "What does it matter about the cross? We are not superstitious or piously orthodox."[34] The remark about the cross has been

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[27] Letters (pp. 146-147).
[28] The family reasons may have involved the desire of Martha's mother to distance her daughter from Sigmund. In any case, see Jones (1953, pp. 118-119); Eissler (1971, p. 262).
[29] S. Freud (1985, p. 351).
[30] Letters (p. 12).
[31] Jones (1953, p. 119).
[32] Jones (1953, p. 119).
[33] Jones (1953, p. 140).
[34] Letters (p. 144).

footnoted, “A jocular reference to Martha’s remark that she ought to ‘go to the cross’—i.e., humble herself.”[35] Again, the language in the correspondence is suggestive of a Christian preoccupation. Unfortunately Martha’s letter and the context of her remark have not been published, for possibly a “jocular” exchange was not all that was going on. Freud’s comment that the cross did not matter because he was “not superstitious” sounds rather unconvincing when one reads a few letters later: “Do you believe in omens?” and “Since meeting you I have actually become quite superstitlous.”[36]

In October 1885, Freud visited Paris for several months in order to meet and study with the great medical scientist Charcot, then particularly known for his contributions to the study of hypnotism and psychopathology. This was Freud’s first visit to Paris, and it was an important event in his life.[37] (He was able to afford the trip in large part because he had been awarded a fellowship for this specific purpose.[38]) Aside from his meeting Charcot, the experience with the greatest impact on Freud appears to have been his visits to the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. He described his first visit:

> You arc right, my darling, in saying that I have even more to tell you than before, and usually there is something I even forget to tell you, for instance my visit to Notre Dame de Paris on Sunday. My first impression on entering was a sensation I have never had before: “This is a church.”… I have never seen anything so movingly serious and somber, quite unadorned and very narrow….[39]

Besides the obvious significance of the experience for Freud, it should be Mentioned that this visit was on a Sunday, when it is almost certain that Mass was being celebrated at least somewhere in the cathedral. In *The Interpretation of Dreams,* published 15 years later, Freud wrote: “The platform of Notre Dame was my favorite resort in Parts; every free afternoon I used to clamber about there on the towers of the church between the monsters and the devils.”[40] The very name “Dame” would have resonated with his “*Amme*.” To visit here-to be in the cathedral during Mass-would have been a partial recovery of his Czech “Dame,” lost so long ago. Jones reports that “Freud’s choice of a souvenir of Paris was a photograph of Notre Dame.”[41] Again, all of this constituted a surprising communication to a Jewish fiancée who irritated Freud by her observance of the dietary laws in her house and by her refusal to write letters on the Sabbath. Both rules, after pressure, Freud got Martha to abandon.[42]

Charcot, whom Freud admired greatly, was somehow associated for him with Notre Dame. In a letter written a few days after the letter about Notre Dame, Freud wrote to Martha that he was being deeply affected by his stay in Paris, especially by Charcot, about whom he said:

> Charcot, who is one of the greatest physicians and a man whose common sense borders on genius, is simply wrecking all my aims and opinions. I sometimes come out of his lectures as

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[35] Letters (p. 144, note).
[36] Letters (p. 158).
[37] For the Paris trip, see Jones (1953, pp. 183-189).
[38] For the fellowship, see Jones (1953, pp. 74-76).
[39] Letters (pp. 182-183).
[40] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 5, p. 469).
[41] Jones (1953, p. 184).
[42] Letters (p. 40).

from Notre Dame, with an entirely new idea about perfection.[43]

The link between Charcot and Notre Dame—and Catholicism—was further developed in another letter, in which Freud described Charcot as "like a worldly priest."[44] Charcot did have a profound impact on Freud, for as a result of his exposure to Charcot's discussions and observation of hysteria and hypnosis, Freud's attachment to physiological and anatomical types of science weakened, and his interest in psychopathological phenomena increased markedly. Throughout his life Freud kept his admiration for Charcot, and it was for him that he named his eldest son Jean-Martin.[45]

Other religiously "loaded" expressions were used in Freud's Paris letters. For example, in correspondence anticipating the Paris trip, he wrote optimistically of going to Paris, where he would become a great scholar and "then come back to Vienna with a huge enormous halo"[46]—the halo, implying sanctity, being of course a strictly Christian iconographical symbol. In another letter he speaks of Paris and the Parisians as "uncanny" and of the whole visit as representing a pleasant, confused dream.[47] (More is said about this confused dream-like quality of the Paris visit in Chapter Four, in the section on Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris.)* Near the end of his stay, he exclaimed: "[W]hat an ass I am to be leaving Paris now that spring is coming, Notre Dame looking so beautiful in the sunlight."[48] In short, the Paris episode was positive, exciting, dreamlike, uncanny; at its center were Notre Dame *(Amme)* and the priestlike Charcot, with their suggestion of "an entirely new idea about perfection."

It is an interesting detail—and presumably a reflection of the mindset we have just been discussing—that just before the trip to Paris, Freud asked Martha to embroider what Jones calls two "votive panels," which Freud wished to hang over his desk in his hospital room.[49] One of the inscriptions came from Voltaire's *Candide,* the other from St. Augustine ("When in doubt, abstain"). A third, which Martha embroidered three years later, was a favorite saying of Charcot: "One must have faith."[50]

Still another (and especially important) involvement of Freud with Christian themes was expressed in these engagement letters to Martha Bernays. In a letter written rather early in the engagement, on December 20, 1883, Freud recounted a visit that he made with his half-brother Philipp to the city of Dresden: "Right next to the castle we discovered a wonderful cathedral, then a theater, and finally a spacious building…it was the so-called Zwinger which houses all of Dresden's museums and art treasures."[51] Freud admired and wrote movingly of three paintings he saw there. The first was Holbein's *Madonna*:

The Madonna holds the boy in her arms and gazes down on the worshippers with such a holy

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[43] Letters (p. 185).
[44] Letters (p. 175).
[45] Jones (1953, p. 152).
[46] Letters (p. 154).
[47] Letters (pp. 187-188).
[48] Letters (p. 208).
[49] Jones (1953, p. 66).
[50] Jones (1953, p. 66).
[51] Letters (p. 81).

> expression…. The Madonna herself is not exactly beautiful—the eyes protrude, the nose is long and narrow—but she is a true queen of heaven such as the pious German mind dreams of.[52]

Freud then described the second painting, Raphael's *Madonna*:

> Now I happened to know that there was also a Madonna by Raphael there and I found her at last in an equally chapel-like room and a crowd of people in silent devotion in front of her. You are sure to know her, the Sistina…. The painting emanates a magic beauty that is inescapable, and yet I have a serious objection to raise against the Madonna herself. Holbein's Madonna is neither a woman nor a girl, her exultation and sacred humility silence any question concerning her specific designation. Raphael's Madonna, on the other hand, is a girl, say sixteen years old; she gazes out on the world with such a fresh and innocent expression, half against my will she suggested to me a charming, sympathetic nursemaid, not from the celestial world but from ours.[53]

As for the third and final painting, Titian's *Maundy Money*, Freud wrote:

> But the picture that really captivated me was the "Maundy Money" by Titian…. This head of Christ, my darling, is the only one that enables even people like ourselves to imagine that such a person did exist. Indeed, it seemed that I was compelled to believe in the eminence of this man because the figure is so convincingly presented. And nothing divine about it, just a noble human countenance, far from beautiful yet full of seriousness, intensity, profound thought and deep inner passion…. I would love to have gone away with it, but there were too many people about,… so I went away with a full heart.[54]

Freud's heart was filled almost certainly from springs that went back to his Freiberg days and to the nanny whom he loved and who took him to so many churches. All the cues were right. He was with his half-brother Philipp, whom he had rarely seen after leaving Freiberg—the brother involved with his nanny's arrest and sudden disappearance. He was visiting a new city, Dresden, which is situated north of Vienna, not too far from Breslau in eastern Germany, and which is reached via train by traveling through Czechoslovakia, including Moravia.[55] After stopping at a "wonderful cathedral," Freud spent his time before paintings either of the Madonna and Child or of Christ. His comments indicate a previous knowledge of one of these paintings (Raphael's *Madonna)*and a special interest in the age of the Madonna—an issue that made him think of a nursemaid. The chapel-like atmosphere of reverence would also have supported reveries and associations from the past. The visit occurred during the Christmas season, a time associated with the nanny. The entire discussion prefigured Freud's analysis, 25 years later, of Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (1910a). Furthermore, in Freud's autobiographical response to all these paintings, there was an implicit identification of himself with Jesus as an infant (and, in the last painting, with Christ at the time of his betrayal). Then, too, strong sound similarities would have linked his two mothers with these paintings: "Amalia" and "Mama" all easily connect to *"Amme,"* to "Dame," and then to "Anna" and "Nana"—all summed up in "Madonna."[56]

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[52] Letters (pp. 81-82).

[53] Letters (p. 82).

[54] Letters (p.82-83).

[55] The only direct way to Dresden by train from Vienna would be through Prague.

[56] For an example of Freud's involvement in exactly this kind of sound symbolism, see S. Freud &, Jung (1974, p. 59).

Above all, Freud's remarks were not about the style or form of these works. His reactions were not those of the art historian or aesthete. Freud was a man who always responded to a work in terms of its psychological content; he reliably ignored purely historical and stylistic issues (sometimes at his peril, as, for example, Meyer Schapiro has shown).[57] It is also worth noting that aside from the *Mona Lisa*, the only paintings that Freud wrote about were explicitly Christian paintings, almost always centered on one or more members of the Holy Family: Mary, Anne, or Jesus. Freud may have personally collected and admired pre-Christian antiquities, but the art that moved him deeply enough for him to write about it was essentially religious and typically Christian. Even Michelangelo's *Moses*, to be discussed later, belongs in a Christian context: The work is, of course, by one of the greatest Christian artists; it is part of a tomb in Rome honoring a great Pope; and Freud observed it from inside a small Christian church.[58]

The Fliess "Roman" Letters: 1887-1902

After his marriage, Freud settled into family life and began concentrating fully on his career as a practicing physician, specializing more and more in the psychopathologies. By this time Freud had turned away from a research career at the University of Vienna, where he worked in the laboratory of great scientists, such as Ernst Brücke. One important reason for leaving the university research setting was that Freud's relative poverty and to some degree his Jewishness were real barriers to advancement. I would argue that Freud was also beginning to suspect that his basic intellectual motivation and interest lay not in physiology and anatomy, but in the direction of psychology; he could study the latter just as well through his own practice, and in association with a hospital. This does not mean that Freud abandoned his youthful ambitions of a university research career without painful regrets. But abandon them he did.[59]

During his 30s—that is, roughly from the time he was married at age 30 until his 40th birthday in 1896—Freud's intellectual life was in transition. From his training in medicine, neurology, anatomy, and related topics, he moved to an increasing involvement with what had been his earlier predilections for psychology, literature, cultural history, mythology and anthropology. It was, if you will, a midlife crisis, in which Freud was finding out that his essential and natural motivation lay with ideas quite far removed from his prior university training. During this decade, he became familiar with the technique of hypnosis; he began to appreciate the importance of sex in the etiology of neurotic problems; and he first began to understand the significance of fantasies and dreams. His "monomaniacal" study of the neuroses[60] brought him some notoriety because of the unusual character of the conditions he was studying, as well as a modest reputation as an authority on certain neurotic conditions, such as hysteria.[61] He was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Vienna, but it was not a time of success.[62] Freud was still deeply discontented—both financially, for his practice was small and his family large, and in a deeper sense, for he was still searching for the center of his intellectual and emotional life. He was at the threshold of what is now

[57] Schapiro (1956).
[58] Letters (p. 293).
[59] See Jones (1953, pp. 60-62).
[60] Freud used the term "monomaniac" to refer to himself (Jones, 1953, p. 269).
[61] For a discussion of this period, see Jones (1953); Schur (1972); Eissler (1971, p. 234).
[62] See Jones (1953, Chs. 10- 13).

known as psychoanalysis, and indeed of the entire psychological mentality so prevalent today. But this threshold was not crossed until Freud went through his own personal psychoanalysis.

