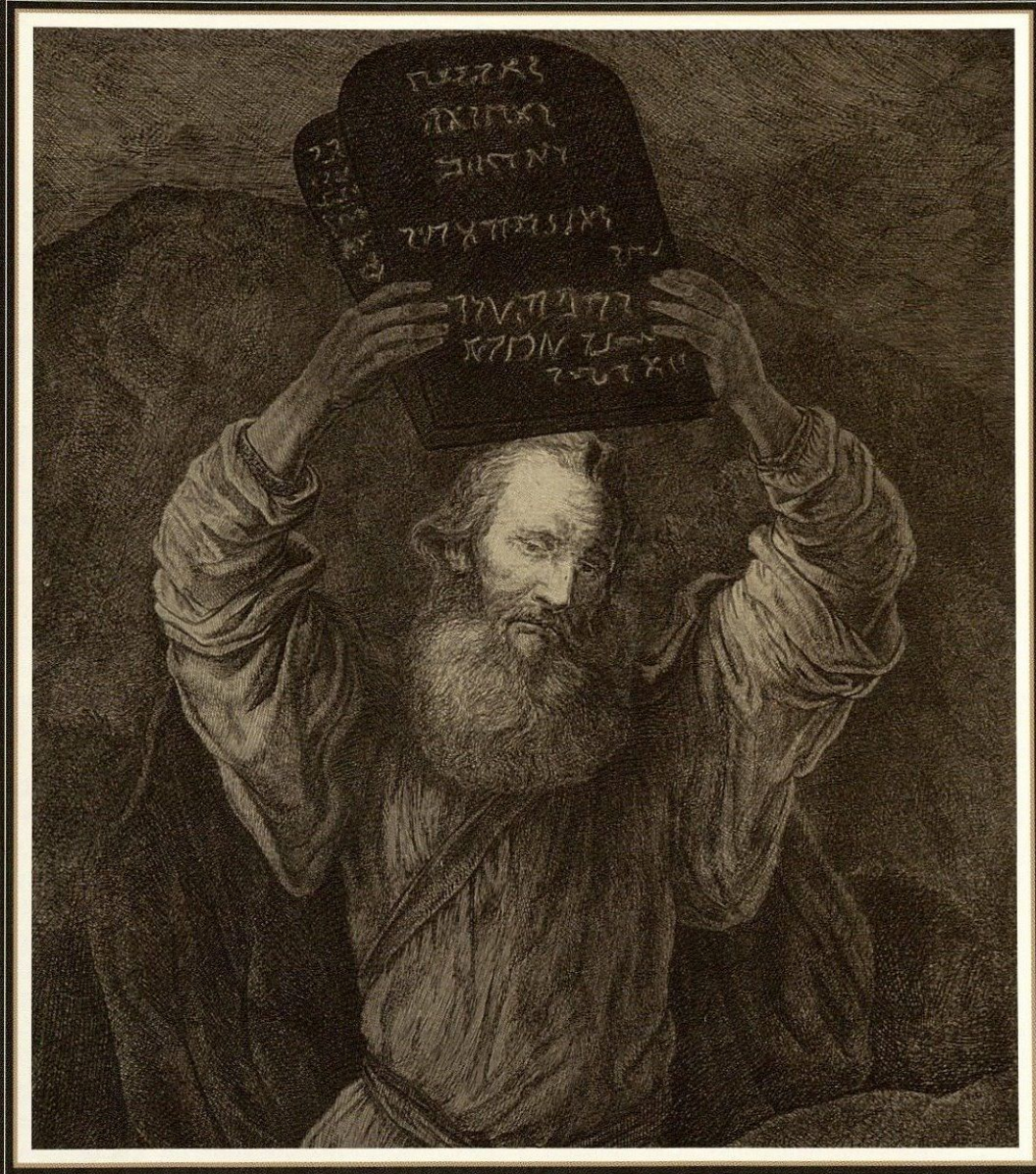


SIGMUND FREUD'S JEWISH HERITAGE



STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, BINGHAMTON

FREUD MUSEUM, LONDON

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Editor's note:

All objects are in the collection of the Freud Museum, London,
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The abbreviation "S.E." refers to *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. by James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74).

The abbreviation "B.C.E." (Before Common Era) is used with dates in this supplement in place of "B.C." (Before Christ). Unless otherwise noted, material is C.E./A.D. (Common Era/Anno Domini).

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PREFACE

Two years ago I was persuaded to organize the first major publication and exhibition of Freud's art collection by seeing a photograph of Freud's desk cluttered with Egyptian, Greek, and Chinese figures. This addition to the original project (*Sigmund Freud and Art: His Personal Collection of Antiquities*, New York: Abrams, 1989) was inspired by a second photograph of Freud's study from the famous series taken by Edmund Engelman (see Yerushalmi, below). During a visit to the Freud Museum, my curiosity was aroused when I noticed Rembrandt's seventeenth-century etching *The Jews in the Synagogue* hanging in the bookcase behind Freud's desk. I asked my friend David I. Becker, at the time a graduate student in Judaic studies at Binghamton who was working in the Art Museum as one of my assistants, to examine Engelman's series of photographs from a Jewish perspective. David pointed out two kiddush cups, vessels used in Jewish ceremonies to sanctify wine, among Freud's antiquities. This discovery of Jewish ritual objects in the birthplace of psychoanalysis led me to return to Freud's study and to organize this additional exhibition and publication of material related to Freud's Jewish heritage and the theme of searching for ancient roots.

I have had the expert guidance of Susan L. Braunstein, Associate Curator for Archaeology at The Jewish Museum, and the wise counsel of Professor Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi of Columbia University. The staff of the Freud Museum in London, led by Acting Director Erica Davies, ably assisted with research on the new material, especially Freud's extremely rare and precious thirteenth-century Hanukkah lamp. I am grateful for the advice and encouragement I have received from my colleague Yedida Stillman, Chair of the Department of Judaic Studies, State University of New York, Binghamton.

Lynn Gamwell, Director, Art Museum
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THE PURLOINED KIDDUSH CUPS: REOPENING THE CASE ON FREUD'S JEWISH IDENTITY

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi



FIG. 1. Freud's study,
Vienna, May 1938.
Photo © Edmund
Engelman.

In May, 1938, some three months after Hitler's *Anschluss* of Austria, and only days before Freud and his family fled Nazi Vienna for London, the photographer Edmund Engelman was able to make a unique historical record of the Freud home as it appeared just prior to its abandonment. Working for three consecutive days, he photographed everything he could, including Freud's beloved collection of antiquities in their organic surroundings.

In 1976 a large selection of Engelman's superb photographs was finally published as a book titled, after the address of Freud's apartment house, *Berggasse 19*.¹ Translated into several languages, this book has had a deservedly wide circulation. Among the plates one (no. 15) is of particular interest. In a corner of Freud's study, with part of the famous couch visible on the right, we see a small table on which are arrayed a group of ancient Egyptian statuettes, photographed in profile (fig. 1). Thus far, nothing unusual. But on the same table, in the very foreground facing the viewer, there also stand two goblets, one in front of the other, which are not even mentioned in the descriptive caption (fig. 2).² Until very recently no one seemed to notice the incongruity between these goblets and the Egyptian objects. More important, apparently no one (myself included) had realized that the goblets were actually two silver Jewish kiddush cups, the one in front even emblazoned with the two Tablets of the Law.³ In all probability, we did not *see* the kiddush cups

because, aware of Freud's well-known contempt for religious ritual, we did not *expect* to see them there. And so again we experience the truism which Poe's archetypal sleuth C. Auguste Dupin knew so well, that we not only believe what we see but often see only what we believe, and that if the Prefect of the Paris police could not find the purloined letter it was because it was staring him in the face.

The same syndrome, in a sense, applies to Freud's medieval Hanukkah lamp. This lamp appeared in photographs of Freud's study taken in 1961 by the late Princeton philosopher Walter Kaufmann. Anna Freud included a "menorah" in a list of objects from her father's antiquities collection in 1974. The lamp has been on view in the room reconstructing Freud's study at the Freud Museum in London. Yet no one prior to Dr. Lynn Gamwell saw fit to draw any particular attention to it, and so there has been no reference to it in Freud scholarship, not even in the literature dealing with Freud's Jewish heritage.

