

Creating Sociology and Psychoanalysis in the Habsberg Lands: Freud, Brill and Fleck

By Arnold D. Richards, MD

“The past is never dead. In fact, it’s not even past.” – William Faulkner ('Requiem for a Nun')

This evening I will be speaking about a culture, and about three men who came out of it. The culture is the Central European Jewish culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries -- the one that developed in the shadow of the Habsburg Empire in what came to be called Austro-Hungary.

The men are Sigmund Freud, the Viennese founder of psychoanalysis, A.A. Brill, the immigrant from Galicia who brought psychoanalysis to the United States, and Ludwik Fleck, the physician from Cracow who founded the discipline on whose tenets my address here tonight rests. In a very short time, the three of them managed to found and permanently establish psychoanalysis and a new branch of



sociology -- the sociology of scientific knowledge -- as new and prestigious fields of study. Their contributions and accomplishments tell us a lot about the history of the Jews in Europe and America, their quest for assimilation and acceptance, and their disproportionate contribution to the social sciences.

Let me set the scene:

- 1849 The Jews granted civic equality in Prague
- 1856 Freud born in Freiberg, Moravia
- 1868 Jews emancipated in Austria
- 1869 Jews emancipated in the Northern German Confederation
- 1871 Jews in Germany granted full legal and civil parity, and the right to formal citizenship.
- 1874 Brill born in Kanczuca, Galicia
- 1895 Freud publishes *Studies on Hysteria*
- 1900 *Interpretation of Dreams*
- 1905 *Three Essays on a Theory of Sexuality*
- 1908 Brill’s visit to Europe
- 1909 Freud, Brill, and Ferenzci visit the U.S.

Austria 1815 until 1866



Austria 1866 to 1914



- 1911 Fleck born in Lvov, Galicia
- 1911 New York Psychoanalytic Society and American Psychoanalytic Association founded
- 1936 Fleck's publishes *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*

Freud, about whom Auden said: "If often he was wrong, at times absurd, to us he is no more a person now than a whole climate of opinion."

Brill, the striving immigrant, who managed to become a physician, and who brought psychoanalysis to the United States.

And Ludwig Fleck, another in the long line of Habsburg Jews who were responsible for the field we know as sociology. Fleck's contribution was the *sociology of scientific knowledge* -- the crucial study of the social, political, cultural, and personal determinants of scientific development. I will start with Fleck, because it was his discovery that gives us the warrant -- and the tools -- to consider the importance of the Habsburg culture on the later great success of the Jews in academia and the other intellectual professions.

Fleck was a Polish immunologist. In 1936 he published (in German) a landmark book, *The Discovery and Development of a Scientific Fact*. Thomas Kuhn, author of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* -- written in 1964 and perhaps the best-known work so far in the sociology of scientific knowledge, acknowledged a deep debt to Fleck and his work on the role of cultural, historical, social, political, and psychological factors in intellectual discovery.

But in the development of sociology, Fleck was just one of a long line, extending in both directions before and after him.

Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis has been called a Jewish discipline in part because it was created by a Jew, and in part because Freud's first nineteen followers (and many of his later ones) were, like him, Central European Jews who grew up in what was then called Austro-Hungary, but had once been the core of the Habsburg Empire.

It is less well known, however, how deeply Habsburgian -- and how deeply Jewish -- is the discipline of sociology, as well. "The foundation work of sociology was the *Outline of Sociology*, written by the Cracovian Jew Ludwik Gumpłowicz in 1885. Fleck's discipline, the sociology of scientific knowledge, has its own Central European Jewish pedigree in Lukacs, Mannheim, Simmel, Scheler, and Jerusalem. And when sociology crossed the Atlantic, as with psychoanalysis, many of its major contributors continued to be Jewish.

Important and enduring new academic disciplines are not established every day, but here we have two new fields exploding into life within a span of forty years -- perhaps three in fifty, depending on how you date their seminal works: Sociology 1885, Psychoanalysis in 1895, the SSK in 1936, with Fleck's *Discovery and Development of a Scientific*

Central European Sociologists

- Ludwig Gumpłowicz: b. 1838, Krakow, Poland
- Wilhelm Jerusalem: 1854, Dřřrenice u Chrudimi, Bohemia
- George Simmel: 1858, Berlin, Germany
- Max Scheler: 1874, Munich, Germany
- Georg Lukacs: 1885, Budapest, Hungary
- Karl Mannheim: 1893, Budapest, Hungary

American Sociologists

- Edward Sapir: b.1884, Lauenburg, Germany
- Louis Wirth: 1897, Chicago, U.S.
- Paul Lazarsfeld: 1901, Vienna, Austria
- Robert Merton: 1910, New York, U.S.
- Lewis Coser: 1913, Berlin, Germany
- Oscar Handlin: 1915, Brooklyn, NY

Fact. All were founded by Austro-Hungarian Jews.