Before we come to this systematic "self-analysis," a few more words are in order about the shift from the university world to private practice. Freud's career as a young scientist at the University of Vienna was dominated by non-Jewish figures. The major model for Freud was Professor Ernst Brücke, head of the research institute in which Freud was studying. Freud expressed this directly and at length:

> [I]n Ernst Brücke's physiological laboratory, I found rest and satisfaction—and men, too, whom I could respect and take as my models: the great Brücke himself, and his assistants Sigmund Exner and Ernst von Fleischl-Marxow. With the last of these, a brilliant man, I was privileged to be upon terms of friendship.[63]

The other men, Exner and Fleischl (the "von" and "Marxow" are usually omitted from Fleischl's name) were the assistants in Brücke's lab and directly superior to Freud in rank. Exner was in the process of becoming a world-famous physiologist. He, like Fleischl, was from a wealthy and socially prominent Viennese family.[64] Thus, in this university-based, scientific period of Freud's life, his most influential models were, first, Brentano; then Charcot (for whom he named his eldest son, as noted above); also, in limited respects, Meynert[65]; and finally Brücke (for whom he named his son Ernst),[66] Exner, and Fleischl. All were Gentiles except the last: Fleischl was an assimilated Jew.[67] Because of Fleischl's illness—to which I return later—he was the least scientifically prominent of the group, but he was Freud's best friend at the lab. By contrast, the world into which Freud was moving—the world of private practice and informal intellectual networks that would culminate in the group of psychoanalysts centered around Freud himself—was primarily Jewish, and would remain so throughout Freud's life.

At the end of this decade of change from the university-science biology world into his specialization in psychopathology, Freud was to start on his self-analysis, which took place roughly from 1896 to 1899. The death of Freud's father on October 23, 1896, was a most important event that apparently accelerated this analysis, for (among other things), it brought back the meaning of his father to him as a child. It also freed Freud to face his own attitudes toward his father in a way that would not have been possible if Jakob had still been living.

Whatever one may think of psychoanalysis, it is important to recognize the courage that this first analysis required—the toughness to investigate alone early hatreds and sexual desires, mostly directed at members of one's immediate family. Freud received

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[63] S. Freud (1925, S.E., 20, pp. 9-10; see also Jones (1953, p. 45).

[64] Schorske (1980, p. 297).

[65] For the fact that Meynert was in certain respects a model, see the many index entries for Meynert in Jones (1956, e.g., pp. 56, 65).

[66] Jones (1953, p. 152). My friend the late Dr. Henry Elkin has suggested that for Freud to identify as much as he did with Brücke implies that Freud was in important respects hostile to his Jewishness. Brücke with his brusque manner and piercing blue eyes, was the epitome of the Prussian *goy*.

[67] See Jones (1953, p. 44) for Fleischl's social standing; also see Jones (1953, pp. 89-90) for his secular character.

real help and encouragement during this time from Wilhelm Fliess. This aid was mostly from a distance, through the exchange of letters, although the two men did have very important occasional visits together.

Fliess was a friend of Freud's; he was also a doctor and secular Jew, with interests similar to Freud's.[68] He lived in Berlin, and the two carried on a lengthy correspondence, which was fascinating and brilliant, but often bizarre. Fliess was, at the time of the friendship, a rather prominent physician and intellectual; certainly he was much better known than Freud. Sulloway, in a major biographical treatment of Freud, has shown that many fundamental "Freudian" concepts had their origin with Fliess. Among these concepts were infantile sexuality, latency, sublimation, reaction formation, bisexuality, and others.[69] (Fliess also had other ideas, which by today's standards are quite strange—e.g., that the nose is closely connected to the origin of both physical and psychological illness.[70]) Sulloway convincingly demonstrates the essential intellectual importance of Fliess for Freud, and he dispels the earlier myth of Fliess as an obvious intellectual "kook" who apparently appealed to Freud only because of obscure personal reasons and because he gave Freud a sympathetic, noncritical hearing of his ideas when others were rejecting them.[71]

As a person, Fliess is described as a man of considerable personal charm and charisma to whom many were attracted.[72] Eventually he and Freud quarreled bitterly. The relationship began to deteriorate in 1898, and it was over by 1902.[73] Part of the quarrel, as Sulloway makes clear, was fueled by Fliess's anger that some of his ideas about bisexuality had been passed on by Freud to people in Vienna, who subsequently published on the topic without acknowledging Fliess.[74] (Academics will understand this rage.) Sulloway has also shown that Freud's intense rivalry with Fliess underlay his failure to acknowledge the many contributions of his friend and colleague from Berlin.[75]

But Sulloway's primary contribution is to document thoroughly the particular scientific sources of much of Freud's philosophy and general scientific attitude. Freud's rationalism, his determinism, and his assumption that the mind is ultimately physical (or, rather, physiological) came from such great scientific theorists as Darwin, Romanes, Helmholtz, Brücke, Fechner, and others.[76] We should never lose sight of the fact that Freud was operating in a medical environment, where biological science, Darwinian theory, and good medical practice were the common models from which one approached an understanding of the mental life. (The other and, I argue, even *more* fundamental source of influence on Freud's ideas and "philosophy" was, in fact, literature. This argument is taken up in Chapter Four.)

The correspondence between Fliess and Freud—particularly the letters of Freud—is

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[68] Jones (1953, p. 289); Sulloway (1979, Ch. 5)

[69] Sulloway (1979, Ch. 6).

[70] Jones (1953, p. 290); Sulloway (1979, pp. 147 ff.).

[71] An in-depth scholarly treatment of the Fliess-Freud relationship that provides a still more complete understanding of Fliess is now in press (Swales, in press).

[72] Jones (1953, p. 289); Sulloway (1979, p. 135).

[73] Jones (1953, pp. 314 ff.); S. Freud (1985, pp. 449-458).

[74] Sulloway (1979, pp. 222-224).

[75] Sulloway (1979, especially Ch. 6).

[76] For Darwin, see Sulloway (1979, Ch. 7); for the others, see Sulloway's index entries.

well known as being of great historical importance for the origin of psychoanalysis; in a somewhat censored form, the letters have been available for years.[77] They have already been frequently cited here, as they constitute the primary source on Freud's childhood memories. In the letters, he discussed his recovery of the memory of his nanny, of his baby brother's death, and of various other topics already examined. A major new theme occurred in the critical last five years of the correspondence, 1897-1902. This theme—or pair of linked themes—was that of Rome and Easter.

Freud first wrote of Rome to Fliess on December 3, 1897: "I dreamt I was in Rome… the Rome of my dreams was really Prague…the dream had fulfilled my wish to meet you in Rome rather than in Prague."[78] Here we see the connection between Rome and Prague; both of these were associated with Freud's Czech *Amme,* whose memory he had recovered earlier that year.[79]

Freud was aware that his repeated mention of Rome, and his dreams about it, indicated an underlying conflict. In the same letter, he noted: "Incidentally, my longing for Rome is deeply neurotic. It is connected with my schoolboy hero-worship of the Semitic Hannibal, and in fact this year I have no more reached Rome than he did from Lake Trasimene."[80] But almost everything deeply neurotic about Freud went back (as he himself asserted) to his first three years in Freiberg. And we have already seen how Freud's identification with Hannibal was at least in part a screen for his partisanship with Scipio and Rome.

At this time in his life, as Freud commented about Hannibal's failure to reach Rome, he had not yet been able to overcome his block to visiting Rome, though he had traveled in Italy. It would be four more years before he could overcome his inhibitions and finally make the visit he had long dreamed of. Returning to the Fliess letters, we find this ambivalence stated again in October 1898: "In any case I am not in a state to do anything else, except study the topography of Rome, my longing for which becomes more and more acute."[81]

On February 6 of the next year, Freud brought the topic of Easter into his Roman preoccupation:

> The secret dossier is getting thicker and thicker [presumably—though one cannot be certain—this refers to the "dream book" Freud was working on, which was soon published as *The Interpretation of Dreams*], as if it were really looking forward to being *opened at Easter. I am curious myself about when Easter in Rome will be possible* [emphasis added].[82]

Then two or three weeks later he wrote: "I cannot wait for Easter to show you in detail one of the principal features—that of wish-fulfillment and the coupling of opposites."[83] Later in the same letter, we find: "Rome is still far away; you know my Roman

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[77] The original versions of Freud's letters are in Origins; very recently, Masson has published Freud's complete, uncensored letters (S. Freud, 1985).
[78] Origins (p. 236).
[79] Origins (pp. 219-221, 221-223).
[80] Origins (p. 236).
[81] Origins (p. 269).
[82] Origins (p. 276).
[83] Origins (p. 279).

dreams." In the same letter, Freud went on: "Sunday is still a fine institution, though Martin thinks that Sundays are getting fewer and farther between. Easter really is no longer so distant. Are your plans fixed yet? I am already itching to be off." And finally, near the end of this letter:

> Also I have a secondary motive; the realization of a secret wish which might mature at about the same time as Rome, so, when Rome becomes possible, perhaps I shall throw up the lectureship. But, as I have said, we are not in Rome yet.

What the secret wish may have been is not clear, though Velikovsky has one plausible interpretation (see below). Whatever this wish was, it apparently involved leaving Vienna, possibly to settle in Rome—something Freud spoke openly of later.

The next Roman reference was made in August 1899:

> What would you think of ten days in Rome at Easter (the two of us of course) if all goes well, if I can afford it and have not been locked up, lynched or boycotted on account of the Egyptian dream book? I have looked forward to it for so long. Learning the eternal laws of life in the Eternal City would be no bad combination.[84]

Finally, in his letter of April 16, 1900, Freud wrote in the last paragraph: "If I closed with 'Next Easter in Rome,' I would feel like a pious Jew."[85] (For a pious Jew, the expression is, in fact, "Next year in Jerusalem"!)

I think it is simply impossible to avoid the conclusion that Freud was deeply attracted to Christian Rome. How else is one to account for his preoccupation with Easter, with its theme of rebirth or resurrection, and with Rome, the symbolic locus of the Christian (specifically, Catholic) faith? Now, as I have said several times, I do not wish to deny Freud's strong, consciously articulated hostility to Rome and Christianity, but his well-known anti-religious statements cannot be allowed to blind us to the obviously pro-Christian aspects of the passages quoted from his letters to Fliess. In them, he spoke repeatedly of Rome, and above all of being there on Easter![86] He described his emotion as one of acute longing, a phrase strongly implying a personal longing for someone—in this case, almost certainly his nanny. It is as though, somehow, even after 40 years, Freud dreamed of being reunited with his Anna "in Rome" (in all the deep symbolic sense of that word); of discovering rebirth and salvation; of being made whole with her.

Why should he associate missing his nanny with Rome and Easter? There are several possible reasons. Obviously, his nanny was Catholic and often took him to Mass, but why Rome? I have discovered by asking those familiar with Moravian Catholic customs that not only was Easter a major and drawn-out holiday in which the entire village would have participated; but there was also a strong tradition that every good Catholic should try to visit Rome at least once in his lifetime. Above all, the desire was to be in

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[84] Origins (p. 294).

[85] Origins (p. 317).

[86] I am informed by Swales (personal communication, 1983) that Fliess had visited Rome at Easter 1887, a time when he spent several months in southern Italy. This was six months before his first meeting with Freud. No doubt at some point Fliess told Freud about the time he spent in Italy and described the experience of Easter in Rome.

Rome on Easter.[87] This desire to make a pilgrimage to Rome for Easter could easily have been communicated to Sigmund by his nanny.