The remarkable traveling exhibition of Freud's collection, assembled only some two years ago, contained not a single Jewish object. The Jewish materials now added to the exhibition were only subsequently discovered at the Freud Museum in London, and are fully described in this supplement to the original catalogue. It was only a reexamination of the Engelman photograph by a graduate student in Jewish studies at the State University of New York at Binghamton, and its enlargement to show the

details of the kiddush cups, that prompted a renewed search for other Jewish materials in Freud's collection (the cups themselves have not yet been found).

But the tale does not end here. After I had finished the draft of this essay, Susan L. Braunstein returned to an even closer reexamination of the Engelman photos and, eagle-eyed, made a further discovery. In plate 23 of *Berggasse 19* (reproduced in *Freud and Art*, p. 27), she realized that on a wall near the doorway in Freud's consulting room there hung a portrait of a man that was none other than Rembrandt's etching of the famous seventeenth-century Amsterdam rabbi Menasseh ben Israel! This portrait has survived in the Freud Museum in London and now joins the current exhibition (cat. no. 8).

The entire episode may well serve as both parable and cautionary tale for what has occurred in the larger scholarly quest to understand the nature of Freud's Jewish identity. That quest has often been derailed by a number of factors, notably the relative paucity of information about Freud's childhood and the parental home; the lingering inaccessibility of much archival material; the frequent lack of an extensive knowledge, not only of Freud and

FIG. 2. Detail of kiddush cups. Photo © Edmund Engelman.



psychoanalysis but of Judaism and Jewish history; even the reliance on translations of Freud's texts rather than the original German. A small example of the latter will clarify what I mean. In 1883, overworked during his hospital internship, Freud wrote teasingly to his fiancée Martha Bernays: "In the future . . . I think I shall try to live more like the gentiles—modestly, learning and practicing the usual things and not striving after discoveries and delving too deep." That is, even in English, an interesting remark. But it becomes more pungent and even more revealing when we realize that, in his German letter, for "gentiles" Freud instinctively wrote "Goyim" (a transliteration in German characters of the Hebrew-Yiddish *goyim*, an often not too flattering connotation for non-Jews).⁴

One key to Freud's Jewishness may well lie in his celebrated description of himself as "a quite godless Jew" (*ein ganz gottloser Jude*), but that key, if it is to be useful, must be turned in both directions. Undoubtedly Freud was godless, and if we do not take his atheism seriously, we distort the truth. But Freud was also very much a Jew. To underestimate the depth of his Jew-

ishness, as has happened so frequently, is no less a distortion. It falsely assumes that to be a "godless" or in the more common phrase a "secular" Jew is, if not an outright contradiction, an inevitable dilution of Jewish identity. It ignores the fact that secular, godless Jews have been a ubiquitous component of Jewish modernity, and that while they have revealed a broad spectrum of attitudes, many have retained the most passionate Jewish loyalties, feelings, and convictions.

Certainly Freud's culture, though cosmopolitan, was Germanic at its core. But culture and identity are not necessarily synonymous. Like so many other Central European Jews, what he cherished was the Germany of literature, philosophy, science. Unlike many of his Jewish contemporaries, he rarely mistook this Germany of the mind and the imagination for the real Germany or Austria, even if part of him wanted to do so. In 1886 he reports from Paris to Martha that in a political conversation on a possible Franco-German war, "I promptly explained that I am a Jew [*Ich gab mich gleich als jüdisch*], adhering neither to Germany nor to Austria."⁵ Freud's repudiation of his Germanic identity would be repeated in subsequent decades, even before the advent of Hitler. Nor was Freud, as is often assumed, spiritually and intellectually nourished merely by the traditions of the Enlightenment and of scientific positivism. In a retrospective overview of his life he states unequivocally: "My deep engrossment in the Bible story (almost as soon as I had learned the art of reading) had, as I recognized much later, an enduring effect upon the direction of my interest."⁶

To be sure, Freud himself unwittingly shares a certain responsibility for some of the subsequent controversy concerning his Jewish identity, through his frequent projection of a public persona as a universal scientist who had received the barest of Jewish upbringings, from a father whom he characterizes as an agnostic and even a "Voltairean." All too often this image has been accepted uncritically by Freud scholars, without bothering to consider how much of it may have been strategically connected to Freud's long-standing anxiety that psychoanalysis should not be perceived as a "Jewish" science, and ignoring or glossing over the often dramatic gap between his public and private utterances, as well as other evidence that contradicts the prevailing stereotype.

However, a new type of Freud scholarship has recently emerged which, intent on a thorough reappraisal of Freud's Jewishness, has brought fresh tools and perspectives to bear on the subject. Often it has not even been a matter of discovering new manuscript or archival materials, but of an alert and contextual rereading of all available published texts, as a result of which we "see" for the first time what was there all along. The enterprise, of course, must still be considered as work in progress, not necessarily reaching closure on any particular point, but certainly reopening questions previously considered closed. In this limited space I obviously cannot give a fully adequate account of these new lines of investigation.⁷ Let it suffice for me to indicate at least some of the contours of Freud's Jewish identity as they have begun to be clarified.

Freud's father Jacob was certainly no "Voltairean." There is now ample evidence, both oblique and direct, that even in Vienna he continued to be a tradition-minded Jew who in his leisure studied a page of Bible or Talmud daily. Even if, as some have speculated, he had become a *maskil* (an adherent of the movement for Jewish Enlightenment) in Galicia, we must remember that the Galician Haskalah was by its nature not anti-religious, but rather, only opposed to what it regarded as Hasidic fanati-



FIGS. 3–4. What is different in these two pictures? In the photographs of Berggasse 19, which Edmund Engelman took in May 1938, everything in Freud's study remained in the same place—everything, that is, except the kiddush cups, which appear in some of the photographs (left) and are absent in others (right); see note 3. Photos © Edmund Engelman.

cism and cultural hermeticism. Jacob's marriage in Rabbi Mannheimer's Reform temple in Vienna means simply that the setting was "modern," but the wedding ceremony (like Sigmund's later circumcision) was in that period thoroughly traditional. In Jacob Freud's household most, if not all, Jewish holidays were observed, and probably the dietary laws as well. Indeed, the very violence and fury of Freud's subsequent rebellion against Jewish ritual would be almost inexplicable unless he had experienced it intimately in his childhood.

Freud's Jewish education too, it turns out, had been far from trivial. At age seven he began formal study of the Hebrew Bible with his father and, through the Gymnasium years, Hebrew, religion, and Jewish history with Samuel Hammerschlag, to whom he remained devoted. Along with German, Yiddish was almost certainly the lingua-franca in the home that Sigmund Freud left only at age twenty-six. For his thirty-fifth birthday his father presented him with the Philippon Bible from which both had once studied together, freshly rebound in leather, into which he had written an amazing and elaborate Hebrew inscription. If, as Freud later claimed, he knew no Hebrew, why did Jacob not write in German? More important is the revelatory quality of the Hebrew text itself. Long available, only now has it been properly glossed and shown to be entirely an ingenious mosaic of phrases from the Bible, the Talmud, and Jewish liturgy. Certainly it attests to Jacob's abiding command of Jewish learning. But if we trace the fragments back to their original sources, we also have a fascinating psychological subtext whose message is an appeal by the father to the son to return to the Bible, the primal wellspring of his inspiration and of their closeness together.⁸

As for Freud's own perception of his Jewish identity, we have only to review the plethora of statements scattered throughout his private correspondence and recorded conversations with his fellow Jews. His expressions of his pride in being a Jew were not merely a reflex to anti-Semitism or an attempt to transform his Jewish marginality into an asset, though there was something of that as well. Yet, faced with the same prejudice, many of his Viennese Jewish peers reacted very differently, hiding, fleeing

their Jewish identities, even accepting baptism for the sake of their careers. Freud staunchly refused such evasions. Indeed, there is now ample indication that Freud genuinely believed that Jews are intellectually and morally superior to others, and that he thought these qualities to be phylogenetically inherited and transmitted. Nor did Freud's stance remain passive or abstract. He really felt comfortable only among Jews, and it is therefore no accident that the only organization which he joined at first was the B'nai Brith, that the original Wednesday evening group which became the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society was composed of Jews, and that some interesting structural parallels should emerge between the two. Though he never formally declared himself a Zionist, in 1902 he sent Theodor Herzl a copy of *The Interpretation of Dreams* with a letter hailing him as "the poet and the fighter for the human rights of our people" (see cat. no. 12).⁹ Later he accepted honorary membership in Kadimah, the Zionist student organization, and became a member of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University, and even of the honorary committee of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) in Vilna.