Remarkable, you will agree. Certainly the Jewish emphasis on "learning" and on textual study and analysis is likely to have predisposed them toward academic achievement. But it is also indisputable that cultural immigrants, if they are to succeed, must study carefully the mores of their new societies. This was true of the Britons under the Romans, it was true of the Saxons under the Normans, and it was true of the nineteenth-century Habsburg Jews. As long as Jews were segregated by law, the cultural refinements of the surrounding society were not an issue for them. Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, the discriminatory laws that kept the Jews separate were slowly relaxed, and then abolished.

This observation -- that cultural immigrants pay close attention to the societies into which they move -- brings me back to Fleck, and his sociology of knowledge. Specifically, I want to explore the social determinants of these new fields, and how it was that the Jews of the Habsburg lands made such a great impact on the intellectual history of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was Fleck who provided science with the tools to understand how knowledge is created, accepted, and disseminated. And, for instance, to account for the disproportionate contributions of Habsburg Jews like Freud and Brill, and Fleck himself, to intellectual history

Fleck's two key concepts were the thought collective (Denkkollektiv) and thought style (Denkstil).

Denkkollektiv

- "A community of persons mutually exchanging ideas for maintaining intellectual interactions"
- "provides the special carrier for the historical development of any field of thought as well as for the given stock of knowledge and level of culture"

Denkstil

- "Shared attitudes or background assumptions that characterize a thought collective."

Fleck's ideas are relevant to the development of Habsburgian Jewish identity in general, and to psychoanalysis in particular. The first-generation Viennese and Cracovian Jews of the late nineteenth century and their parents came from one distinctive thought collective and thought style -- the ghetto and the shtetl -- but they aspired to very different ones -- the university, the professions, the marketplace. Fleck recognized this dynamic clearly enough to apply it to the

Freud's Psychoanalysis: Thought Collectives and Thought Styles

- Freud and the university
- Freud the Jew and Jung the non-Jew
- Freud the humanist and Brill the technician

development of scientific knowledge, and I am suggesting that his recognition was likely a reflection of the differences he perceived between his own people and the larger society they wished to enter. Half a century before Fleck codified his insights about the importance of thought collectives and thought styles, Freud exemplified them.

From early on Freud wanted to be part of the thought collective of cultured and educated Viennese and Germans, and to share their thought style. He worked hard at the Gymnasium to

which his father sent him to acquire the educational bona fides of the society to which he aspired. After the Gymnasium, he strove to make it in the University. And to that end, when the university finally excluded him (and with a detour to B'nai Brith, whose members were his first audience), he established a parallel thought collective of his own. It was based on similar principles and styles as the ambient academic one, but without the anti-Jewish bias, and through it Freud was able to exercise his own influence to such good effect that he eventually transformed the thought collective that had rejected him. Institutionally as well as personally, Freud's thought collective, psychoanalysis and the psychoanalytic movement, developed as a series of struggles between thought collectives and thought styles: struggles between Freud and the university; between Freud the Jew and Jung the non-Jew; between Freud as humanist and Brill as medical technician.

I emphasize Freud's schooling at the Gymnasium because for the newly emancipated Central European Jews, the vital step for entry into the thought collective and thought style of cultured and influential society was the acquisition of *Bildung*.

Bildung

- The word means *Formation*
- The “making” of a man
- The process of inner development that was held to produce a mature and cultured sensibility, intellect, and character
- The way experience was sought and used in the service of one's ideals

Bildung was a concept much cherished in the nineteenth-century German-speaking world. The word itself means *formation*, and it refers specifically to what (in those less politically correct times) was often called the "making of a man" -- that is, the process of inner development that produced a mature and cultured sensibility, intellect, and character. *Bildung* included education, but it was much more than that. It meant not only

schooling, but also experience and the way that experience was used in the service of a person's ideals. It gave its name to the beloved literary genre of the *Bildungsroman*, the story of the growth of character in a young protagonist.