There is also a most interesting story that was told to little Czech children at Easter. On Good Friday in Czechoslovakia, the bells of every church were silent in honor of Christ's suffering on the cross. Since church bells were an important part of any town's atmosphere, the children would naturally ask about their silence, their "absence." They were told that on that day, Good Friday, all the bells had flown to Rome to be rejuvenated; they then flew back on Holy Saturday, ready to ring out noisily in honor of the Resurrection on Sunday morning.[88] This simple story was (and is) apparently as commonplace in Czechoslovakia as the more complicated Santa Claus story is here in America.

At this late date, it is probably impossible to find any documentable evidence for this Czech cultural influence on Freud, but it is obvious that the nanny and Rome were strongly associated in his mind (some additional evidence is given below).[89] Furthermore, it must be emphasized that Rome and Easter, linked together, very definitely signify resurrection, salvation, or rebirth. This is the meaning of Easter. For Freud to speak enthusiastically about Easter in Rome—where St. Peter's Square would be crowded with people celebrating the resurrection; where the whole city would be affected by the Easter atmosphere—was quite simply for Freud to reveal his hidden partisanship for Christian Rome. We may recall his reference to a "secret wish," to his desire possibly to start a new life in Rome "learning the eternal secrets." Of course, he referred as well to his identification with Hannibal, and there can be no doubt about his conscious hostility to Rome; however, we should also recall that his just-proposed principle of wish-fulfillment includes the "coupling of opposites."

We have looked at some of the major references to Easter and Pentecost, but what is also striking is the sheer *number* of references to these Christian holidays, coupled with the absence of any mention of any Jewish holidays. In the 1954 edition of the letters to Fliess, there are 23 references to Easter; the complete edition of 1985 provides 12 additional references to Easter in the period 1897-1902. References to Pentecost (Whitsunday), with its association to spiritual rebirth, occur in six letters of the 1954 edition and eight more letters of the 1985 edition.[90] In a clearly Christian reference, Freud described his young son Ernst in one letter as being as "full of wounds as Lazarus"[91]; the reference is unmistakably to the beggar mentioned in Luke 16:20 ff. (See the discussion of Heine's *Lazarus* poems in Chapter Six.)

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[87] Zezula (personal communication, 1980); Rutar (personal communication, 1982). Today Czechs are forbidden to make such a trip by their government, although many, I am told, wish to go; the same custom is still strong in Catholic Poland, however.

[88] Zezula (personal communication, 1980); Rutar (personal communication, 1982).

[89] This is also the conclusion of Grigg (1973).

[90] References to Easter in Origins: Draft C, Letters 44, 54, 56, 84, 88 (twice), 101, 104 (three times), 106 (twice), 116, 130 (twice), 131 (three times), 132, 133, 141, 142. Additional references to Easter in S. Freud (1985) from 1897 to 1902: 1897, March 7 (twice); 1898, February 9, February 23, March 10, March 15, March 24, April 3, April 27; 1899, March 19, March 27 (twice), April 13. References to Pentecost in Origins: Letters 62, 63, 64, 89, 136, and 137. Additional references to Pentecost in S. Freud (1985) from 1897 to 1902: 1898, April 27; 1901, May 1 (twice), May 24, May 25 (twice), and June 9 (twice).

[91] Origins (p. 292).

Freud referred to God occasionally in the correspondence, and not in any obviously negative way—though sometimes with a certain sarcasm, as here: "Now in this case the Almighty was kind enough to remove the father by death before the child was eleven months old."[92] In any case, in this series of 150 letters, I could not find a single reference to any strictly Jewish religious idea.

After Freud had completed and published *The Interpretation of Dreams,* he finally overcame his inhibitions and visited Rome. However, Freud never did visit Rome at Easter, which was his greatest desire. Some inhibition permanently held him back from that. Instead, his visits were almost always in September—the worst time of year with respect to weather, and the least likely to have any Christian liturgical significance.[93] Be all that as it may, his first visit was a most important event, about which he wrote to Fliess as follows:

> I ought to write to you about Rome, but it is difficult. It was an overwhelming experience for me, and, as you know, the fulfillment of a long-cherished wish. It was slightly disappointing, as all such fulfillments are when one has waited for them too long, but it was a high-spot in my life all the same. But, while I contemplated ancient Rome undisturbed (I could have worshipped the humble and mutilated remnant of the Temple of Minerva near the forum of Nerva), I found I could not freely enjoy the second Rome; I was disturbed by its meaning, and, being incapable of putting out of my mind my own misery and all the other misery which I know to exist, I found almost intolerable the lie of the salvation of mankind which rears its head so proudly to heaven.[94]

Statements such as this one have been used (e.g., by Jones) to portray Freud's attachment to Rome as based only on his attraction to ancient and modern Rome; the image is of a Freud who rejected medieval and Renaissance Rome.[95] Nothing could be farther from the truth, and (oddly enough) the evidence for the erroneousness of such an interpretation is abundantly provided by Jones himself. First, there is the ambivalence expressed in the statement "I could not freely enjoy the second Rome": Freud did not say he could not enjoy Catholic Rome, only that he could not enjoy it *freely*. Moreover, Freud found *intolerable* the "Lie of salvation." With this curiously strident tone, what Freud was communicating was his anger that salvation does not exist; there is here a clear sense of disappointment. It is as though something that Freud had hoped for did not happen—or, one might say, that someone he had hoped to meet was not there.

Certainly another difficulty with the Jones thesis is that, at the time of Freud's visits at the turn of the century, Rome had a very strong, profoundly Catholic atmosphere—much more so than is the case today. In those days, modernism had not yet affected the city in all its frenetic, secularist, and materialistic ways as it has today. It was a time when churches and church bells, Christian pilgrims, and religious processions were an essential part of Rome's outward (and inward) character. Catholic religious figures (priests and monsignors, monks, nuns) in clerical dress were omnipresent. In short, anyone who was seriously disturbed by Christianity—in particular, by Roman Catholicism—would have had real difficulty in developing a strong liking for the Rome of 80 years ago.

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[92] Origins (p. 211). Freud also expressed an interesting attitude toward the father here, to say the least.

[93] See Freud's letters referring to his visiting Rome published in Origins or Letters, all of which mention August or September visits.

[94] Origins (pp. 335-336).

[95] Jones (1955, p. 18).

Evidence indeed shows that Freud was positively drawn by many things Christian in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. One need merely look at the sorts of things Freud visited and described in Rome and in other Italian locales. In 1898, before he had yet been able to bring himself to go to Rome, he was already speaking of "our lovely Italy," on the basis of his travels in the northern part of the country.[96] In a visit to the town of Aquileia, lie wrote that "several hundred of the prettiest Friulian girls had gathered in the Cathedral for High Mass. [It was, in fact, Easter Mass, though this is not always indicated.[97]] The splendor of the old Romanesque Basilica was comforting in the midst of the modern poverty."[98]

Once Freud broke the ice with Rome, he went as often as he could and constantly praised Rome and its effect on his emotional life.[99] As mentioned earlier, he even suggested once that he would like to settle there permanently with his wife.[100] (This wish is reminiscent of his peculiar suggestion—made once, rather in passing, to Martha in their correspondence—that he might set up practice in Silesia or Moravia, thus, near Freiberg.[101])

Also in northern Italy, he much enjoyed his visit to Venice (mentioned in a letter to Martha), in which he went up the tower at St. Mark's; visited a church and the Scuola San Rocco; and enjoyed a plethora of Tintorettos, Titians, and Canovas.[102] He visited Assisi; in Milan he went to see the *Last Supper*, and spoke favorably of it.[103] At another time he spoke of "comparing memories, the view from the fortress reminded us of Florence, the Fortrezza itself of S. Pietro in Verona."[104] I find it hard to imagine someone more devoted to Italy and Rome than Freud; it must also be said that Freud hardly attempted to avoid Christian art in Italy (if he had, it would have been hard to succeed). In any case, his frequent expressions of appreciation for Christian art would

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[96] Origins (p. 251).

[97] In Origins (p. 252), it is called "High Mass"; Letters (p. 236) notes it as "Easter Mass." This was Freud's closest experience to Easter in Rome.

[98] Origins (p. 252).

[99] Why Freud was finally able to overcome his neurotic restraints and visit Rome is not clear. It is generally suggested that publishing *The Interpretation of Dreams* freed him somehow. This seems too general an explanation, and is not persuasive. After all, that book was published almost two years before his first visit. A dramatic yet scholarly interpretation of how Freud broke the sexual and religious inhibitions that kept him from visiting Rome has been published by Swales (1983b). Swales's interpretation, convincing in most respects, is too long and detailed to summarize here. Swales's case, however, hinges on the symbolic equivalence of Freud's sister-in-law Minna and his old "Nana." One crucial link in Swales's paper is his argument that Freud's analysis of the famous *aliquis* memory lapse was actually an analysis of Freud himself, and not of some stranger riding with him in a train in Italy. This particular claim receives a good deal of support in the present book; throughout, we see that Freud was closely connected to distinctively Catholic experiences and associations involving his nanny, churches, children, and often blood, as discussed in Chapter One. Freud's dreams, as discussed in this chapter, also showed much Catholic preoccupation. In short, the remarkably Catholic associations attributed by Freud to his hypothetical Jewish traveling companion in the *aliquis* case look very much like another example of Freud projecting his own psychology onto another. Swales goes into these associations in great and convincing detail.

[100] Jones (1955, p. 16).

[101] Letters (p. 105).

[102] Letters (p. 231).

[103] Jones (1953, pp. 334-335).

[104] Origins (pp. 251-252).

indicate a tolerance for Christianity, if not outright admiration for it.

But Freud's ambivalence remained. One particular example bears this out in an intriguing manner. Gregory Zilboorg, whose succinct analysis I quote, has identified and commented on this detail:

> Freud in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* reports how he remembers relating to a fellow train passenger his profound impression of the frescoes in the Duomo [cathedral] of Orvieto. To his amazement, Freud was unable to tell at the moment either the subject matter of the frescoes or the name of the artist. By way of a series of free associations, he finally recalled the name of the master painter, Signorelli. By way of careful self-analysis, he concluded that he had repressed the name because of its first half, *Signor,* to which he arrived via a number of associations, one of them being the German word *Herr.*
>
> It was a remarkable piece of self-analysis on the part of Freud. Yet what appears not less remarkable is that that piece of psychoanalysis done in 1898…lacked the recognition of what now appears so obvious: *Signor* is the Italian equivalent of *Lord* in Church language, as is the German word *Herr.* Freud saw mainly the formal connections in his associations; he failed to see some of the deeper content of the repressed. It is, for instance, of particular interest that the subject matter of Signorelli's frescoes in the Orvieto Duomo is *The Last Judgment*.[105]

In short, Freud repressed God but admired His paintings. It should also be mentioned that God, who was denied access to Freud's conscious mind in this incident, occurred here in the very Christian context of a painting of the Last judgment by a Christian artist in Italy, and that Freud was deeply moved by this fresco.

Another instance of Freud's "slipping" with respect to God, again in a decidedly Christian context, has been cited rather often. In a letter to Fliess in February 1899 (a letter in which he immediately afterward spoke of wanting to be in Rome for Easter), Freud wrote:

> The art of deceiving patients is certainly not very desirable. What has the individual come to, how slight must be the influence of the science of religion, which is supposed to have replaced the old religion, if one no longer dare disclose that it is this man's or that man's turn to die.… The Christian at least has the last sacraments administered a few hours in advance. Shakespeare says: "Thou owest Nature a death."[106]

Here is the slip: The quotation from Shakespeare should have read, "Thou owest *God* a death." This was not just an example of forgetfulness, because Freud was very accurate in general when it came to quoting Shakespeare. Moreover, the line as "rewritten" does not scan properly. (Freud made the same error later in *The Interpretation of Dreams*.[107]

To return to Freud's Christian activities, here is a passage by Jones, in which he describes Freud on a visit to Rome in 1907. Jones writes:

> Rome was as heavenly as possible. If only we could live there. On the last day he climbed the Castle S. Angelo for a view of Rome, visited the Sistine Chapel once more and revelled in the wonderful antiquities of the Vatican Museum.[108]

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[105] Zilboorg (1962, p. 167).
[106] Origins (p. 276).
[107] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 205).
[108] Jones (1955, p. 38).