In the end, of course, it is the inner Freud, his *moi profond* as the French would say, that is of paramount importance. Here certain of Freud's dreams have yielded new insight into how deeply Jewish concerns were embedded in his psyche.¹⁰ But the depth of his Jewish passion comes through most vividly in his letters—to Arnold Zweig, for example, or Karl Abraham, or to the lately rediscovered Sabina Spielrein ("We are and remain Jews. The others will only exploit us and will never understand and appreciate us . . .").¹¹

We have only to take Freud's own explicit statements with the seriousness they deserve in order to fully grasp that neither was he ambivalent about his Jewish identity nor did he have any desire to discard it. What he wanted through most of his life, and what eluded him for so long, was to understand its nature and its very intensity. The quintessential expression of this desire, echoed on other occasions, is to be found in his message to the Vienna lodge of the B'nai Brith: "What bound me to Judaism was . . . not the faith, not even the national pride. . . . But there

remained enough over to make the attraction of Judaism and the Jews irresistible, *many dark emotional powers all the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words...*¹²

Only toward the very end of his life did Freud finally find the words. The result was *Moses and Monotheism*, not, as some would have it, a valediction to his Jewishness but, properly understood, its triumphant vindication.

And what of the Jewish objects now discovered and displayed? Do they change anything in our view of Freud's Jewish identity? Let us be prudent and opt for caution. The kiddush cups, I suspect, may have been an inheritance from his or his wife Martha's parents, the old Hanukkah lamp probably bought from a dealer. Godless Jew that he was, having coerced his wife even before their marriage to give up all the Jewish rituals of her natural piety and Orthodox upbringing, it would be no more plausible to assume that he used these objects for their originally intended purposes than to suppose that he actually worshiped his Egyptian deities. On the other hand, the discovery that he owned a set of the four-volume 1928 Berlin edition of the Babylonian Talmud in the original¹³ (we already knew that he owned the Goldschmidt German translation) raises anew the question of his Hebraic (and Aramaic) knowledge, but this must remain, for the time being, an intriguing enigma. The portrait of Menasseh ben Israel is equally tantalizing. It hardly seems likely to me that Freud owned it merely because he was interested in Rembrandt. Freud had a long-standing interest in England, had relatives there, admired its liberties, and ended there as a refugee. Can it be mere coincidence that Menasseh ben Israel is most famous in Jewish history as having played a central role in 1654–55 in the readmission of the Jews to England, from which they had been expelled in 1290?¹⁴ Be that as it may, the very fact that the Jewish objects, the Talmud, and the other materials now on view were kept as part of his scrupulously arranged private ambience is sufficiently noteworthy and (such are the surprising vicissitudes in the unfolding story of Freud) may yet, with other discoveries perhaps still to come, prove significant.

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1. Edmund Engelman, *Berggasse 19: Sigmund Freud's Home and Offices, Vienna 1938*. Introduction by Peter Gay. (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

2. A frontal view of the table, with the goblets, appears again in plate 17.

3. Curiously, in other photographs of the same table taken from different angles (Engelman, *Berggasse 19*, pls. 11, 16, 19), the cups are not present. Moreover, the corresponding plate 17 in the French edition is not the same photograph as in the English. It shows the same view, but without the cups. Apparently another negative was inadvertently substituted for this printing. See *La maison de Freud: Berggasse 19, Vienne* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1979), p. 64, pl. 17.

I owe the following further details to Dr. Lynn Gamwell. The evidence relevant to the two Engelman photographs which do, and do not, contain the cups can be summarized as follows: Engelman took all the photographs of Freud's study on three consecutive weekdays in May 1938. Taking Engelman's recollections about the weather (which was crucial to him for the lighting of his photographs), together with newspaper reports of the weather in Vienna throughout May 1938, it is only possible to conclude that Freud's study was photographed on Monday, May 23, through Wednesday, May 25 (letter from E. Engelman to L. Gamwell, Jan. 24, 1991; *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, May 1938). It is impossible to determine the sequence in which these two particular photographs were made, since both were taken with a Rolleiflex camera,

which has cut, unnumbered negatives (letter from E. Engelman to L. Gamwell, June 25, 1991). However, we can determine with virtual certainty that Engelman took the photographs that included the cups on Wednesday the 25th. Engelman tells us in *Berggasse 19* that after the first and second days of shooting, he went to his studio at night and made contact prints, which he put into a scrapbook for Freud (*Berggasse 19*, pp. 131, 136–40). Engelman gave Freud the scrapbook during the third day of shooting the study, when the two men met for the first time. None of the photos in this scrapbook, which includes nine photos of the table in question, contains the cups. Thus the cups must have been present on the third day only.

The opinion of the research staff of the Freud Museum is that most likely either Freud's wife Martha or daughter Anna put the cups on the table to be photographed because the two women, together with the housekeeper Paula Fichtl, supervised the picture taking (letter from E. Davies to L. Gamwell, July 1, 1991). Engelman, however, recalls that both psychoanalyst August Aichhorn and Freud himself were also present in the study during the third and final day of photographing.

In a 1974 discussion of Jewish ritual objects in Freud's study, which took place at the Freud home (now the Freud Museum) between Anna Freud, Rita Ransohoff, editor of *Berggasse 19*, and Joy Ungerleider Mayerson, then Director of The Jewish Museum in New York, Anna Freud did not comment specifically on the kiddush cups, but she did, significantly, acknowledge their presence in her father's study (letter from R. Ransohoff to L. Gamwell, July 11, 1991).

4. For the English and German texts see, respectively, *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, ed. Ernst Freud, trans. Tania Stern and James Stern (New York: Basic Books, 1960), p. 54, no. 19; *Briefe, 1873–1939*, ed. Ernst Freud and Lucie Freud (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1980), p. 60.

5. Freud, *Letters*, p. 203, no. 94; *Briefe*, pp. 209f.

6. Freud, *An Autobiographical Study*, in *S.E.*, 20, p. 8. The work was written in 1924. This sentence, however, was added in 1935.

7. Among the works which offer, albeit with varying emphases, a positive reevaluation of Freud's Jewish identity through new information or perspectives, the following may be of particular interest: Reuben B. Rainey, *Freud as a Student of Religion* (Missoula: American Academy of Religion and Scholars Press, 1975); Théodore Pfrimmer, *Freud, lecteur de la Bible* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982); Dennis B. Klein, *Jewish Origins of the Psychoanalytic Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Emanuel Rice, *Freud and Moses: The Long Journey Home* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).

Of course I do not mean to imply that there is as yet any consensus concerning Freud the Jew. Indeed, one may find a spectrum of views acknowledging but minimizing the depth or relevance of Freud's Jewishness or, in effect, denying it altogether. For a lucid review of some of the earlier literature, see Justin Miller, "Interpretations of Freud's Jewishness, 1924–1974," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 17 (1981), pp. 357–74.

What follows in this essay concerning Freud's Jewish identity is essentially a summary based on my *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Intermittent* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), where all the issues raised here are elaborated and documented in greater and more nuanced detail.

8. The inscription has been recently transcribed and independently interpreted by: Mortimer Ostow, "Sigmund and Jakob Freud and the Philippon Bible (with an Analysis of the Birthday Inscription)," *International Review of Psycho-Analysis* 16 (1989), pp. 483–92; Rice, *Freud and Moses*, pp. 62–84; Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses*, pp. 70–79 and Appendix II.

9. Ernst Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodor Herzl* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989), p. 456. I have published the original German text of the letter in *Freud's Moses*, p. 118, Appendix III, no. 1.