The concept of *Bildung* developed out of the early German Enlightenment, or *Aufklärung*, the

period when philosophers began to explore the possibility that reason might be a better determinant of truth than religious revelation. *Bildung* developed in this context as a democratic concept, but eventually it became the basis for an aristocracy of the spirit, and later an exclusive ideal defining status and privilege.

The ideal of *Bildung* was institutionalized by Wilhelm von Humboldt, minister of education in Prussia from 1807 to 1810. Humboldt was a philosopher and a diplomat as well as a politician. His ideas became known to the English-speaking world in John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty*



Wilhelm von Humboldt

“The state as a legal institution should be cognizant of the Jews as men who have an unproscribable right to legal equality. Emancipation should be granted them unconditionally on the basis of their natural rights.”

(1858), but Humboldt anticipated Mill by 38 years. In his own 1810 work *On the Limits of State Action*, a bold defense of the Enlightenment's liberal world view, Humboldt took a strong position on Jewish emancipation. He argued that the state was a "legal" and not an "educational" institution.

He rejected the idea of a tutelary state with the right to judge the Jews' moral status and so their claim to equal rights. Instead, he said, the state as a legal institution must recognize Jews as men who have an unproscribable right to legal equality. Emancipation should be granted them unconditionally on the basis of their natural rights."

Humboldt's political views did not prevail, but some of his educational ideas did. His notion of *Bildung* stressed an education in the classical languages and philosophies, but *Bildung* included more than the classics. Other foundations of literature and philosophy were important also -- Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, John Stuart Mill -- and so were such institutional reflections of Enlightenment thought as the English political system. (Humboldt included Hebrew in his curriculum, not just so the Bible could be read in the original, but to allow better access to its ethical and moral precepts.)

When Freud was growing up, German was the *lingua franca* of educated central Europe. And for German-speaking Europeans, but for Jews especially, the German view of *Bildung* was the *sine qua non* of acceptance and assimilation, and so of social, intellectual, and professional advancement. George Mosse, the German intellectual historian (one well known to this audience, having given the Leo Baeck Memorial Lecture in 1987) has argued that for Jews and others, the search for *Bildung* was also a search for respectability, or *Sittlichkeit*.

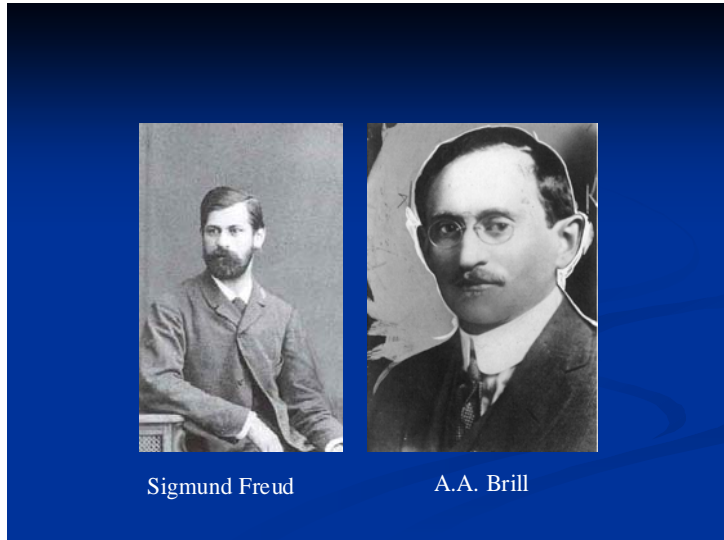
Cultural historian Carl Schorske came to a similar conclusion. He argued that order and control of passion are indispensable and integral to freedom. Since Jews bore the perhaps somewhat envious stereotype that they were less moral than the upright Germans, more governed by passions that they could not control, as they sought acceptance into mainstream German society it was absolutely necessary that they demonstrate their capacity for self-discipline. This they could do by achievement of the *Bildung* ideal. As Schorske put it, the virtue of learning was not as important as the learning of virtue."

The stereotypes, of course, were only stereotypes. If *Bildung* was the personal self-discipline a man required to avoid moral chaos, Jews were supported in their search for it by long-held ideals of stable marriages and families, well-behaved children, and prosperous family businesses. As they began their journey of assimilation into the German-speaking culture of Central Europe, they grappled with the prevailing cultural ideal, shaping it over time according to their own ideals and their own needs. Eventually they created a subculture in which the German ideal of *Bildung* fused with elements of Jewish culture, belief, and thought; this became the group's identity thought collective and the basis for group cohesion its thought style. During the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, when the Jews were struggling to make the legal changes of the Emancipation a social and political reality. They had no problem applying their traditions to the acquisition and definition of *Bildung* once the opportunity was available to them.