Later in the same volume, Jones mentions receiving a postcard from Freud in 1912, in which he stated that "Rome had worked its old magic."[109] A few days later Jones received a letter from Rome in which Freud wrote of a bout with ill health that had begun before his arrival in Rome, but that was now improving: "I feel strengthened and relieved by the air and the impressions of this divine town. In fact, I have been more happy than healthy at Rome, but my forces are coming back."[110] While in Rome, Freud reported visiting the catacombs and enjoying the Vatican galleries; he commented about the city, "These brief visits leave one with an unappeased longing."[111]

We must not forget Freud's famous visits to study the Moses statue by Michaelangelo - visits that would result in Freud's famous essay on the work. In 1912, Freud visited the statue every day for a week or more.[112] To examine the piece, by the world's best-known Christian sculptor, he sat in the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli (St. Peter in Chains), where the statue adorns the tomb of Pope Julius II. (This Pope had the same name as Freud's brother Julius, whose death "planted the seeds of guilt.") Here, as Freud returned day after day to look_at the Old Testament prophet (and father figure) set in a New Testament environment, he spent many moving hours.[113]

A letter written by Freud to Karl Abraham in 1913 perhaps best captures not only how Freud loved Rome but also how much Rome did for him emotionally. It certainly makes clear that Freud's love was not for a churchless Rome: "I have quickly recovered my spirits and zest for work in the incomparably beautiful Rome, and in the free hours between visits to museums, churches and the Campagna I have managed to write…."[114] It cannot be overemphasized that in the voluminous correspondence of Freud (and he wrote a staggering number of letters), almost the only times that he expressed happiness and joy, the times in which he escaped his baseline mood of melancholy and even sorrow, were when he was in Rome or speaking about it. Only in Rome did the sun seem to break into his life. Perhaps it was only in Rome that he was able to recapture the presence of his *Amme*-Anna. Certainly much of his pleasure here went back to his childhood.

Some very specific support for this interpretation comes from a comment Freud made about the women of Rome: "The women in the crowd are very beautiful, so far as they are Roman. Roman women are, strange to say, even beautiful when they are ugly, but not many of them are that."[115]
One is reminded here of Bowlby's discussion of the reactions of people to the death of a loved one. For example, Bowlby describes one major phase of mourning as involving

[109] Jones (1955, p. 95).
[110] Jones (1955, p. 95).
[111] Letters (pp. 261, 267); Jones (1955, p. 19); Letters (p. 266).
[112] Letters (p. 293).
[113] Freud wrote in a letter, for example: "[M]y relationship to this work [*Moses*] is something like that to a love child. Every day for three lonely weeks in September 1913 [actually, September 1912] 1 stood in the church in front of the statue, studying it…One of the consequences of my failing health difficult to bear is that I can no longer come to Rome…" (Letters, p. 416). Elsewhere, Freud wrote, "How often have I mounted the steep steps of the unlovely Corso Cavour to the lonely piazza where the deserted church stands, and have assayed to support the angry scorn of the hero's glance"; see S. Freud (1914a, S.E., 13, p. 213).
[114] Letters (p. 302).
[115] Jones (1955, p. 37).

"yearning and searching for the lost figure lasting… sometimes for years."[116] Bowlby speaks of visits made by grieving persons to old haunts associated with their dead loved ones as they continue to search for them. It is into this pattern that Freud's visits to Rome, Notre Dame, and various other churches can be integrated, and in this context they make sense.

Freud was explicit about the source of happiness: "Happiness is the subsequent fulfillment of a prehistoric wish. That is why wealth brings so little happiness: money was not a wish in childhood."[117] What was Freud's childhood wish, if not reunion with his nanny? Possibly Freud had also through her learned to want to be in Rome, especially at Easter. Perhaps there was just a general association in his mind between his nanny and churches in general. Perhaps the refreshment of Rome was even more childlike and simple: If the bells flew to Rome to be rejuvenated, then so might he. Of course, Freud's wish to be in Rome at Easter may in fact have been a wish for some kind of salvation, and it is to that possibility that we turn next.

The Desire for Baptism: Velikovsky's Thesis and Freud's Dreams

In 1941, Emmanuel Velikovsky published an article analyzing the dreams of Freud as found in *The Interpretation of Dreams.* Velikovsky has proposed that these dreams showed that at the time of his self-analysis, Freud was struggling with the possibility of converting to Christianity—specifically, to Roman Catholicism. Enough material suggesting or at least consistent with such a possibility has already been presented in the present book to make Velikovsky's suggestion seem far from preposterous, and its out-of-hand rejection by Jones[118] is attended to later. But first Velikovsky's argument needs to be summarized.

According to Velikovsky, a major driving motivation for Freud at this period in his early 40s was professional advancement, and Freud was quite aware that his Jewishness was a serious obstacle to his desired goal of a professorship at the University of Vienna. Velikovsky claims that Freud's "inner struggle for unhampered advancement" meant that "he would have to conclude a Faust-pact; he would have to sell his soul to the Church."[119] Though he is unsure on this point, Velikovsky conjectures that Freud was unconscious of this desire.[120]

A Faust pact with the Church—a pact involving baptism—is a contradiction in terms; the Faust legend is part of the Christian tradition, and thus can hardly see baptism as diabolical. Velikovsky's notion that as part of his Faust pact Freud would "sell his soul to the Church" cannot, then, be accepted. (There is, however, a possibility that Freud was considering an insincere conversion. Freud might even have considered converting for the purpose of undermining the Church, but more is said on this question in the next section.)

Velikovsky begins his case by quoting (or quoting from and paraphrasing) a number

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[116] Bowlby (1980, p. 85).
[117] Jones (1953, p. 330).
[118] Jones (1955, p. 17).
[119] Velikovsky (1941, p. 490).
[120] Velikovsky (1941, p. 490).

of Freud's dreams. After each dream, he quotes (or quotes from and paraphrases) Freud's own interpretation of the dream, and then he gives his own interpretation. What I do here is to quote extensively from Velikovsky's presentation of Freud's dreams, Freud's interpretations, and his own interpretations; I then add my own commentaries. Because the amount of Velikovsky's material is considerable, and because much of it in my judgment is somewhat unconvincing, I cite only those portions of his argument that I consider to furnish the clearest case. (The curious reader is invited to read Velikovsky's entire article.) I should say in advance that while I think it is virtually certain that Freud was both unconsciously and consciously tempted to convert, I do not believe that actual conversion was likely. There is a great deal of evidence of Freud's pride in his ethnic Jewishness, as well as evidence of his powerful rational skepticism about religion. These factors would, I believe, have served as a virtually insurmountable barrier to such a calculated conversion.

There is, however, ample reason to think that Freud was tempted to convert—really, to assimilate—for reasons of ambition and self-interest. Freud knew many who had been baptized at least in part for purposes of career advancement—for example, the much admired Heine, as well as his uncle-in-law Michael Bernays, the Goethe scholar. There was also the case of the well-known Austrian composer Gustav Mahler, who was baptized in Vienna during Freud's personal crisis in February 1897, and who then experienced a dramatic and immediate advancement in the Vienna music world.[121] (Mahler, like Freud, was Jewish and spent his early years in Moravia.[122])

But, in general, the reader is urged to view this dream interpretation material as supporting the thesis that Freud had a powerful unconscious attraction to Christianity, derived front his nanny and connected to the hope of her return and also to the hope of salvation; that this attraction would naturally be found in Freud's dreams; and that it would express itself in part through a veiled concern with conversion.

FREUD'S DREAM OF THE BOTANICAL MONOGRAPH

> I have written a monograph on a certain plant. The book lies before me: I am just turning over a folded colored plate. A dried specimen of the plant as though from a herbarium is bound up with every copy.[123]

FREUD'S ANALYSIS AS PRESENTED BY VELIKOVSKY

> Associations and Day-residues. In the morning he had seen in a book-seller's window a volume entitled The Genus Cyclamen, obviously a monograph on this plant. The cyclamen is his wife's favorite flower. He forgets to bring her flowers.… A memory from the time he went to high school (Gymnasium) is connected with the herbarium. The principal instructed the pupils to clean a herbarium in which there were small hookworms. On the pages (taken from the herbarium) were *crucifers* [emphasis Velikovsky's]. Preliminary examination in botany (again *crucifers)* [emphasis Velikovsky's] and weakness in this subject. Then "Crucifers suggest composites. The artichoke too is really a composite, and in actual fact one which I might call my favorite

[121] Banks & Mitchell (1980, pp. 505-531).
[122] Banks & Mitchell (1980, pp. 505-531).
[123] S. Freud, quoted by Velikovsky (1941, p. 490). A "herbarium" is a collection of dried plant specimens, usually mounted and systematically arranged for reference.

flower."[124]

VELIKOVSKY'S INTERPRETATION

The associations regarding crucifers (crucifers were mentioned three times by Freud in his associations) should not have led only to composites and artichokes but also to crucifix and crux. *Crucifer* means one who carries a cross (crux), hence a baptized person.

Herbarium suggests the sound association to Hebrew. A herbarium which contains a crux would be a baptized Hebrew. A herbarium which is a book (or contains pages from a book) containing a "crucifer" is the Bible, or Gospel. A monograph would be the writings on monothesism. To page through also means to turn the pages *(umschlagen),* to convert. Cyclamen contains the word "Amen."[125]

MY INTERPRETATION AND COMMENT

Freud's failure to associate the Christian significance of "cross" and "cross-bearer" to "crucifers" was indeed a telling omission. Freud himself seemed to sense his blockage here when he commented in his analysis on his weakness in botany, as evidenced in his failure to identify crucifers in his preliminary examination. He referred several times to cyclamens and artichokes as "favorites." A plausible word-play interpretation of cyclamen is "repeated (cycle)-amens." (In this context, it is worth noting another of Velikovsky's observations: "Trimethylamin remained a riddle for Freud in another dream. Tri—three; amin—Amen: hence belief in the Trinity, and baptism."[126]

FREUD'S DREAMS OF ROME

Before giving the next dream Freud states: "I note the fact that although the wish which excites the dream is a contemporary wish, nevertheless it is greatly reinforced by memories of childhood. [Was Freud here consciously referring to conscious and unconscious bases of conversion temptation? The "wish which excites the dream" is never identified—Vitz.] I refer to a series of dreams which are based on the longing to go to Rome. For a long time to come I shall probably have to satisfy this longing by means of dreams." Two dreams about Rome are briefly mentioned but not told. In regard to the second one it is stated: "The motive to see the promised land from afar is here easily recognizable." The third dream about Rome: "I am at last in Rome—as the dream tells me. To my disappointment the scenery is anything but urban: it consists of a little stream of dark water on one side of which are black rocks, while on the other are meadows with large white flowers. I notice a certain Herr Zucker (with whom I superficially acquainted), and resolve to ask him to show me the way into the city."[127]

FREUD'S INTERPRETATION AS PRESENTED BY VELIKOVSKY

"It is obvious that I am trying in vain to see in my dream a city which I have never seen in my waking life." The scenery reminds him of Ravenna where he saw beautiful water-lilies in black water. Further the narcissi of Aussee. The dark rock recalls the valley of the Tepe at Karlsbad. The name Karlsbad reminds him of several Jewish anecdotes. One concerns a Jew who because he has no railroad ticket is put off the train repeatedly and

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[124] Velikovsky (1941, p. 490-491).
[125] Velikovsky (1941, p. 492).
[126] Velikovsky (1941, note 4).
[127] Velikovsky (1941, p. 492-493).