10. See, for example, Peter Loewenberg, "A Hidden Zionist Theme in Freud's 'My Son the Myops...' Dream," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31 (1970), pp. 129–32. Cf. Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses*, pp. 69f.

11. Freud's letter of August 28, 1913, in Aldo Carotenuto, *A Secret Symmetry: Sabina Spielrein between Jung and Freud* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 120f.; see also Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses*, pp. 43–45.

12. Freud, *S.E.*, 20, pp. 273f. (My italics.) Cf. his preface to the Hebrew translation of *Totem and Taboo* (*S.E.*, 13, p. xv).

13. It was first identified as such by Emanuel Rice (see *Freud and Moses*, p. 94).

14. See Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh ben Israel* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1934); Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (London: Jewish Historical Society of England, 1901).



1. HANUKKAH LAMP

Northern France or Germany, 13th century

Copper alloy, cast in the lost-wax method, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$ in. (12.7 × 17 × 5 cm)

4515

The discovery of a medieval Hanukkah lamp in Sigmund Freud's study is an important find for the study of Judaica. Although long visible among Freud's antiquities, this lamp did not come to the attention of scholars of Jewish ceremonial art until now and has not previously been published. There are probably only three other known lamps in the world which can be dated to the thirteenth century or earlier and which can be definitely identified as Hanukkah lamps.

Unlike the lamps most commonly used today to celebrate the festival of Hanukkah in the West, which are designed for candles and generally stand on tables, the Freud lamp is oil burning and hangs on the wall (cat. no. 1). The backplate is decorated with a large central roundel containing a griffin, which is flanked by two smaller roundels with rampant four-legged animals, apparently felines, the leftmost perhaps a spotted leopard or cheetah. Below the roundels, the Hebrew inscription quotes a biblical passage commonly found on medieval Hanukkah lamps:

כִּי : נֵר : מִצּוּה : וְתוֹרָה : אֹרֶךְ

For the commandment is a lamp,
and the teaching is light

(Proverbs 6:23)

The arcade below the inscription is supported by columns with square capitals and bases, with two rows of pierced holes above the arches.

Along the bottom of the lamp are eight oil containers with rounded ends; on the far left is a larger, squared-off container called a shamash (servitor). To kindle an oil lamp, the containers are filled with oil, and wicks are placed in the oil and lit. The shamash on this lamp is unusual in that it is larger than the

other oil containers. This was done in order to fulfill the original function of the servitor: to safeguard against the use of the eight sacred lights for ordinary room illumination, as prescribed by Jewish law. Each night, the shamash was lit first and burned longest, symbolically taking on a utilitarian function in order to preserve the sanctity of the other eight lights.

The apex of the backplate of the Freud lamp is missing, although the remainder of two original holes for suspension can still be seen. At some point, others were drilled through the top; most recently, a modern wire was added to suspend the lamp.

Two other Hanukkah lamps similar to the Freud lamp have been known to Judaica scholars for many years. All three lamps share the same form, composition, and decorative elements: a triangular backplate with heraldic animals in roundels above, a central band with the same Hebrew inscription, and an arcade of twelve arches below. The two parallel pieces have been published numerous times, and their date and origin often debated. The discovery of the Freud lamp therefore provides an excellent opportunity to make a fresh examination of the age and origin of the group as a whole.

The first example, in the collection of the Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York (fig. 5), is more finely executed than the Freud piece and provides details about the architectural design that are difficult to discern in the other two lamps.¹ One can clearly see in the Emanu-El lamp that the rows of pierced holes above the columns were intended to represent the openwork of interlaced, overlapping arches (fig. 7). The images within the roundels on this lamp differ from those in the Freud piece, containing what appear to be a bird-dragon within a quatrefoil and two smaller rampant lions facing each other. The Emanu-El lamp was formerly in the collection of a contemporary

FIG. 5.
Hanukkah lamp.
Copper alloy,
 $5 \frac{3}{8} \times 16 \frac{11}{16}$
 $\times 2$ in. (13.7 \times
17 \times 5.1 cm).
Collection of
Congregation
Emanu-El of the
City of New York.



FIG. 6.
Hanukkah lamp.
Copper alloy,
 $5 \frac{1}{8} \times 6 \frac{11}{16}$
(13 \times 17 cm).
Klagsbald
Collection, Paris.



of Freud in Vienna, Dr. Albert Figdor, although there is no evidence that the two men knew each other. The lamp was first published in the Jewish journal *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler zu Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, October 1903) as from the fourteenth century.

The second Hanukkah lamp, in the Klagsbald Collection in Paris, is even more similar to the Freud lamp (fig. 6).² Although the animal figures on the Klagsbald lamp appear to have been filed down, one can clearly see that the central roundel holds a griffin whose profile corresponds to that of the figure on the Freud lamp. The two smaller roundels contain felines facing each other, rather than both facing to the left, as in the Freud lamp. From their surviving silhouettes, one can see that they are not in the same position as the rampant lions on the Congregation Emanu-El lamp. The Klagsbald lamp is said to have been found in the Seine in Paris in 1948.³

In addition to these decorative elements, the Freud lamp, the Emanu-El lamp, and the Klagsbald lamp share a striking number of characteristics in their manufacture. Each was cast by the lost-wax method in one piece; their width and depth are almost identical; the angles of the triangular backs are the same; the proportions of the three registers of decoration are similar; and each lamp was designed to be suspended in the same way.

To consider that the three lamps were made by the same workshop seems appropriate. It is clear, however, from the differences in the types of animals included, the layouts of the Hebrew inscriptions, the thickness of the columns, and the number of dividing walls in the oil trays that the three were not produced in the same mold.

To explain the great similarity of the lamps to each other, it has been suggested that the metalsmith may have used some kind of prototype to make successive impressions for new casting molds.⁴ Each casting would vary enough from the master to explain the differences observed among the lamps, while at the same time preserving the great similarity in size and proportion. Elements in each new wax model could be altered according to taste, or reworked if poorly impressed from the master. This may explain, for example, the differences in the types of animals represented in the roundels on the three lamps and the way in which they were fashioned. In the Emanu-El lamp, the animals are well modeled and appear to have been formed as part of the backplate; in the Freud and Klagsbald lamps, the roundels stand out in high relief and appear to have been applied separately to the backplate. In the Klagsbald lamp, the roundels even seem to cover earlier representations. An alternative explanation is that

the lamps could have been independently fashioned and the differences in technique and style due to the skill of the craftsman or the size of the client's purse. Any applied decorative elements, such as the squirrel finials on the Emanu-El lamp, could have been made from master molds and added in the wax model stage.

The primary decorative elements on these lamps—the heraldic animals in roundels and the interlaced arcades—are characteristic of medieval art and suggest an origin in that period. The wall-hung form of these lamps is, however, unique in medieval metalwork, and is therefore to be counted among those Jewish ceremonial object types that were newly created in the Middle Ages.⁵ Since there are no predecessors for this lamp form, the dating and place of origin of the Freud lamp will be determined through an analysis of its separate components: the interlaced arcade, the use of open (pierced) arcades in metalwork, the animals in roundels, and the paleography of the inscription.

Interlaced, overlapping arches first appeared as a decorative element in Norman architecture of the eleventh century⁶ and continued, in both freestanding and relief forms, in buildings in England, France, Italy, Sicily, and Germany through the fifteenth century (see fig. 8). The freestanding arcade of the Freud lamp, however, is found only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, primarily in England and France, for example in the chancel of Oxford Cathedral (c. 1180–1210).

FIG. 7. Hanukkah lamp (detail). Collection of Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York.

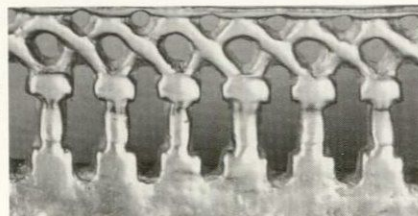
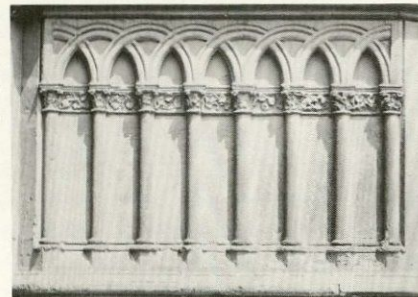


FIG. 8. Interlaced arcade in the south transept of Amiens Cathedral, thirteenth century.