However, the opportunity was not available to everyone in exactly the same way, and that brings me back to Freud and Brill. Their stories are contrasting examples not only of how decisive *Bildung* may be in individual intellectual development, but also in the development of an intellectual institution, psychoanalysis. They also illustrate how powerfully the search for congenial thought collectives and thought styles -- the search for assimilation into a desired

social niche -- drives people.

Sigmund Freud and his disciple A. A. Brill were much alike. They were both secular Jewish intellectuals, both physicians, both intelligent and courageous. They were both indefatigable workers, committed to gaining institutional legitimacy for psychoanalysis in two very different cultures that granted Jews equality before the law, but not, always, in society. And each ruled his psychoanalytic domain with what Abram Kardiner called "a jealous stranglehold."



Sigmund Freud

A.A. Brill

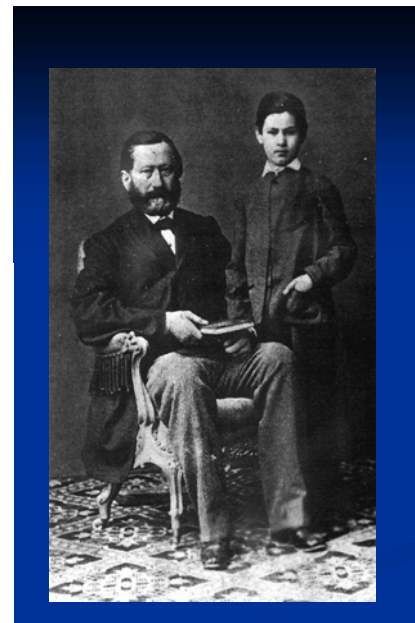
They had roots in common, too, but they grew in different directions. Both men were born -- Freud about twenty years before Brill -- in the territory of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

MAP OF GALICIA



But while Freud spent most of his youth in cosmopolitan Vienna, Brill grew up in Eastern Galicia, in a small shtetl of 900 Yiddish-speaking Jews called Konzuca. Brill's home was not far from Buchach, Brod, and Tzimenitz, the towns of origin of Freud's family.

FREUD AND FATHER



"I was born on 6th May 1856 in Freiberg in Moravia, a small town in what is today Czechoslovakia. My parents were Jews, and I too, have remained a Jew." -- S. Freud

But while Freud announced on at least one occasion that he was "born in Moravia, but [his] parents came from Galicia,"

Brill never trumpeted his own birth in that part of the world. (His birthplace was usually given in various reference works as Austria, and most of his colleagues at the New York and American Psychoanalytic Societies assumed that he meant

Vienna, not Galicia.) But Brill's parents never left Galicia, while Freud's parents did. And thereby hangs our tale

BRILL, AT AGE 14 OR 15, AND HIS FAMILY



Freud offered what may have been an origination myth when he wrote: "I have reason to believe that my father's family were for a long time in the Rhineland (later Cologne) that in the fourteenth or fifteenth century they fled east from anti-semitic persecution and that in the course of the nineteenth century they retraced their steps from Lithuania through Galicia to German Austria."

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Freud's father Jakob had moved to Moravia after a decade spent traveling between Tysmenitz and Freiberg on his business as a wool merchant. Influenced by his grandfather Siskind Hoffman he became a Maskil, an enlightened Jew more in sympathy with the German Jewish Reform

Jakob Freud

1815 Jakob (Kallamon Jacob) Freud, Sigmund Freud's father, son of Schlomo Freud and Peppi [Pesel] (née Hoffmann), is born in Tysmenitz, Galicia (Poland)

1854 Jacob Freud moves from Galicia to Moravia

1856 Freud is born in Freiberg, Moravia

1859 Freud family moves to Vienna's "Leopoldstadt," or second district, where Sigmund Freud lived until June 1938.

movement than with traditionalist Rabbinic Judaism. In 1855, the year that he married Amalie Nathanson, his second or third wife, he began to wear western dress, and he was speaking and signing documents in German rather than Hebrew or Yiddish. But he continued to study the Talmud as well as the Bible, and his son Sigmund acquired a copy of the German Talmud published in 1929.