> who, upon being asked at one of the stations of his martyrdom where he is going replies: "If my constitution holds out—to Karlsbad." The memory of Karlsbad explains the peculiar circumstance that "I ask Mr. Zucker (Zucker—sugar) to show me the way." We usually send our patients with the constitutional disease, diabetes [Zuckerkrankheit] to Karlsbad. "Asking the way" is a direct allusion to Rome, for we all know "all roads lead to Rome." "The occasion for this dream was the proposal of my Berlin friend that we should meet in Prague at Easter. A further association with sugar and diabetes might be found in the matters which I had to discuss with him."
>
> "During my last Italian journey I considered the plan of traveling in the following year to Naples via Rome." "I myself had walked in Hannibal's footsteps: as little as he was I destined to see Rome, and he too had gone to Campagna when all were expecting him in Rome. Hannibal, with whom I had achieved this point of similarity had been my favorite hero during my years at the gymnasium"…
>
> Freud continues: "Hannibal and Rome symbolized, in my youthful eyes, the contrast between the tenacity of Judaism and the organization of the Catholic Church. The significance for our emotional life which the anti-semitic movement has since assumed helped to fix the thoughts and impressions of those earlier days. Thus the desire to go to Rome has in my dream-life become the mask and symbol for a number of warmly cherished wishes, for whose realization one had to work with the tenacity and single-mindedness of the Punic soldier, though their fulfillment at times seemed as remote as Hannibal's life-long wish to enter Rome. And now, for the first time, I happened upon the youthful experience which even today still expresses its power in all these emotions and dreams."[128]

Freud then recited the incident of his father and the Christian who knocked off his hat and insulted him for being a Jew (this is mentioned in Chapter Two). He also thought of Hamilcar, who made his son swear vengeance on the Romans.[129]

VELIKOVSKY'S INTERPRETATION

> It is Rome, not however the scenery of a town but "a small stream with black water." Thus Rome is not the city but the Roman-Catholic Church which Freud had also mentioned in associations.… Rome is for him the symbol "of the cherished wishes, for whose realization one would like to work with the tenacity of the Punic soldier." "Dark water" is the water of baptism. "On one side of the dark water, black rock"— Judaism, the sad life of the children of the Jewish people, "on the other, meadows with large white flowers "—Christianity, the happy life of those who are not persecuted. It is characteristic that Freud in his associations twice arrived at the word "constitution." We shall interpret it in the civic-legal sense. According to the constitution the Jew does not have equal rights. In the anecdote too the Jew does not have equal rights. In the anecdote too the Jew is put off the train again and again "because he has no ticket." Under this constitution he cannot get on. The anecdote deals really with himself. To be a Jew is a "constitutional disease." This road to Rome would not be Hannibal's road. For Hannibal Rome was no "promised land." But it might be for a Mr. Zucker who knows the roads. Not to submit, but to gain a victory the semitic general led his army towards Rome. But for a Jew the promised land was Jerusalem. The small stream of black water, a border like the Rubicon, signifies temptation and the anguish of the lonely wanderer from that dispersed people of whom he knew that it had stubbornly resisted powerful Rome for a thousand years.[130]

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[128] Velikovsky (1941, p. 493).
[129] Velikovsky (1941, p. 493-494).
[130] Velikovsky (1941, p. 494).

MY INTERPRETATION AND COMMENTS

The associations to this dream are obviously heavily involved with Freud's Jewishness, and as Velikovsky and I would both argue, with Roman Catholic Christianity. (Baptismal water was customarily left in the baptismal font year-round in Czech churches; such water would have appeared dark in the dimly lit churches of the 19th century.)

But let us go back to Freud's remarks in *The Interpretation of Dreams* just before he reported this dream. He said, in reference to an earlier Roman dream,

> I dreamt once that I was looking out of a railway-carriage window at the Tiber and the Ponte Sant'Angelo. The train began to move off, and it occurred to me that I had not so much as set foot in the city. The view that I had seen in my dream was taken from a well-known engraving which I had caught sight of in the sitting-room of one of my patients.[131]

This quotation makes it clear that although Freud had not yet been to Rome, he could nonetheless dream of it as an urban environment if that was what his unconscious wanted. Hence, Velikovsky's claim that this was a symbolic dream involving the Catholic Church is, I think, very strong. It is significant that a few lines after the passage quoted above, Freud wrote about a Roman dream as follows: "There is more in the content of this dream than I feel prepared to detail; but the theme of 'the promised land from afar' was obvious in it."[132] We therefore have reason to believe that some of the religious aspects of these Roman dreams were censored by Freud in his commentary. Unlike Velikovsky, though, I think that for Freud Rome, not Jerusalem, was clearly "the promised land." After all, that desire would have gone back as far as his nanny (whom Velikovsky did not know about). We may also recall that Freud wrote to Fliess, "Next Easter in Rome" instead of "Next year in Jerusalem," which is the common Jewish expression of a religious hope.

We must also ask further about Karlsbad. The name means "Karl's baths or waters"—certainly another possible illusion to baptism (i.e., taking the waters). Underlying Karlsbad could also be Freud's unconscious memories of being bathed by his nanny; if so, such warm and intimate moments would further reinforce the baptism association. In any case, Strachey mentions that both "Rome and Karlsbad came to be identified as symbols of unattainable aims."[133] Karlsbad is in Czechoslovakia (Bohemia), and thus like Prague and Rome can be understood as a nanny symbol.[134]

We should remember, too, that Freud's allegiance to Hannibal hid his strong (or stronger) identification with Rome, so with respect to his opposition to Rome, perhaps "he doth protest too much."

But let us look at some new material. Just before Freud brought up the subject of Hannibal as an association to one of his Roman dreams, he wrote:

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[131] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 194).
[132] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 194).
[133] Strachey (Ed.), in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 195, note 1).
[134] For clear interpretation of Karlsbad as a nanny symbol, see Grigg (1973); not surprisingly, Karlsbad was also strongly linked by Freud to Rome (e.g., S. Freud (1985, pp. 373, 378, 387).

> I was in the act of making a plan to bypass Rome next year and travel to Naples, when a sentence occurred to me which I must have read in one of our classical authors: “Which of the two, it may be debated, walked up and down in his study with the greater impatience after he had formed his plan of going to Rome—Winckelmann, the Vice-Principal, or Hannibal the Commander-in-Chief?”[135]

This unnamed “classical author” (whom Strachey identifies in a footnote as “Jean Paul”[136]) was alluding to Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), a well-known historical figure, considered by many to have been the founder of classical archeology. This archeologist and art historian came from a poor German Lutheran background, and for a time was a medical student in Vienna; however, in part for financial reasons, he moved into other occupations. He became very interested in and knowledgeable about ancient Roman art and architecture. Through this interest he met influential art connoisseurs among the Roman clergy. After several years of crisis in his 30s over conversion, he did convert to Catholicism. He moved to Rome, where he became librarian to Cardinal Passionei. After his conversion, Winckelmann went on to become a famous scholar who was received in Vienna with great honor by the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria. On the way back to Rome after receiving these honors, he was murdered under strange circumstances by a fellow traveler.[137]

There are obvious similarities between Winckelmann and Freud: a poor background; the study of medicine in Vienna; great interest in the past, especially in Roman archeology; and, if Velikovsky is correct, a concern with conversion, based at least in part on the desire for professional advancement. (One wonders whether Freud’s acquaintance Herr Zucker, who was to show him the way to Karlsbad, was also associated with conversion. I have been unable to unearth any relevant information on this issue.[138])

Grigg, to whom I am indebted for bringing the importance of Winckelmann to my attention, has also very decisively connected Rome and the old nanny in Freud’s Roman dreams.[139] Thus, Grigg further reinforces the Catholic meaning of Rome for Freud. Grigg is concerned to show how the nanny is part of Freud’s Oedipus complex; he argues that Freud’s travel phobia and his tendency to avoid Rome were part of unresolved Oedipal anxieties. It is possible that Oedipal anxiety was a factor in causing Freud’s travel fears, over and above separation anxiety. But, in fact, I am not impressed by a proposed Oedipal basis for travel fear; separation anxiety provides a stronger basis. Still, both could conceivably operate together. An evaluation of Grigg’s position is not necessary here, since his primary purpose is to emphasize the negative emotions of Freud associated with the nanny. I certainly do not wish to deny the existence of such negative feelings; however, Grigg, like the rest of the psychoanalytic authors, passes over the positive importance of this woman for Freud, though Freud himself directly testified to it (as we have seen).

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[135] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 196).

[136] Strachey (Ed.), in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 196, note).

[137] See Leppmann (1970) for biographical material on Winckelmann.

[138] It is probable that this Herr Zucker was the same as Zuckerkandl, a man whom Freud refers to in a letter to Martha Bernays written September 4, 1883 (Letters, p. 53). This man, Emil Zuckerkandl (1840-1910), was mentioned by Freud as able to get him a free railroad ticket for a trip he wanted to make to Budapest. Zuckerkandl was a prominent member of the University of Vienna medical school, Jewish, and widely known in Vienna. Perhaps he, or other members of his family, were associated with baptism.

[139] Grigg (1973).

Grigg brings up in passing another Christian component in this dream of Freud's. First, Grigg notes the similarity between the traveling Winckelmann and the traveling impecunious Jew (Freud, in his dream) who stowed away without a ticket. The problem of the nonexistent ticket is a symbol that Freud would have connected to his admired Heine, who was well known for saying that baptism is "the admission ticket to European civilization."[140]

> He was caught, and each time tickcts were inspected he was taken out of the train and treated more severely. At one of the stations on his *via dolorosa* he met an acquaintance who asked him where he was traveling to. "To Karlsbad" was his reply, "if my constitution can stand it."[141]

But this term of Freud's—"*via dolorosa*," or "way of sorrows"—is a Christian expression, since it refers to Christ's sorrowful journey to the crucifixion. This "way" is commonly commemorated in Catholic churches, especially on Good Friday. The commemoration involves what are called the "Stations of the Cross," in which the sufferings of Jesus (an "impecunious Jew") on Good Friday are remembered and identified with. Here Freud was expressing an unconscious identification with Jesus, as he was, in his dream, thrown out at a succession of "stations." This was one of the very few instances of Freud's identifying with Jesus, or any "suffering servant." Freud vastly preferred more clearly successful figures.

The historian Carl Schorske proposes the same significance for the "*via dolorosa*" in his discussion of the Rome dreams. He comments, "The lofty vision of Moses-Freud seeing Israel-Rome 'from afar' had its lowly analogue in the picture of the little-jew-Christ-Freud reaching Carlsbad-Rome on a *via dolorosa*."[142] Schorske claims that all the Rome dreams "suggest, in one form or another, redemption or fulfillment that is never achieved…a longing for an assimilation to the gentile world that his strong waking conscience—and even his dream censor—would deny him."[143]

I want now to bring in a dream and its interpretation that Velikovsky overlooks, but whose anti-Jewish and implicitly pro-Christian aspects have been spotted by the psychoanalyst Oehlschlegel[144] and by Schorske.[145] The dream concerned Freud's uncle with the yellow beard.[146] I introduce it here to exemplify the concept of wish-fulfillment. The particular concern of Freud was to show that in the dream "we find the child and the child's impulses still living on."[147] Thus he was proposing that this dream showed his own childhood impulses. Freud's interpretation was that the impulses behind the dream content were derived from his intense ambition to be promoted to full professor. The dream expressed his rivalry with two of his colleagues who were Jewish and also up for promotion. Freud admitted that (in the dream) he maltreated his worthy colleagues merely because they were Jewish; One he represented as a simpleton, the other as a criminal. Freud concluded his analysis by mentioning that he had behaved as

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[140] Heine, quoted by Clark (1980, p. 12).
[141] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 195).
[142] Schorske (1980, p. 190).
[143] Schorske (1980, p. 190).
[144] Oehlschlegel (1943).
[145] Schorske (1980, p. 187).
[146] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, pp. 137 ff., pp. 191 ff.).
[147] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 191).

if he were the government minister in charge of making the promotions: "I had put myself in the Minister's place."[148] Oehlschlegel claims that in this dream Freud was revealing his rejection of his Jewishness and an identification with the Gentile minister. Jones pooh-poohs Oehlschlegel, but without providing any serious rebuttal of her position.[149] Oddly enough, despite Freud's repeated references to his strong desires for promotion (desires that have been termed "pathological"[150]), Jones, in rejecting Oehlschlegel, makes the unsupportable claim that "worldly advancement meant very little to him."[151] There Oehlschlegel's neglected interpretation might have remained, were it not that recently the same conclusion has been independently reached by the more prominent Schorske, who concludes that the "uncle" dream "revealed a disguised wish either not to be Jewish, or to have the power to eliminate Jewish rivals."[152]

Before we leave the Roman dreams, a last remark by Freud seems appropriate—a remark, made in a footnote, about his desire to go to Rome: "I discovered long since that it only needs a little courage to fulfill wishes which till then have been regarded as unattainable; and therefore became a constant pilgrim to Rome [emphasis added]."[153] Thus, one of Freud's childhood wishes—that of becoming a pilgrim and not a mere tourist or casual visitor to Rome—had been accomplished, and with it the hoped-for pleasure and psychic renewal.