The use of animals within roundels as a decorative motif dates back to antiquity, but the heraldic postures in the current example are more characteristic of late medieval Europe, appearing, for example, in metalwork from the twelfth to fourteenth century,⁷ and in Hebrew manuscripts from Germany and northern France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸ The griffin as represented on the Freud and Klagsbald lamps, with the head, front legs, and wings of an eagle, the ears of a dog, and the body of a lion, was quite popular in medieval art, especially in the thirteenth century,⁹ and is often found in Hebrew manuscripts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (fig. 9).¹⁰ Both the dragon and quatrefoil of the Emanu-El lamp were particularly common in the thirteenth century.¹¹ Thus the use of heraldic animals within roundels or quatrefoils, as seen on these three lamps, is found in both Jewish and other medieval art in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Their presence had no particular Jewish iconographic significance and was merely part of the general trend to borrow decorative motifs from the art of surrounding cultures.¹²

Since there is no medieval tradition of flat metalwork decorated with open arcades, examples in the round should be sought as prototypes for the Freud lamp. A number of pieces with pierced arcades were produced in the area between the Rhine and Maas rivers (eastern Germany, northern France, Belgium, and southern Holland) in the twelfth century,¹³ while others of Byzantine workmanship date from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.¹⁴

The final evidence for the date and provenance of the lamp comes from an analysis of the Hebrew script. Two scholars expert in paleography have examined photographs of the Freud lamp and tentatively suggest that the script is Ashkenazi (i.e., that used by the Jewish community of northern France and the Rhineland and the areas under their influence) and dates to the thirteenth century, before major changes occurred in that script during the fourteenth century.¹⁵ However, confirmation of these suggestions must await more detailed paleographic study of the original object.

The evidence from this analysis strongly suggests that the Freud lamp and the two similar examples could have originated in northern France or the Rhineland as early as the thirteenth century. The architectural prototype of freestanding interlaced arcades was common from the twelfth through thirteenth century; griffins and dragons reached their highest popularity in the thirteenth century; and the script was probably also of thirteenth-century date. Although the use of openwork arcades in metalwork appears to be earlier, and many of the features cited above are also present in the twelfth century, one should not date the lamp too early, since Jewish decorative arts generally tend to be conservative in style. Stylistically, the earliest date for the lamps would therefore be the beginning of the thirteenth century, although it is always possible that the casts were made later.

A medieval literary source also indicates that a thirteenth-century Ashkenazi origin for these lamps is certainly possible. The earliest written reference to wall-hung metal Hanukkah lamps comes from a text by Rabbi Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg (c. 1215–1293), who described how his teacher mounted such a lamp on his door.¹⁶ By contrast, the use of metal wall-hung Hanukkah lamps in Italy is first documented a century later in Hebrew manuscripts of the fourteenth century.¹⁷

The Freud lamp and the two parallel pieces are probably the earliest known extant metal Hanukkah lamps. Although the festival of Hanukkah was established in the second century B.C.E.,

and the custom of kindling eight lights is mentioned in Mishnaic texts of the first century C.E., the earliest identifiable Hanukkah lamp known to us is a twelfth-century stone lamp. Shaped like a block and inscribed in Hebrew, it was found in excavations in Avignon and is today in the Klagsbald Collection, Paris.¹⁸ Prior to the twelfth century, it is likely that eight single-wick lamps or one multiwick lamp, indistinct from ordinary sources of illumination, were used in the Hanukkah celebration. It was not until the Middle Ages that a distinctive form emerged that was also inscribed for the holiday.

One other type of medieval wall-mounted Hanukkah lamp is known, but it appears to be later than the Freud group. Decorated with a rose window in the Gothic style, which succeeded the Norman style of the arcade on the Freud lamp, this group has been dated to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.¹⁹

This discussion of the Freud lamp is not complete without mentioning a photograph associated with the lamp. Among documents pertaining to his antiquities collection, Freud kept a nineteenth-century photograph of the Hanukkah lamp which was inscribed in Hebrew with a German translation (fig. 10).



FIG. 9. Griffin from a German manuscript of the late thirteenth century (detail). British Museum, London (Ms. Or. 2091, fol. 268r).

This intriguing document gives several clues as to the circumstances surrounding Freud's acquisition of the lamp. The Hebrew text, dated 1848, states:

A Hanukkah lamp bought in Paris by Mordecai ben Matityahu from Antokol [in Lithuania, near Vilna], a true sage, from a man who testified and showed that it was found in a certain place in deep earth with objects made in the days of the sons of Umayah [Ummayads], but I do not know which place of origin [of the objects], whether it is Aram Naharaim [Mesopotamia] or the land of Damascus [Syria].

The highly inaccurate German translation, which was attached at a later date, states:

An artisan from Antikil [sic] who undertook excavations in Mesopotamia and Syria found this Hanukkah lamp in deep earth with other objects in the year 1840. I—Mordecai ben Matityahu—acquired this holy object which bears the inscription “For to light is the commandment and the Torah light.”



FIG. 10. Nineteenth-century photograph of Freud's Hanukkah lamp with a Hebrew inscription (and a German translation) which offers evidence of its provenance.

The Hebrew testimonial was probably supplied by a dealer to suggest, either unwittingly or with intention to deceive, that the lamp was made in the ancient Near East in an earlier period than that proposed here, that is, during the rule of the Muslim Ummayyad dynasty from 661 to 750. The German translation was provided possibly at a later date for a German-speaking clientele, which may have included Freud.

While the ancient Near Eastern provenance claimed in the inscription is doubtful, the statement of the place of purchase of the lamp is much more likely to be accurate, because the purchase was contemporary with the inscription. It may be significant that the earliest known provenance of both the Freud and Klagsbald lamps is Paris, in northern France.

The photograph is perhaps even more significant for understanding why Freud might have owned a Jewish ceremonial object. First, it indicates that Freud acquired the lamp as an artifact for his antiquities collection, and not as a religious object or family heirloom. This is borne out by the distinctive red inventory number painted on the back of the lamp, which is found only on Freud's antiquities and which unequivocally places the lamp in Freud's study during his lifetime, despite its curious absence from Edmund Engelman's 1938 photographs.

Second, it suggests that Freud may have been attracted to the lamp because he believed it came from the ancient biblical lands of his Jewish heritage. However, Freud often took pieces to experts for authentication and may easily have discovered its true origin. This is especially likely since the Emanu-El lamp was also in a Viennese collection around the same time and was published in 1903 as medieval European. While we will probably never know whether Freud thought the lamp was ancient or medieval,

it is quite clear that he considered this ceremonial object worthy of adding to his treasured collection, and it may have held significance for him as a link with his Jewish origins. —SLB

1. See Cissy Grossman, *A Temple Treasury: The Judaica Collection of the Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1989), cat. no. 152, who attributes the lamp to Italy, fourteenth century. I am grateful to Cissy Grossman and Reva Godlove Kirschberg of Congregation Emanu-El for their help.

2. This lamp was published in Musée d'Art Juif, *Art religieux juif: Reflet des styles 13^e siècle au 19^e siècle* (Paris, 1956), cat. no. 2, fig. 3. Recently, Bezalel Narkiss has attributed the lamp to the Rhineland in the fourteenth century. See his "Un objet de culte: La lampe de Hanuka," in Bernhard Blumenkranz, ed., *Art et archéologie des Juifs en France médiévale* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1980), pp. 200–202 and fig. 8.

3. Personal communication from Victor Klagsbald, 1991.

4. This suggestion was made by Rafi Grafman, Research Consultant to the Judaica Department of the Jewish Museum.

5. See Vivian Mann, "'New' Examples of Jewish Ceremonial Art from Medieval Ashkenaz," *Artibus et Historiae* 17 (1988), p. 13. While the existence of other types of medieval metal lamps is known, the wall sconce, to which these Hanukkah lamps are most closely related, did not develop until later.

6. See Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Medieval Architecture: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 2 (New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1909), p. 277; see also Joan Evans, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), p. 11.

7. See Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski, eds., *Age of Chivalry* (London: Royal Academy of Arts and Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), cat. nos. 434, 450, 452, 726.