Jakob left Freiberg because once the new railway line bypassed the city he could no longer make a living there. (What if the train had stopped in Freiberg and Sigmund had never gotten to Vienna? Would he have spent his life working as a weaver in a wool factory?)

But that did not happen. By the time Sigmund was five, his parents were settled in Vienna. Some of the assimilation process had already been achieved. By language, education, and dress, Sigmund became part of Viennese society.

According to historian Oscar Handlin, the generation of Freud's parents and Brill's were mostly tradespeople and artisans, but they shared with each other -- and with the first wave of Jewish immigrants to the United States -- "a burning eagerness to endow their children with a secular education." Handlin points out that young Jews "avidly desired the university degree because nothing else -- not even wealth -- was as likely to earn them respect."

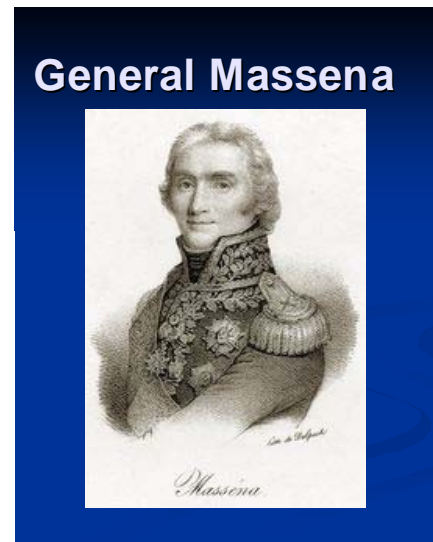
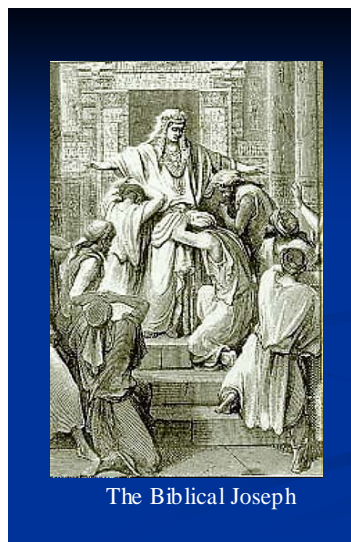
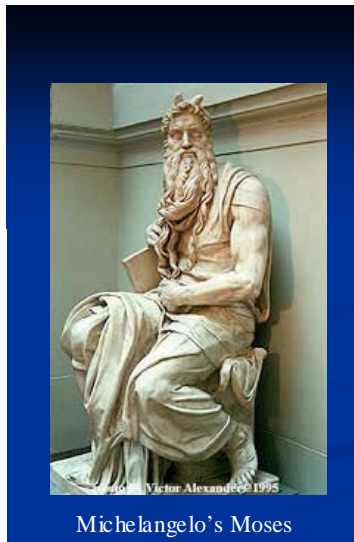
"In Austria and Germany," he goes on, ". . . *Bildung* -- the possession of defined cultural symbols -- carried with it a status that could partially compensate for the disadvantage of affiliation with a minority discriminated against for centuries."

Education and the acquisition of *Bildung* were the tickets to ride for Jews in modern European society and life. Freud always emphasized his humanistic education, always minimizing his knowledge of Jewish subjects, including Hebrew and Yiddish, but some of his disclaimers are suspect, and reminiscent of Brill's silence about his birthplace. It is believed that Yiddish was Freud's mother's only spoken language, and that he must have spoken it with her, whom he visited every Sunday until she died. His father inscribed the Bible he gave his son on his 35th birthday in Hebrew, with a Melitza (an anagram compiled from Biblical quotes). Freud was not, perhaps, as completely assimilated as he would have liked to appear, and he was clearly ambivalent about his Jewish roots and his connections to the Jews of the Galician shtetls -- as were most of the Jews of Vienna.

Freud shared with other Jews a high valuation affinity for all things German.

"My language is German. My culture, my attainments are German. I considered myself German intellectually, until I noticed the growth of anti-Semitic prejudice in Germany and German Austria. Since that time I prefer to call myself a Jew." — Sigmund Freud: Letter to George Sylvester Vierick

When a Nazi tried to convince Erich Maria Remarque to return to Germany with the comment "Aren't you homesick?" Remarque responded, "No. I am not Jewish." On the other hand, Freud identified strongly with Moses, the Jewish lawgiver and restrained leader, and with Joseph, the interpreter.