FREUD'S DREAM ABOUT RIDING TO A CHAPEL

> I am riding a gray horse, at first timidly and awkwardly, as though I were merely leaning on it. Then I meet a colleague, P., also on horseback and dressed in rough frieze (tweed); he is sitting high on his horse. He calls my attention to something (probably to the fact that I have a very bad seat). Now I begin to feel more and more at ease on the back of my highly intelligent horse; I sit more comfortably, and I find that I am quite at home up here. My saddle is sort of a pad which completely fills the space between the neck and the rump of the horse. I ride between two vans, and just manage to clear them. After riding up the street for some distance, I turn around and wish to dismount, at first in front of a little open chapel which is built facing the street. Then I do really dismount in front of a chapel which stands near the first one; the hotel is in the same street; I might let the horse go there by itself, but I prefer to lead it thither. It seems as though I should be ashamed to arrive there on horseback. In front of the hotel there stands a page-boy, who shows me a note of mine which has been found, and ridicules me on account of it. On the note is written, doubly underlined: "Nothing to eat," and then a second sentence (indistinct) something like: "No work." At the same time a hazy idea that I am in a strange city in which I do no work.[154]

FREUD'S ANALYSIS AS PRESENTED BY VELIKOVSKY

> Associations: He had suffered in the night from boils and the last thing he could possibly have done was to ride. But the dream plunges him into this very activity. (He cannot ride at all.) It is the negation of suffering. The gray color of his horse corresponds to the pepper-and-salt suit in which he saw his colleague P. the last time. Highly seasoned food is considered a cause of boils. Dr. P. liked to "ride the high

[148] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 193).
[149] Jones (1955, p. 17).
[150] Eissler (1971, p. 259).
[151] Jones (1955, p. 17).
[152] Schorske (1980, p. 187).
[153] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 194, note).
[154] S. Freud, quoted by Velikovsky (1941, p. 501); original in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, pp. 229-230).

horse" after he had replaced Freud in the treatment of a female patient who, like the Sunday equestrian, led him where she wished. "Thus the horse comes to be the symbolic representation of a woman patient (in the dream it is highly intelligent)." "'I feel quite at home' refers to the position which I occupied in the patient's household before I was replaced by my colleague P." It is a feat to practice psychotherapy for several hours daily while suffering from furunculosis and the dream is a dismal allusion to the situation: "Do not work and do not eat." The street in the dream is built up out of impressions of Verona and Siena, the association is Italy ("*gen Italien*" in German means to Italy) and an association to this.[155]

VELIKOVSKY'S INTERPRETATION

Riding horseback is also called to career. It is a career dream. Therefore "riding a high horse." Colleague P., as Freud mentions, is a person who is after a successful career (we suppose a Christian or a baptized Jew, not a Jew). The gray, very intelligent horse consequently is Freud's career. In the same book we read that his hair is already getting gray. One who worried about his career will frequently compare the color of his hair with the distance he has traveled and the success that did not come. He has a "bad seat."

Vans (Lastwagen) among which one rides may be symbolic of a load taken off one's conscience, but usually means a load on one's conscience (*Entlastung—Belastung*). "I turn around" means conversion (*ich kehre um—Bekehrung*). "Open chapel"—we know a psychoanalytic sexual interpretation for this, but the reader will know himself already what the open chapel means; it needs no interpretation.[156]

Velikovsky goes on to propose that the latter part of the dream refers to the explicit or implicit anti-Semitism found when traveling, since a Jew had to show his passport giving his religion when staying at a hotel.

MY COMMENTS AND INTERPRETATION

Velikovsky's suggestion that this is a career dream receives further support from information that was unavailable to him. Dr. P. was Freud's colleague Dr. Josef Paneth, who took Freud's place after Freud reluctantly left Brücke's laboratory.[157]

The dream as Freud recounted it referred to two different chapels on a street of Italian character (another example of the Catholic meaning of Italy for Freud). What is interesting is that Freud in his analysis completely omitted any comment about the significance of either chapel. Since Freud in this book was demonstrating his theory of interpretation by analyzing dreams word by word, or at least phrase by phrase, the fact that Freud skipped this obviously important part of his dream meant that it was associated with highly censored ideas. Freud hinted at a sexual meaning for the dream (e.g., riding horseback on a female patient). However, a religious meaning is certainly present, and there is, of course, no reason why both sexual and religious meanings are

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[155] Velikovsky (1941, p. 501).
[156] Velikovsky (1941, P. 502).
[157] For Paneth's impatience for further advancement, see Schur (1972, p. 157); for Freud's reluctance to give up science and move to the world of "practice" outside of Brücke's research-university world, see Jones (1953, p. 61). There is no evidence that the Jewish Paneth ever converted to Christianity; when he died on January 4, 1890, his death was recognized in the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde,* Vienna. Baptized Jews were not noted in this source (Swales, personal communication, 1984).

not possible. (This possibility is taken up in the next chapter, and it is at the center of a recent thesis by Swales.[158])

FREUD'S DREAM ABOUT "AUF GESERES"

> On account of something that is happening in Rome it is necessary to let the children flee, and this they do. The scene is then laid before a gate, a double gate, in ancient style (the Porta Romano in Siena, as I realize while I am dreaming). I am sitting on the edge of a well and am greatly depressed; I am almost weeping. A woman—a nurse, a nun—brings out the two boys and hands them over to their father who is not myself. The elder is distinctly my eldest son, but I do not see the face of the other boy. The woman asks the elder boy for a parting kiss. She is remarkable for her red nose. The boy refuses her the kiss, but says to her, extending his hand in parting, "Auf Geseres," and to both of us (or to one of us) "Auf Ungeseres." I have the idea that this latter indicates a preference.[159]

FREUD'S INTERPRETATION

> This dream is built on a tangle of thoughts induced by a play I saw at the theatre, called "Das Neue Ghetto" (the new Ghetto). The Jewish question, anxiety as to the future of my children, who cannot be given a fatherland, anxiety as to educating them so that they may enjoy the privilege of citizens—all these features may be easily recognized in the accompanying dream-thoughts.
>
> By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept. Siena, like Rome, is famous for its beautiful fountains.
>
> An association to a co-religionist who has to give up the position in a state asylum which he secured with great effort.
>
> Geseres is a Hebrew word and means ordained sufferings, doom…. Ungeseres is a word I coined myself and at first I am at a loss regarding it. The brief observation at the end of the dream—that Ungeseres indicates an advantage over Geseres—opens the way to the associations and therewith to understanding. This relation holds good in the case of caviar; the unsalted kind is more highly prized than the salted. Caviar for the people—"noble passions."… But a connecting link is wanting between the pair, salted and unsalted and Geseres-Ungeseres. This is found in gesaeuert and ungesaeuret (leavened and unleavened). In their flight-like exodus from Egypt the children of Israel had not time to allow their dough to become leavened, and in commemoration of this event they eat unleavened bread at Easter [sic!] to this day.[160]

VELIKOVSKY'S INTERPRETATION

> Do I perform an act of grace for my children if I let them "flee," if I make bigoted people of them (double gate—bigate), Catholics ("Rome"), "refugees," choose a godfather for them ("hand them over to their father who is not myself "), let them enact the kissing ceremonials of the church? I should "not be a father anymore for my children." Do not children who grow up in the Christian faith become estranged from their Jewish father? Would my children, thus torn, not become neurotics? (red nose—nez rose—Neurose—Neurosis).
>
> But this will not happen. The older boy already seems to show a national or Jewish-religious attitude. In the eyes of Freud this latter would be a neurosis.
>
> The boy "refuses the kiss" and says he chooses for himself the ordained suffering and

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[158] Swales (1982a).

[159] S. Freud, quoted by Velikovsky (1941, p. 508); original in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, pp. 441-442).

[160] Velikovsky (1941, pp. 508-509). "Easter" in original, S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 443); Velikovsky incorrectly uses "Passover."

doom. He offers to his father what the father offered him in the dream: "*Auf Ungeseres*" which indicates a preference over *Geseres*.[161]

MY COMMENTS AND INTERPRETATION

Here is another dream dealing with Jewish and Catholic issues. In this case, it involved "a woman—a nurse—a nun" who "brings out the two boys and hands them over to their father who is not myself." The nun or nurse was an obvious reference to the old nanny, and yet Freud never mentioned her. (Velikovsky, we may recall, did not know about her.) She was the one with the red nose, so my interpretation is that she was the "prime originator" of his neuroses—as Freud said in a letter to Fliess, unknown to Velikovsky, written on October 3, 1897.[162]

The two words "*Geseres*" and "*Ungeseres*," were connected to "salted" and "unsalted" by Freud in a religious setting. Since salt is a primary ingredient in making food kosher, Freud's rejection of *Geseres* or "salted," and his preference for "unsalted" or *Ungeseres,* suggested a preference for non-kosher food - that is, for the "advantage" of the gentile world.

One other interesting meaning in this dream was the symbolism of Freud's sons (or even Freud himself as a child) being handed over to a new father (a priest?), in a parting involving the old nanny.

There are two important Christian themes in the dream that have been commented upon neither by Freud nor Velikovsky; both of them have, however, been noted by Grinstein. First, the association of Freud, "By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept," was a quote from the first line of a famous poem by Swinburne—a poem itself obviously inspired in part by Psalm 137 ("By the rivers of Babylon"). Grinstein summarizes the poem as involving a comparison between the destruction of ancient Italy, and Jerusalem's destruction followed by the Babylonian exile.[163] The poem goes on to compare the rise of Italy to its ancient glory, with the rising of Christ and the growth of Christianity. There are references to Jerusalem, and specifically to Calvary, Gethesemane, and Golgotha—all places directly involved in Christ's betrayal and crucifixion.[164]

The other Christian association is the remarkable reference by Freud to the Jewish Passover as "Easter"! Grinstein suggests that "as Easter refers to the Resurrection of Christ, it fits in with the reference to the Swinburne poem," an interpretation confirmed by Freud.[165] The substitution of Easter for Passover is all the more curious, since Freud himself did not comment upon it at the time, or in any of his many later editions of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (a book to which he continually added more explanatory material). It is possible that through the years Freud never noticed this slip. (Velikovsky does not comment upon this substitution, because in his quoting of Freud he incorrectly uses the word "Passover"; why, I do not know.) In any case, the substitution can be

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[161] Velikovsky (1941, p. 509).
[162] S. Freud (1985, p. 268).
[163] Grinstein (1980, p. 322).
[164] Grinstein (1980, p. 322).
[165] Grinstein (1980, p. 325); Falk (1978, pp. 382-383) also supports the Jewish and Christian ambivalence of this dream in a different but closely related interpretation.

directly interpreted as expressing Freud's unconscious preference for the Christian holiday. All this fits in with Freud's repeated emphases on Easter and resurrection themes; more on this now familiar theme in Freud's life is given below.