8. See Bezalel Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1969), pl. 35; Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, *The Hebrew Bible in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), fig. 146; Thérèse Metzger and Mendel Metzger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1982), figs. 3, 55, 219; Leonard Gold, *A Sign and a Witness: 2000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York and Oxford: New York Public Library and Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 43.

9. See Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 1987, cat. no. 452.

10. See Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life*, 1982, p. 27.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 28; see also Evans, *Pattern*, 1931, p. 11.

12. See Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life*, 1982, pp. 31–33; see also Daniel Friedenberg, *Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), p. 31.

13. Examples include a censer in the form of the Temple in Jerusalem from Trier, a similar censer top possibly also from Trier, and cross holders from the Maas region in the Netherlands and from Lower Saxony. See *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800–1400* (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museums der Stadt Köln, 1972), p. 264, no. H1; Carmen Gomez-Moreno, *Medieval Art from Private Collections* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1968), cat. no. 89; Peter Springer, *Kreuzfüsse: Ikonographie und Typologie eines hochmittelalterlichen Gerätes* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, c. 1981), cat. nos. 19, 49.

14. Springer, *Kreuzfüsse* 1981, cat. nos. A26–30. These cross holders help confirm the date of this decorative technique, but there is nothing else to suggest that the lamp, with its strong western European architectural and figural traditions, comes from the East.

15. I am grateful to Menahem Schmelzer of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Malachi Beit-Arié of the Jewish National and University Library for their consultations.

16. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971), vol. 7, p. 1289.

17. Metzger and Metzger, *Jewish Life*, 1982, p. 108.

18. See *Synagoga*, cat. no. 358, fig. 139. Two other stone Hanukkah lamps, which may date to the twelfth or thirteenth century, have been published in Bezalel Narkiss, "The Gerona Hanukkah Lamp: Fact and Fiction," *Journal of Jewish Art* 14 (1988), pp. 7–15. However, scholars are not yet convinced of their medieval date.

19. For this group see Narkiss, "Un objet de culte," 1980, pp. 196–97.



2. KIDDUSH CUPS

European, late 19th or early 20th century
Metal, probably silver
Whereabouts unknown (Photo © Edmund Engelman)

The cup on the left is decorated with a representation of the Tablets of the Law, a feature that strongly suggests it was used in Jewish ritual, most likely for the Kiddush, a prayer said over wine. The tablets are held by two rampant lions, commonly interpreted in Jewish ceremonial art as symbols of the tribe of Judah. The appliqué decoration is similar to that found on many other kinds of Judaica, such as Torah shields and Hanukkah lamps. Since the Tablets of the Law have not been common ornaments on kiddush cups until recently, it is likely that the appliqué was added to a plain, secular cup at the request of a past owner to convey its ritual function. The shape of the cup, a beaker on a low foot, is probably late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The cup on the right probably derives from small beakers called rummers, drinking cups ornamented with two rows of lobes near the base and incised decoration on the bowl. They were quite popular in Germany in the late sixteenth to seventeenth century and their form was revived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That the beaker in the photograph is much larger than the earlier examples and has more lobes on the base suggest it was made during the revival period. The decoration visible in the photograph, a series of heart-shaped lobes on the base and an incised heart and band around the rim, has no particular Jewish symbolism. However, the placement of this beaker next to the kiddush cup on the table suggests that it may have also served a ritual function. Its lack of religious iconography or Hebrew inscription is not unusual, as Jews often use secular cups on ceremonial occasions. The existence of these kiddush cups is known only from Edmund Engelman's photographs of them.

—SLB

On a kiddush cup with a form similar to that on the left, see Beverly R. Cohen et al., *The Cofeld Judaic Museum of Temple Beth Zion* (Buffalo: Temple Beth Zion, 1985), p. 20. On the early rummer, consult Klaus Pechstein, *Deutsche Gold-Schmiedekunst vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhövel, 1987), pp. 147–48. For a revival beaker which compares to that on the right, see Sotheby's, *Highly Important Judaica: Works of Art Volume II* (New York, June 23, 1983), no. 374.



3. FEMALE RELIEF FIGURINE

Egyptian or the Gaza Strip, 14th–13th century B.C.E.
Limestone, $4\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{13}{16} \times 1$ in. (11.75 × 7.1 × 2.5 cm)
4748

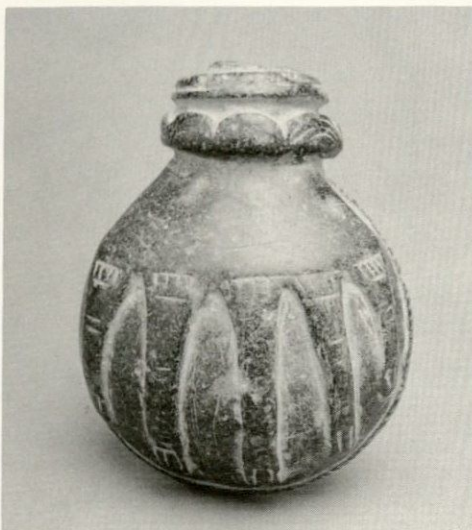
This stone plaque presents a nude woman in frontal position, her eyes closed, lying on a plaque-shaped "bed." Such plaques have been discovered in ancient Egyptian sites since the late nineteenth century. More recently, an example was found in what had been part of southern Canaan, at the site of Deir el-Balah in the Gaza Strip. This Egyptian-style stone plaque is part of a larger group of nude female plaque figurines, primarily executed in clay, that were popular in Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine during the second millennium B.C.E.

—SLB

Freud may have been interested in this figure because its closed eyes, rigid pose on a pallet, and association with burial connote the Egyptian denial of death. Mummies "rest" in their tombs; the eighteenth-dynasty worshiper sang to Aten, the sun-god: "When you have set in the western horizon, the land is in darkness, in the manner of death. They sleep in their rooms," associating the living who sleep with the dead in their tombs ("The Great Hymn to the Aten," trans. Gerald E. Kadish). In *Moses and Monotheism*, Freud compared Egyptian and Jewish attitudes toward death: "No other people of antiquity did so much as the Egyptians to deny death or took such pains to make existence in the next world possible....On the other hand the ancient Jewish religion renounced immortality entirely; the possibility of existence continuing after death is nowhere and never mentioned" (S.E., 23, pp. 19–20).

—LG

For a comparison piece see Miriam Tadmor, "On Female Figurines in Canaan in the Late Bronze Age," *Qadmoniot* 15 (1982), pp. 2–10 (in Hebrew).



4. SPOUTED BOWL WITH REPRESENTATION OF A HAND

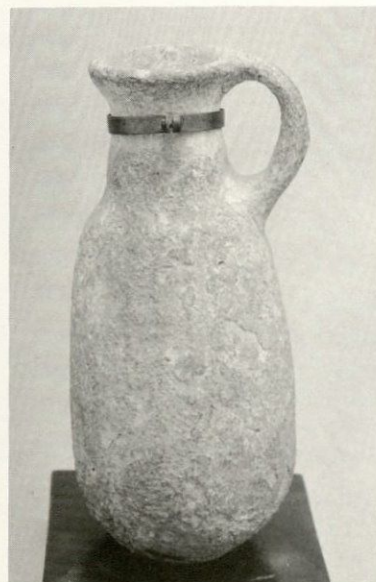
North Syrian or Lebanese, 9th–7th century B.C.E.
Steatite, $1 \frac{1}{4} \times 2 \frac{7}{8} \times 3 \frac{1}{8}$ in. ($3.9 \times 7.3 \times 9.2$ cm)
4063

There are around 150 extant bowls of this type from the ancient Near East, carved primarily in steatite, with special formalized decoration and spouts. On many, including the Freud piece, the exterior of the bowl bottom is carved with a relief representation of a hand, which ends in a wrist with a palmated “cuff” attached to the side of the bowl. The cuff is pierced so that liquid can flow into or out of the bowl through the wrist. Most of the 113 excavated examples are from northern Syria, but many have been found in Israel and Assyria (northern Iraq). Scattered examples have appeared as far west as Greece and as far east as Iran. This distribution pattern suggests that in antiquity, these bowls were made in workshops in northern Syria (or possibly Lebanon, where a number of examples have been purchased on the market) and imported into Israel and other countries. This exchange occurred during the period of the Israelite monarchy and into the time of Assyrian occupation of the northern kingdom of Israel.