He attributed a Jewish identity to Napoleon's general Massina, who in fact was not Jewish. And it was in no small measure because he *was* Jewish that he found himself a student at a Viennese gymnasium where the majority of students were Jews

Historian Sara Winter (1999) concurs with Handlin that schooling was the main vehicle of acculturation for Jews in mid-nineteenth-century Vienna. She writes "By that time a gymnasium education had become a crucial element of upper-class and professional status in Germany and the German-speaking countries. And for those who did not come from economically and socially privileged backgrounds, the ideal of *Bildung* had the special benefit that it enabled them to claim their good taste as the basis for membership in a moral elite."

Freud had a fine gymnasium education of which he was very proud; it entitled him to this status and benefit, and it gave him membership, if limited membership, in the "moral elite" that dominated his society.

Freud's Sperl Gymnasium (recently renamed the Sigmund Freud Gymnasium) was a top school, and Freud was its top student -- first in his class for seven of the eight years that he was there. Many other famous Jews went to Sperl including: Siegfried Lipiner, later hailed as a prodigy by Nietzsche, and yet later Gustav Mahler's confidant; Max Adler, the Austromarxist theorist; Julius Tandler, the great health director of Red Vienna; and Robert Barany, Nobel Prize winner for medicine in 1914. Oswald Boxer and Heinrich Kahane, the two friends of Theodor Herzl whose deaths so affected him before his Zionist conversion, also attended Sperl. [Sperber was a Galician (from Zablutow) in the Leopoldstadt, but went to the other school, the Sphiengymnasium.].

The acquisition of *Bildung* was the goal of the Gymnasium education. Accordingly, Freud studied Latin and Greek extensively. He also studied Shakespeare, Cervantes, (mention the Cervantes club he formed with his friend Eduard Silberstein) and the great figures of the German enlightenment -- Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and Heine.

The *gebildet Mensch* was educated in the classical ideals of order and harmony, and Freud's adult work shows clearly the effects of his education on his thinking -- not only in concrete allusions to Greek philosophy and mythology, but also in his devotion to the archaeological metaphor of psychoanalysis, in which the psychoanalyst uncovers layers of the mind as the archaeologist uncovers layers of a buried civilization. The past is understood through the study of remnants in the present, while the universal is grasped through study of the particular. . But even as he welcomed the *Bildung* ideal as his intellectual home, the necessary increasing identification away from traditional Jewish society brought its own strains.

In *The Ordeal of Civility*, James Murray Cuddihy (1974), examines what the Jewish emancipation meant for Jewish intellectuals. He situates Freud's creation of psychoanalysis against the backdrop, and, like Handlin and Winter, he makes clear that the concept of *Bildung* had an expanded meaning for the many early analysts who were Jewish; it was their chance to win the conformity with cultured mores that would allow them to integrate into a heretofore excluding society. Yet each adoption of larger European cultural values was also a step away from their family culture. Cuddihy suggests that upwardly mobile urban Jews of the nineteenth century felt embarrassment toward their provincial parents, and "guilt for being thus ashamed." Freud and Brill dealt with that dilemma in ways that reflected their different starting points and family surrounds.

In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud reports what many Freud scholars understand to be a

FREUD'S GYMNASIUM REPORT CARD

Name, Geburtsort und Geburtsdatum		Hebräisch	Religionslehre	Lateinische Sprache	Hebräische Sprache	Mathematik	Geometrie und Arithmetik	Physik	Naturgeschichte	Geographie	Wissen im Allgemeinen
Sigmund Freud, aus Wien, geboren am 5. Mai 1856		best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.
Fremdsprachen: Griechisch, Latein, Englisch		best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.
Fremdsprachen: Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch		best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.
Fremdsprachen: Russisch, Polnisch, Ungarisch		best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.
Fremdsprachen: Arabisch, Hebräisch		best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.	best.

defining experience. (It came up again and again in the Freud's Jewish World Conference.) When he was fourteen, his father told him about an incident from his own past. He was walking down the street in Freiberg when a Gentile told him that he should walk in the gutter, and then knocked his hat off his head. And what did you do? asked Sigmund. His father answered that he had stepped into the gutter and picked up his hat.

Freud was certainly aware of Cuddihy's dynamic within himself. He was very ashamed of his father's behavior in the hat story, and he later described in himself an identification with the Carthaginian general Hannibal, who stood up to the Romans. Sara Winter (1999) points out that even before Freud made the trip he commemorated in "A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis," he was uncomfortably aware that he had, as he put it, "surpassed" his father, who could not read Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in Greek as Freud could, thanks to his classical education. Both the awareness and the discomfort are relevant.