Still another Christian association to this dream was made by Freud right after his slip about Easter and Passover, He wrote:

> I remembered how, during the previous Easter, my Berlin friend and I were walking through the streets of Breslau, a town in which we were strangers. [They were then asked directions to a street by a little girl whom they could not oblige.] Shortly afterwards, I caught sight of a door-plate bearing the words "Dr. Herodes. Consulting hours:…" "Let us hope," I remarked, "that our colleague does not happen to be a children's doctor."[166]

Grinstein correctly observes that this was an association to the Herod of the New Testament accounts, but although over a page of historical summary about Herod the Great and his son Herod Antipas is provided, Grinstein misses the point of Freud's remark altogether.[167] What Grinstein falls to mention is that the New Testament importance of Herod is that he ordered the killing of all baby boys in and around Bethlehem, after hearing (from the Magi) that the King of the Jews had been born there. This is, of course, a very familiar story for Christians, and it makes Herod a symbol of danger to children. Thus Freud ruefully hoped that Dr. Herodes was not a children's doctor.[168] Freud's association to Herod as a baby-killer reveals his familiarity with basic Christian references. The story of Herod's ordering all the babies to be murdered is something Freud could easily have first heard from his nanny. The Gospel account of it is commonly read during the Christmas season, especially on the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28).

THE COUNT THUN DREAM

This is a long dream, and, rather than give the analysis of it by Freud and Velikovsky, I merely identify very briefly the kind of Christian symbols and associations that occur in it; they are rather unequivocal. This dream refers to a Count Thun or a Count Taaffe.[169] The dream is usually known by the former name, but the name "Taaffe" is significant, since the word for baptism in German is "*Taufe*" and the sound similarities are considerable; Velikovsky puts some emphasis on this.[170] In the dream Freud referred to his "favorite flower," which from an earlier dream we know brings in "crucifer" and also "artichoke." The color, mentioned by Freud, of the artichoke flower is violet, and the color violet figures in this dream twice—once as the color of upholstered furniture and once as the color of some "violet-brown violets" near his buttonhole. Violet is the color of the baptismal stoles worn in the first part of a ceremony that Freud very likely saw with his nanny.[171] Violet is also a common color in Catholic churches, especially during Lent. (Roughly 60 or 70 days of the year are marked as violet or purple days in

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[166] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 5, p. 443).
[167] Grinstein (1980, pp. 329-330).
[168] Grinstein (1980, p. 329) also asserts that Herod Antipas "is the Herod referred to in the Gospels who was responsible for the death of Jesus Christ." Although it is true that Herod had Jesus mocked, he was only reluctantly involved in the condemnation of Jesus to death; see Luke 23.
[169] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, pp. 209-210); Velikovsky (1941, pp. 498 ff.).
[170] Velikovsky (1941, p. 499).
[171] Velikovsky makes this point (1941, p. 500, note).

the traditional Catholic calendar.[172]) Furthermore, in this dream, one of Freud's associations to a "favorite flower" was to think "also of the rose of Jericho."[173] From a footnote by Strachey, we learn that this flower is known as the "Resurrection plant" because the effect of water (baptism) on its leaves is to rejuvenate them, to cause them to unfold.[174]

In his associations to this dream, Freud brought up an incident already mentioned, in which, in his early student days, he aggressively argued for a simple materialistic theory and was effectively rebutted by "a leader of men…who…stood up and gave us a good talking to: he, too, he told us, had fed swine in his youth and returned repentant to his father's house."[175] Freud then described how he "fired up" and replied boorishly ("*saugrob*," literally "swinishly gross"). Thus, in this language, he equated his own position to that of the swine among which the prodigal son awoke. (This familiar story is told by Jesus in Luke 15:11-32.)

"THE THREE FATES" DREAM

Still another dream with an especially telling incident was the dream of "The Three Fates," which involved three female figures regularly interpreted by Freud and others[176] as including his mother and also a nurse or nanny figure. One of Freud's important associations to this dream was to "a drug from the dispensary which removes hunger: cocaine."[177] The German word for dispensary is "*lateinische Küche*" or "Latin kitchen."[178] If one interprets cocaine as the obvious or manifest content, then the latent meaning would be that the food that removes hunger is to be found in Rome, in a Latin kitchen—especially in the tabernacle that holds the white communion wafers.

Grigg, in his article on the role of the nursemaid in Freud's dreams, makes some important observations and draws some interesting conclusions.[179] Two of these are that Freud felt robbed ("stolen from") by the disappearance of his nurse, and that the theme of maternal abandonment (in Bowlby's terms, separation anxiety[180]) was clearly present in his dreams and associations.

THE BRIDGE DREAM

One last dream and some of its interpretation by Velikovsky are of interest. This dream was about a bridge across a chasm, or the "self- dissection" dream.[181] The dream referred at the start to old Brücke, the head of the Research Institute. Now the name "Brücke" means "bridge" in German. A bridge figured later in the dream, and Freud specifically associated the name of Brücke with its meaning as "bridge."[182] Velikovsky

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[172] The primary traditional purple or violet days are most of Lent (40 days) and much of Advent (four weeks).
[173] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 212).
[174] Strachey (Ed.), in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 212, note 1).
[175] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, pp. 212-213).
[176] For example, see Grinstein (1980).
[177] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 206).
[178] Strachey (Ed.), in S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 206, note 4).
[179] Grigg (1973, pp. 112 ff.).
[180] Bowlby (1973, e.g., Chs. 1 and 2).
[181] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 5, pp. 452-453); Velikovsky (1941, pp. 505 ff.).
[182] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 206).

notes the connection of “bridge” to “*pons*,” “*pontis*,” and “pontificus”—that is, the bridges of Rome and the Pope.[183] Velikovsky also points out that the word for “pelvis” (“*Becken*”), also occurring in the dream, is close to “*Taufbecken*” (Count Taffebecken?), or “baptismal bowl or font.”[184] At the end of this dream, Freud was walking across two planks that “bridge the chasm which had to be crossed.“[185] Velikovsky mentions that “to be crossed” in German is “*Uebertritt*,” or “conversion.”[186] Freud in the dream was terrified at this point and thought that “the children were to make the crossing possible,” and then woke up.[187] In short, again there was a conversion concern, in the context of the children’s needs. (None of this, however, was commented on by Freud.)

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE AND FURTHER DISCUSSION

To provide some additional evidence for the Velikovsky thesis, I would like briefly to summarize Erik Erikson’s interpretation of the famous Irma dream.[188] Erikson concentrates on the manifest content, not on the latent or hidden meaning, by focusing on the form of the dream in the context of Freud’s personal life, at this time in which Freud was at the threshold of a discovery of historical importance. Erikson interprets the dream as like a religious rite of conversion or confirmation. He identifies the old nanny as the source of the Catholic ritual that provided the framework of the dream. As previously mentioned, Freud would have been exposed to the ritual of the Mass many times as a child. (It must also be said that Freud “hung around” Catholic churches in Paris and Rome a great deal, and must necessarily have heard the Mass celebrated often.) Erikson, moreover, says of the nanny that she would have provided for Freud “a measure of a sense of trust.”[189] Thus, at a moment of initiation or conversion in Freud’s life—the beginnings of psychoanalysis—the nanny, and all that she represented for him, again recurred.

Erikson makes one other relevant point in this article—namely, that contemporary man has great difficulty admitting to being at the mercy of unconscious religious forces.[190] Indeed, religion is now the only remaining seriously threatening, even taboo, topic. The possibility of having unconscious sexual desires for one’s mother, murderous hatred for one’s father, homosexual desires—all these have become accepted, even expected. But as for unconscious desires for God and an unconscious desire for salvation, these possibilities are today (at least for most intellectuals) still inadmissible.

Earlier in this section, a reference is made to Jones’s rejection of the Velikovsky hypothesis that Freud expressed in his dreams a conflict over conversion. In his reply, Jones first makes fun of some of the Velikovsky evidence, but he never deals with the claim within the framework of dream analysis.[191] Jones’s dismissal of Velikovsky is most unimpressive. Ernest Jones is a curious biographer, for he presents an almost Victorian piece of hagiography with respect to his interpretation of Freud’s character: It

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[183] Velikovsky (1941, p. 507).
[184] Velikovsky (1941, pp. 506-507).
[185] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 5, p. 453).
[186] Velikovsky (1941, p. 507)
[187] Velikovsky (1941, p. 506); S. Freud (1900, S.E., 5, p. 453).
[188] Erikson (1954).
[189] Erikson (1954, p. 40).
[190] Erikson (1954, p. 39).
[191] Jones (1955, p. 17).

is as the complete secular saint that Freud is offered up to us. Nothing of a seriously religious involvement must mar the Freudian biographical cameo that has been so carefully wrought. It appears that Jones simply does not want to think about Freud's possibly having any religious desires or religious feelings.

One can plead some extenuating circumstances for Jones, however. He did not get to know Freud personally until 1908, when his subject was over 50 years old, and hence already well past his youthful crisis and his self-analysis with its Roman themes[192]; by 1908 Freud was already beginning to attract international attention. Neither was Jones's role as the younger, faithful, orthodox student, however admirable it may have been in many respects, optimal for the production of impartial biography.

And Jones does have redeeming virtues as a biographer: One is very grateful for the enormous amount of material that he provides, including raw information that does not fit in with his own interpretive theories. The information and the theories generally occur on different pages. In the present instance, only a few sentences later after testily rejecting Velikovsky's position, Jones writes: "Freud did once, It is true, for five minutes toy with this idea [of conversion], but for anti-religious reasons; a Protestant was allowed to have a civil wedding, and Freud detested religious ceremonies of any kind, Jewish as much as Christian."[193] This is certainly a strange interpretation. A man who loved and was engaged to a girl like Martha Bernays (who was from a prominent and practicing Jewish family), and who did not wish to alienate Martha's family, would not "toy" with such an idea unless he was remarkably estranged from religious Judaism, and to some degree attracted to Christianity. After all, to convert or to officially assimilate certainly involves being in another religious ceremony: baptism.[194]

This "conversion" question involved a discussion between Freud and his older Jewish colleague Breuer in 1884. At that time, Freud was revealing some positive attitudes to Christianity in his letters to Martha (discussed earlier in this chapter), and he was also influenced by the career ambitions fueled by his desire to get ahead in Brücke's lab. In this lab, as already noted, the major models for him were Gentile, especially "the honored name of Brücke."[195] It was after a talk with Brücke, in which Freud's impoverished situation and very likely his Jewishness were discussed as serious barriers to advancement, that Freud decided unhappily to leave science (i.e., research in the university setting) and to go into private practice.[196] In short, the discussion with the Jewish Breuer concerning conversion was probably precipitated by the conscious aspirations of Freud (not to mention his "Christian" unconscious desires), and conversion was probably given some serious thought.