Freud must have been aware of the use of these steatite bowls in Israel, for an example from Tell Beit Mirsim was published in a leading archaeological study of ancient Israel, Carl Watzinger’s *Denkmäler Palästinas* (Leipzig, 1933, pp. 108–109, pl. 39), a copy of which was in Freud’s library, with the relevant pages cut so they could be read.

The heavy circular scratch marks inside the bowl of the Freud piece, as well as on several other examples, suggest that they were probably used to grind some precious commodity, possibly for cosmetic or ritual applications. —SLB

For a recent discussion of these bowls including pertinent bibliography, see Rivka Merhav, “The Palmette on Steatite Bowls in Relation to the Minor Arts and Architecture,” in *The Israel Museum News* 16 (1980), pp. 89–106.



5. JUGLET

Israelite, 7th–6th century B.C.E.
Ceramic, h. $5 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (13.97 cm)
4475

Cylindrical juglets like this one were common in ancient Israel. Frequently the surfaces were covered with slip and hand-burnished to create a more decorative effect. In this example from the Freud collection, however, the surface from the neck down is rough, as if it had soaked in water over the centuries. This juglet and the glass flagon are the only two antiquities in the Freud collection that definitely came from the ancient land of Israel. —SLB

For a parallel, see Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), pl. 89:20.



6. FLAGON

Syro-Palestinian, late 3rd–early 4th century
Glass, h. $7 \frac{3}{16}$ in. (18.3 cm)
3601

Among the papers associated with his antiquities collection, Freud kept a document that states (in English) that this glass vessel was "Roman Period. From a tomb at Hebron, Palestine." Thus we can be certain that Freud was aware of this vessel's association with ancient Israel.

Glass vessels were common in the tombs of Israel during the Roman period. If the piece is in fact from Hebron (one must approach documents obtained from dealers with caution), it is possible that the tomb from which this flagon came was Jewish. Jewish settlements have been found in the Judean hills, including in the vicinity of Hebron.

—SLB

For a parallel piece, see John W. Hayes, *Roman and Pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1975), cat. no. 436.



7. SEMITIC MERCHANT OR GROOM

Chinese, Tang style of the 7th–8th century
Terracotta with traces of paint, h. 18 1/4 in. (46.4 cm)
4419

The Chinese produced clay tomb figurines from the fifth century B.C.E. to the end of the Tang Dynasty in the eighth century C.E. Figurines of non-Chinese foreigners, especially Western merchants carrying their wares, were among the most popular. On the evidence of their dark beards, large eyes, and strong aquiline noses, some have been identified as Semitic, which would include Syrians, Persians, Armenoids, Parthians, and Jews. Although unfounded, a longstanding popular assumption, which Freud may have shared, holds that these figures are specifically Jewish. The example in the Freud collection is similar in its stance, costume, and facial features to other representations of Semitic rug merchants. However, since the figure is missing its hands, it is not clear if it was originally holding any wares. It is therefore equally possible that the figure was intended to represent a Semitic groom.

—SLB

On Semitic terracotta tomb figures, see Ezekiel Schloss, *Ancient Chinese Ceramic Sculpture from Han through T'ang* (Stamford, Conn.: Castle Publishing Co., 1977), p. 106 and pl. 114.



8. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN

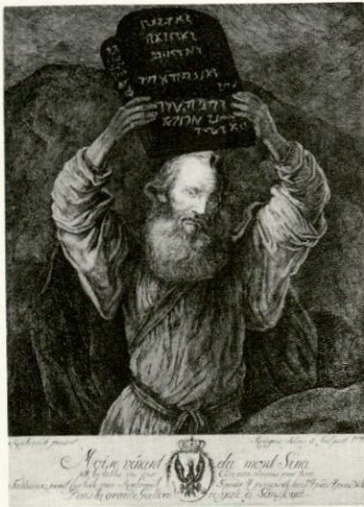
Menasseh ben Israel, 1636
Etching, 6 5/16 × 4 3/16 in. (16 × 10.9 cm)
6395

Rembrandt's portrait of this seventeenth-century Dutch rabbi hung in Freud's consultation room in Vienna (visible to the right of the doorway in one of Engelman's photographs [*Freud and Art*, p. 27]) and near his desk in London. Freud displayed throughout his study small portraits of people he admired; at least ten are visible in the Engelman photographs.

In addition to playing a key role in the readmission of the Jews to England (see Yerushalmi, above), Menasseh is known as the first Jewish printer of Hebrew books in Holland (1627), on presses he established in Amsterdam. Menasseh was a friend and neighbor of Rembrandt who, although of Germanic descent, made his home in the Jewish section of Amsterdam. In 1655 Menasseh published a book of his own writings illustrated by Rembrandt with four biblical scenes. It is the Dutch master's only known collaboration with a contemporary author, and a very rare example of a seventeenth-century religious publication with illustrations.

—LG

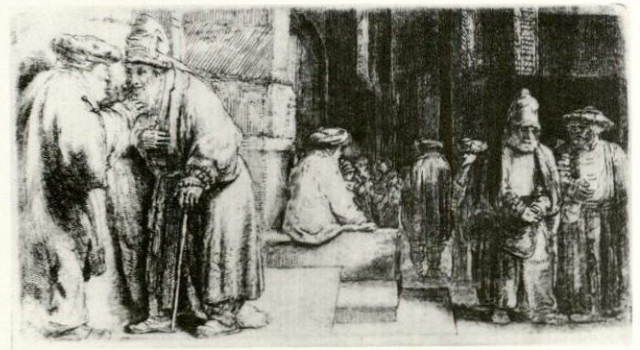
See Franz Landsberger, *Rembrandt, The Jews and the Bible*, trans. Felix N. Gerson (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1946), p. 51; S. W. Morgenstein and R. E. Levine, *The Jews in the Age of Rembrandt* (Rockville, Md.: Judaic Museum of the Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington, 1981), pp. 20–22.



9. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Moses with the Tablets of the Law, 1659
Engraving by Kruger, 1770, 17 ³/₈ × 13 ⁵/₈ in. (44.5 × 35 cm)
4867

Rembrandt's Moses has just come down from Mount Sinai, and he lifts the Tablets of the Law above his head, about to break them in anger after seeing that in his absence the children of Israel have turned to the worship of an idol, the golden calf.

This image is a curious choice for the entry into Freud's study, where it hung at the end of his life. Each time Freud came into the presence of his collection of pagan deities, he passed under the angry glare of Moses. In his 1914 essay "The Moses of Michelangelo," Freud recorded his fantasy on entering the church in Rome where this other famous representation of Moses is located: "Sometimes I have crept out of the half-gloom of the interior as though I myself belonged to the mob upon whom his eye is turned—the mob which can hold fast no conviction, which has neither faith nor patience, and which rejoices when it has regained its illusory idols" (S.E., 13, p. 213). —LG



10. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
The Jews in the Synagogue, 1648
Etching, 2 ⁷/₈ × 5 in. (7.3 × 12.7 cm)
3979

Rembrandt, who is well known for his depictions of Jewish contemporary life and biblical heritage, presents a scene that is probably set in Amsterdam, perhaps even related to the beginning of an Ashkenazi synagogue there in 1648, although the building in the print lacks the details of a synagogue. Nevertheless, the print has been known by this title ever since it was so listed in an eighteenth-century catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's prints.

Freud expressed his admiration for the Dutch master in recounting his passion-driven trip to Amsterdam to see "Rembrandt's magnificent paintings" (S.E., 6, pp. 227–28). The three Rembrandt prints that Freud displayed in his study are all on Jewish themes; this one sat in the bookshelf behind his desk in London. —LG

For a discussion of this print, see Landsberger, *Rembrandt, The Jews and the Bible*, pp. 78–88; Morgenstein and Levine, *The Jews in the Age of Rembrandt*, pp. 31–32.