Freud himself writes in the Acropolis paper: "Our father had been in business. He had no secondary education and Athens could not have meant much to him. Thus, what interfered with our enjoyment of the journey to Athens was a feeling of filial piety." (A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis, Sigmund Freud, 1936)

We have a less "pious" and more telling version of this theme from a Dr. M. Grinwald, a religious Jew from Buzhocz, the birthplace of Freud's paternal grandfather. In 1941 Grinwald contributed to *Ha'aretz*, the oldest Jewish periodical in Palestine, the story of an encounter with Freud in Vienna in the early years of the twentieth century. Grinwald had given a lecture on a controversial popular drama Yohanan the Prophet that many thought to be very derogatory of Orthodox Jews. After the talk, while Grinwald and his audience were having a friendly lunch, Freud made several jokes related to religion, and pointed out how many Jews resembled Yohanan, the protagonist of the play, with his shaggy coat, unkempt hair, and mysterious face. Then he commented that he himself preferred the man in the elegant tuxedo to the one dressed like a prophet. Grinwald recalled thinking to himself, "How far this man has drifted from Jewish life."

But Grinwald was wrong; in fact Freud had never had much experience of Grinwald's vision of "Jewish life." Long before Sigmund's Acropolis trip, his father was already by many measures a middle-class Viennese. It was *Brill's* father who exemplified the "man dressed like a prophet," and that was why Brill had much farther to come in his European- -- or Americanization.

BRILL AND HIS FATHER

Brill had a father story very similar to Freud's famous "hat in the gutter" tale, and unlike Freud, he was there when it happened. As a small child Brill injured a finger, and his father took him to a doctor. When he got frightened, the irritated doctor took his anger out on Brill's father, who remained silent throughout. As Brill wrote later to his colleague Smith Ely Jelliffe .

Both sons thus resolved, with whatever feelings



"I never forgot this experience, the only impression left was that for once I saw my father being bullied, and accepting it, and by a physician. I must have resolved then and there that some day I should be one." (Hale 1995, p. 390).

of ambivalence, to "surpass" their fathers, but their fathers were different people, and they themselves started from different points, having been brought up in very different circumstances and with very different ideals.

Jakob was never the success that his son became, but he did well enough to send Sigmund to an elite school in an imperial capital city. As an adult, Freud felt much more kinship with the cosmopolitan Viennese in their "elegant tuxedos" than with the spiritual immigrant Yohanan of the play, a "convert" to a strange culture. Whatever his weaknesses, Freud's father did much of his emigrating for him. Brill, however, had to do it himself.

Brill's parents did not take the advantage Jakob Freud did of the opportunities opening up for Jews with the slow reversal of discriminatory laws. Most biographies of Brill (including his own) are sketchy or unreliable, but according to historian and Brill scholar Paula Fass (1968), Brill was brought up "frum" in the old pre-Enlightenment Jewish tradition. Almost all that is known of his mother is that she wanted her son to be a rabbi. His father wanted him to become a doctor, which suggests that he may have had an eye toward assimilation. But Brill later wrote to Jelliffe that he felt "literally stifled" by his parents; he left home to come alone to the United States at the age of fourteen. Unlike Freud, who was very cautious in his identification with Jewish heroes, Brill identified strongly with his namesake Abraham, who had been told by God to leave home and found a new country.

Abraham Arden Brill

- 1874: Brill born in Kanczuka, Galicia, Austro-Hungary
- 1889: Brill, a fifteen year-old comes to the U.S. from Galicia with less than \$4 in his pocket. He supports himself, educates himself, and becomes a psychiatrist and a neurologist. He goes to Switzerland to study at the Burgholzli and with Jelliffe to Vienna to study with Freud.

Abraham Arden Brill

- 1908: Brill returns from Switzerland with his new discovery Freudian psychoanalysis and starts practicing psychoanalysis.
- 1910: International Psychoanalytic Association formed in Salzburg.

Brill and Freud both had conflicts with their fathers that were bound up with issues of Jewish identity, but they were different aspects of Jewish identity. Jakob Freud took the risk of emigrating to Vienna and integrating himself into life there; Brill's father (as far as we know) clung to his Orthodox roots. Freud grew up comfortably in middle-class Vienna, at the center of an established cultural tradition that he admired and felt part of. He was sufficiently sure of himself and his place that he could say of himself, "I was born on 6th May 1856 in Freiberg in Moravia, a small town in what is today Czechoslovakia. My parents were Jews, and I too have remained a Jew." It wasn't until later that he had to make his own push for acceptance and respect.