Freud, at the time, would also have had the example of Martha's uncle to serve as a possible model. Although it was at the cost of a family estrangement, Michael Bernays—the one who became a prominent professor at the University of Munich—had converted. This uncle was best known for a major work on Goethe, Freud's most

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[192] Jones (1955, p. 35).
[193] Jones (1955, p. 17).
[194] Klein (1981) documents Freud's temptation to assimilate when he was a young man—a tendency discussed by Klein primarily in terms of social and political factors. Falk (1978) does the same more briefly, but he also notes the nanny as a personal and psychological reason for this temptation.
[195] S. Freud (1900, S.E., 4, p. 206).
[196] Jones (1953, pp. 59, 295).

admired author.[197]

Let us pause here to take up one of the strange and unexplained relationships in Freud's life, which is the one he had with Breuer. More than ten years after the just-mentioned conversion discussion (i.e., in the late 1890s), Freud became estranged from his friend of 20 years, advisor, and colleague. Why Freud became so hostile to Breuer is a puzzle to his biographers.[198] The intensity of Freud's rejection is clear from the following story, recounted by Breuer's daughter-in-law, of an event that occurred years after their break:

> Breuer's daughter-in-law remembered walking with him as an old man; suddenly she saw Freud coming straight toward him, and Breuer instinctively opened his arms. Freud passed by, pretending not to see him, which gives some idea how deeply the break must have wounded him.[199]

I would like to suggest that one of the possible bones of contention between the two could well have been Freud's discussion of conversion—a topic that must have taken longer than Jones's "five minutes," and could easily have come up several times. Perhaps Breuer once betrayed this conversation to someone Freud disliked, or perhaps there was some real unpleasantness associated with their exchanges on the topic. In any case, it is curious that the book that these two men coauthored, *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-1895), dealt extensively with another kind of "conversion." That is, in this book, the authors described how psychological symptoms, especially hysterical symptoms, represent an expression of excess psychic energy derived from aspects of the past that the patient is unable to accept; this energy is "converted" into symptoms. At the conscious level, this new term "conversion" was drawn from the physical sciences, in which energy was often "converted" from one form to another (e.g., electrical energy into mechanical). However, the German word Freud and Breuer used for psychological conversion ("*Konversion*") also has a religious meaning (as it does in English, French, and other languages as well). Since this vocabulary emerged after Freud's greatest personal involvement with conversion, and when, moreover, he was working closely with the one man with whom he is known to have discussed religious conversion, one must wonder. Freud is, it should be noted, on record as being the one who initiated the use of the term "conversion" in the psychological sense.[200]

C. F. Meyer: Poems and Novels

I conclude this chronological treatment of the religious significance of Freud's adult life prior to 1900 by turning to his involvement in the literary culture of his time.

In 1898, Fliess drew Freud's attention to the poetry and short novels of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825-1898), a Swiss-German writer who is still considered one of the more important contributors to German literature in the 19th century. Following Fliess's suggestion in 1898, Freud read a 12-line poem by Meyer, "*Am Himmelstor*" ("At the

[197] Jones (1953, p. 101).
[198] Jones (1953, pp. 252-256).
[199] Roazen (1975, p. 80).
[200] S. Freud (1914b, S.E., 14, pp. 8-9).

Gate of Heaven").[201] Shortly thereafter, he began reading widely in Meyer's work and became something of a Meyer fan. It is informative to describe briefly those works of Meyer in which Freud had some serious involvement.

Freud quoted most often from Meyer's lengthy 1871 poem *Huttens Letzte Tage* (*Hütten's Last Days*).[202] Set in the past, like all of Meyer's major works, the poem is centered on Ulrich von Hütten (1488-1523), an historical figure well known as a soldier who fought against Rome for German political and religious freedom.[203] This German Protestant knight, sick and outlawed, was provided by Zwingli (the famous Swiss Protestant theologian) with a peaceful retreat on an island in the Lake of Zurich. Here, Hütten spent his last days; he died in the summer of 1523, not long after his arrival. The poem is set in these last days.

On the surface, the strongest theme of *Huttens Letzte Tage* is its expression of German nationalism, but it contains many other various symbolic and ambivalent currents underneath this more obvious, or manifest, meaning. Freud probably had some modest response to German nationalism, but he never quoted these parts of the poem, and it is rather obvious that the other themes were the real basis of its appeal for him. One of these themes is the portrayal of the conflict between German Reformation values and culture and those of Catholic and Renaissance Rome. In spite of the clear preference for the German side, there is still a real appreciation of the Roman world. C. F. Meyer, like Goethe and Freud, had visited Rome, and Meyer's biographers agree that it was a decisive and positive experience for him.

Other themes in this work also have what by now we can recognize as a "Freudian" character. In the first section of the poem, Hütten arrives on the island with his pen and sword. Curiously, his host on the island is a Catholic priest and doctor, who gives Hütten a famous Darer engraving, *Ritter, Tod, und Teufel* (*Knight, Death and Devil*). Near the end of this first part, Hütten realizes he will soon die. He contemplates a crucifix, and also finds comfort in his encounters with St. Paul and Socrates, subtitled "*Ein christliches Sprüchlein*" and "*Ein heidnisches Sprüchlein*" ("A Christian Proverb" and "A Pagan Proverb," respectively).

The next section involves recollections of Hütten's struggle with Rome and includes scathing tirades against the Roman Catholic Church. Somewhat later, Hütten confronts his internal demons as they assail him with doubts about the validity of the causes for which he has lived and fought; he hears the Devil mocking him as a fool fighting for clouds (i.e., illusions), and his mother lamenting that he has forfeited his salvation. Next comes a forceful section on Hütten's humanity ("Homo sum"), in which his many internal contradictions are noted. This poem concludes with Freud's favorite lines from Meyer, "*[I]ch bin kein ausgeklügelt Buch, / Ich bin ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch*" ("I am no subtle contrived book,/ I am a man with his contradictions"). In a following section, Hütten proudly confesses his attack on the Pope; there then follow sections with praise of Luther and his translation of the Bible. Later Hütten is visited by St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits and a representative of Catholic power.

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[201] Origins, (p. 247).

[202] Examples of Freud quoting from *Huttens* can be found in S. Freud & Jung (1974, p. 202); S. Freud (1909a, S.E., 10, p. 113).

[203] The summary of *Huttens Letzte Tage* is based in large part on the very helpful recent book *Conrad Ferdinand Meyer* by Marianne Burkhard (1978).

Loyola's nocturnal flagellations and deep devotion to the Virgin are described as both impressive and ominous, for Meyer's description hints at future religious conflict. Finally, at the end of the poem, there are conversations with the island's priest about science, which suggest that absolute religious pronouncements will be increasingly questionable in the future.

This brief summary makes it clear that *Huttens Letzte Tage is* a retrospective, melancholic, symbolic work, filled with hostility and bitterness toward—and also attraction to—aspects of Roman Catholicism. Hütten, like Hannibal, is an enemy of Rome, but Rome is not conquered and Hütten is dying. Many things Roman Catholic (e.g., the crucifix, St. Paul, the priest) have a positive significance, in spite of much other serious opposition to things Catholic, especially the Pope's power. And, of course, the hero Hütten is a Christian—a committed Protestant. The religious atmosphere is also strengthened by demons and the Devil who make their appearance, and by a mother-figure bemoaning her son's lost salvation.

Die Richterin (The Female Judge), a short novel, received serious attention from Freud in a letter to Fliess.[204] In fact, Freud's remarks on this work constituted the first psychoanalytic interpretation of a piece of literature. The story has a decidedly Christian setting: The first chapter opens in Rome, with monks chanting the Mass just after Charlemagne has been crowned Emperor by the Pope.[205] *Die Richterin*'s major importance for Freud, however, stemmed from the family situation portrayed by Meyer. Freud proposed that the story contains evidence of C. F. Meyer's defense against an incestuous relationship with his sister. (Meyer in fact did have a very close, possibly incestuous relationship with his younger sister.) In this interpretation, Freud was giving his first expression of ideas that were to bulk very large in his later theories. C. F. Meyer certainly gave Freud much to work with, since the story involves a violent passion between a stepson, Wolfrin, and his half-sister, Palma. There is also the mother (a female judge), made pregnant by another man (a priest) just before her marriage. The mother poisons her husband shortly after the marriage. The story ends with a dramatic judgment scene, interspersed with powerful quotes from the Mass. For example, Palma condemns her mother (the judge) with these words: "*Concepit in iniquitatibus me mater mea….*" In short, *Die Richterin* is a family history involving ambiguous parentage, incest, murder, love, and guilt, all brought to light at the end of the story in a very Catholic context.

Freud also enjoyed Meyer's *Die Hochzeit des Mönchs* (*The Monk's Wedding*), which he considered Meyer's best novel.[206] Set in Italy of the 13th century, this is a rather ambiguous and disturbing work centered on a monk, Astorre, who renounces his vows (under extreme pressure from his father) in order to marry his brother's recent widow, Diana. Later Astorre breaks his vows to Diana. The poet Dante is an important figure, the narrator of the story. The complex relationships among Astorre, Diana, and others are the focus of the story. Again, there is an historical treatment in a Catholic setting; for example, Dante refers to Christ's great compassion for others and to Christ's wounds. Astorre's religious motivation is portrayed as deep and serious, but the meaning again focuses on personal relationships—relationships that remain dark and ambiguous. The themes of sexuality, guilt, and murder are present, but all subject to

[204] Origins (pp. 256-257).
[205] Summaries of Meyer's short novels are based on Williams (1962) and on Meyer (1976).
[206] Origins (p. 258).

different interpretations by different literary critics.

Regarding *Gustav Adolfs Page* (a short novel), Freud commented that the idea of deferred action occurs twice in the story; then he ironically noted that in Innsbruck they actually show the chapel where the central (and, unlike Hütten, entirely fictional) character in the novel supposedly was received into the Catholic faith. Otherwise, Freud made no comment except that he found the story bewildering and implausible.[207] Besides *Die Hochzeit,* the other Meyer novel that Freud acknowledged reading with enthusiasm was *Die Versuchung des Pescara* (*The Temptation of Pescara*).[208] The setting is Italy, this time in the Renaissance and in a complex political situation, Machiavellian in many respects. Pescara, a half-Spanish and half-Italian general, is in this work asked (or tempted) to lead an Italian conspiracy against the Spanish emperor. Again the novel's action occurs in something of a Catholic historical setting, but one where religion is usually treated skeptically and on the surface; beneath lie complex but quite ordinary human passions for power. Nevertheless, Christian symbolism makes a major appearance. Pescara, who receives a wound in the side, is shown through his connection to an altarpiece in the Convent of the Holy Wounds to be a Christ symbol. Yet Pescara has no real religious beliefs, and the basic attitude of the story is one of doubt and skepticism. Regardless, Meyer seems deliberately to have left the Christ-figure interpretation of Pescara as a possibility. As Marianne Burkhard notes, the author seems to have been expressing his personal religious ambivalence.[209] Shortly after completing *Pescara,* Meyer wrote: "For in spite of my efforts to escape Christianity…I feel [myself] being led back to It…regardless of any critical and philosophical knowledge."[210] We have seen ample reason why the presence of such a motivation would appeal to Freud.

Freud also read Meyer's *Der Heilige* (*The Saint*), a fictionalized account of the life of St. Thomas a Becket.[211] Here the story is set in a thoroughly medieval Christian world of monks, priests, and bishops. Again, Meyer's treatment of his central figure's motivation is ambiguous: Is Becket truly a religiously motivated saint, or just a subtle seeker of revenge on the king, his former friend?

Throughout his stories, it is clear that Meyer was a master of ambiguous polarities set in a religious historical past: Renaissance versus Reformation; ancient pagan versus Christian; Catholic versus Protestant; simple piety versus complex skepticism. Meyer also often created a fusion of images and emotions from the past with those of the present—certainly another reason, no doubt, for his appeal to Freud.

In any case, Meyer's writings, with their Christian (typically, Roman Catholic) settings, are certainly more appropriate to a reader struggling with belief, or to an apostate Christian, than to a cool, secular scientist who went through life with no personal involvement in or need for religion.

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[207] Origins (p. 255).
[208] Origins (p. 270).
[209] Burkhard (1978, p. 146).
[210] Burkhard (1978, p. 146).
[211] Origins (p. 270).

Conclusion

The wealth of material cited in regard to this approximately 20-year period of Freud's early maturity reveals the deepest of religious preoccupations. Fond Pentecost greetings, longings for Rome, both conscious and unconscious desires for conversion, and enjoyment of ambiguous Christian literature were expressed by Freud time and time again. Yet these secret desires were held back from any kind of direct fulfillment. The psychological nature of Freud's unconscious religious inhibition is the next issue for consideration.