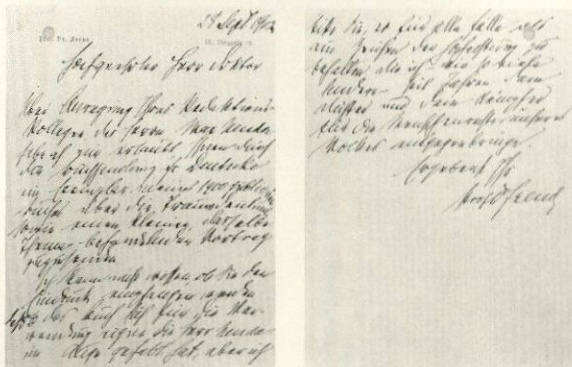
11. DEDICATION IN DIE ISRAELITISCHE BIBEL

(ed. L. Philippson)

Written by Jacob Freud in 1891 to Sigmund Freud
2729

When Freud was a child of seven, his father Jacob began reading to him from this family Bible, whose text is in Hebrew and German. On Freud's thirty-fifth birthday, his father presented him with the well-used book, rebound in leather and inscribed by Jacob in Hebrew. The birthday dedication, a complex interweaving of phrases from the Bible, the Talmud, and Jewish liturgy, is in essence a symbolic appeal by an aged father to his son to return to study of the Bible. —LG

For the recent bibliography on the birthday inscription, see Yerushalmi, above, note 8.



12. LETTER FROM FREUD TO THEODOR HERZL

Dated September 28, 1902
Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem

In 1902 Freud sent this letter to Theodor Herzl, the founder of Zionism, along with a copy of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, asking him to accept the book as “an expression of the high esteem in which I—like so many others—hold the poet and the fighter for the human rights of our people.” —LG

13. ROM UND DIE CAMPAGNA

Dr. Th. Gsell Fels
(Leipzig/Vienna: Bibliographisches Institut, 1912)
Estate of Lucie Freud

Freud's guidebook to Rome was a revised 1912 edition of a series that aimed to offer both practical and cultural information to the educated traveler. The guidebook contains Freud's signature in pencil on the title page, written simply as “Freud,” which was characteristic of his later years. Freud marked the description of Michelangelo's statue of Moses in San Pietro in Vincoli with a soft, waxy blue pencil.

Freud probably purchased the guidebook for his trips to Italy in 1912 and 1913, during which he conceived of his paper “The Moses of Michelangelo” (S.E., 13). Freud described the paper: “My feeling for this piece of work is rather like that towards a love-child. In 1913, through three lonely September weeks, I stood daily in the church in front of the statue, studied it, measured it, drew it, until that understanding came to me that I only dared to express anonymously in the paper. Only much later did I legitimize this non-analytic child” (Jones, 1955, vol. 2, p. 367). Freud published “Moses” anonymously in 1914; its authorship was not revealed until 1924, when Freud included it in the first German edition of his collected writings. —JKD



14. POSTCARD FROM FREUD TO KARL ABRAHAM

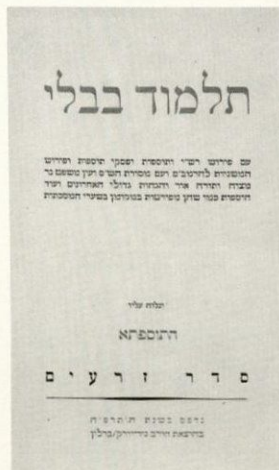
Dated September 13, 1913
Abraham Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Throughout his life Freud had strong and ambivalent feelings about Rome, a city famous for its ancient classicism, Roman Catholicism, and oppression of Jews. When Freud was a child, his father told him a story about being insulted because he was a Jew. The boy's youthful reaction was to imagine a scene from Roman history in which young Freud, in the role of the Semitic warrior Hannibal, swore to avenge his father by marching against Rome (S.E., 4, p. 197). As an adult, Freud hesitated to visit Rome despite his profound intellectual roots in Greek and Roman classicism. On his trip to Rome in 1913, Freud sent this postcard of the arch of Titus, built by the Romans to celebrate their triumphant destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., to Karl Abraham, founder of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Society. Underneath the triumphal arch Freud wrote, “Der Jude übersteht's!” (“The Jew survives it!”), with personal greetings written below. —LG

15. JÜDISCHES LEXIKON

(Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1927), 4 vols.
The Library of the Jewish Museum, New York

The *Jüdisches Lexikon*, a four-volume encyclopaedia of Jewish culture, was a standard source in German-speaking Jewish homes of Freud's time, much as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is in English-speaking homes today. —SLB



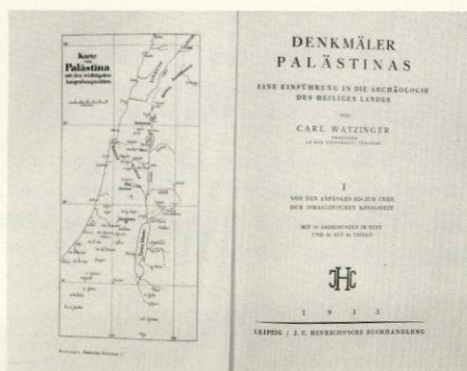
16. BABYLONIAN TALMUD
(Leipzig, n.d. [1928]), 4 vols., Hebrew/Aramaic
1019–1022

17. DER BABYLONISCHER TALMUD
(Berlin, 1929), 2 vols., German trans. L. Goldschmidt
1023–1024

The Talmud is a body of commentary and discussions by rabbis of the third to fifth centuries C.E. on an earlier legal work, the Mishnah. The Mishnah is in turn a collection of legal decisions and discussions of rabbis of the first to second centuries C.E. The two compilations form the core of Jewish religious education and provide sources for Jewish law up to the present day.

Two different Talmuds were produced, one in rabbinical centers in ancient Israel, the other in the academies of Babylon, where a vibrant community of Jews had lived since their exile from Israel in the sixth century B.C.E. The Babylonian Talmud was accepted as the authoritative commentary soon after its completion and has remained dominant. Freud owned both a German translation and the Hebrew/Aramaic original of the Babylonian Talmud.

—SLB

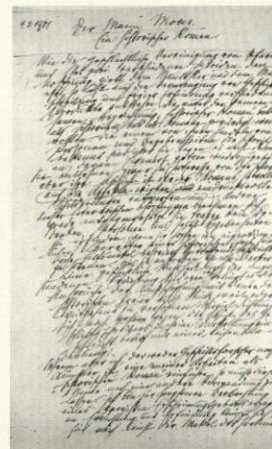


18. DENKMÄLER PALÄSTINAS
Carl Watzinger
(Leipzig, 1933–35), 2 vols.
1045–1046

Until the first full-scale excavation of a Palestinian site in 1890, the number of archaeological artifacts from ancient Israel was

quite small. Compendia of the archaeology of Palestine written before 1900 still listed only a handful of monuments as the physical evidence with which to reconstruct the Israelite past. By the 1920s and 1930s, the great increase in the number of excavations in Palestine resulted in several handbooks attempting to synthesize the information coming to light, including Carl Watzinger's *Denkmäler Palästinas* (Monuments of Palestine). Watzinger was a well-respected archaeologist whose works are still consulted today. Freud's purchase near the end of his life of this volume and others on the same subject suggests that he kept up with developments in the archaeology of the land of Israel.

—SLB



19. DER MANN MOSES UND DIE MONOTHEISTISCHE RELIGION

(Moses and Monotheism)
First page of the handwritten draft, dated August 9, 1934
Freud Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

This work is Freud's only explicitly Jewish text, written when he was in his late seventies and published shortly before his death in 1939. Combining historical and psychoanalytic approaches to his topic, Freud argued that Moses was an Egyptian nobleman who transmitted to the Jewish people a monotheism based on the cult of the sun-god Aten, and that the Jews murdered Moses. This enigmatic, controversial text is the last chapter in Freud's lifelong confrontation with his own Jewishness and the figure of Moses.

—LG

For an analysis of the full text of this introduction, which did not appear in the published version of Freud's book, see Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, "Freud on the 'Historical Novel': From the Manuscript Draft (1934) of *Moses and Monotheism*," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 70 (1989), pp. 375–95, and Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses*, pp. 16–18, and Appendix I.