But at the age when Freud was in his Viennese gymnasium, absorbing the mentality and mores of the European upper Brill was grappling with immigrant life on New York's Lower East Side, struggling with English, scrambling for money, looking for friends -- and clawing his way to an education that would give him the kind of cultural capital

that his easy gymnasium years had given Freud. In short, Brill had to make a longer journey than Freud to achieve identification with a more cosmopolitan culture.

It is reasonable to suppose that Brill's educational experience was as much a part of his formation as Freud's was of his, but it was a very different educational experience, and it resulted in a different formation.

CHEDAR



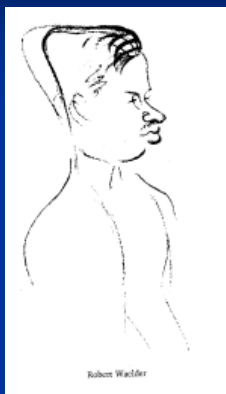
Brill probably received at least some secular schooling, but it is very unlikely that the nearest town, population 3,000, could offer a school on a par with even the lesser schools in a major cultural capital. Brill's traditional Jewish education probably focused on the Hebrew prayer book and the traditional rules of cantillation, on the Bible and its commentaries, and on the Talmud. Yiddish was likely his mother tongue; we do not know how fluent he was in German, but his important work translating Freud

suggests that he might have been. He certainly did not study Latin or Greek, and unless he was very lucky, his teacher was probably a pious man of no particular intellectual achievement. Even in religious studies, it is unlikely that there was a teacher in Konzuca of the stature of Freud's religion teacher Samuel Hammerschlag.

Brill's education is likely to have focused sharply on a narrow cultural-religious tradition. It may well have done so with the rigor for which the Jewish intellectual tradition is famous, and Brill may well have worked very hard in school, honing his substantial powers of thought as devotedly as Freud had honed his. But he probably did not read Plato or Aristotle, Virgil or Tacitus, Schiller or Lessing or Shakespeare or Cervantes. His education in Galicia would have been aimed at maintaining a threatened culture; parochial Jewish schools did not generally have the resources of money or security to consider Jewish tradition in the context of other cultures, or to seek inspiration outside of its confines. Freud's education, whatever its limitations, offered a broader perspective. More to my point, it offered something that Brill missed out on completely -- the *Bildung* that gave entrée, even if only partial for Jews, to cultured urban society. Freud could live contentedly in Vienna, the base from which he pursued his deep cultural interests, secure in his education and the sense of belonging it had instilled in him. It wasn't until he had to contend with the disappointing recognition that as a Jew he would never achieve the university professorship he coveted that he deliberately went out to establish a new kind of thought collective that would eventually rival the unreachable university society in prestige. Brill's society was insular and confining, but he did not intend to remain a provincial, or an outsider, for long. Early on he felt stifled and estranged, and like Freud he was an ambitious man. Both of them were determined to make places for themselves in the highest intellectual and professional ranks of their respective worlds, and -- as Fleck show us -- they did it because of *and by means of* their need to become experts on the societies they wished to enter.

When Brill arrived in New York City he encountered a secular immigrant society drastically different from the ethnic enclave he had left. That was both the good news and the bad news, the trauma and the opportunity of emigration. He didn't know the language and he had no supportive community surround, but at least his lack of a Gymnasium background was not the disaster in

Robert Waelder



New York that it would have been in Vienna or Berlin. In fact the psychoanalyst Frederick Wyatt (1988) cites the lament of a very different psychoanalytic immigrant -- the very highly *gebildet* Robert Waelder -- upon his arrival in Philadelphia: "How can one teach here where one cannot use a single classical quotation?"

European-style cultural homogeneity was not in the cards on the Lower East Side. Each new group of arrivals brought with it a different cargo of ideals and values. The one thing they all had in common was the need to make it, and it was the capacity to do that was most greatly envied and admired. Even in established American society, achievement, competence, and accomplishment carried some of the weight that a humanistic education had in Europe. That is, a new ideal of *Bildung* was in the

ascendant. The teenage Brill was adrift both from the old-world *shtetl* society and from the culture of modern urban Europe. He needed a job; he wanted acceptance and prestige. Like many of his fellow immigrants -- and many of his long-established new countrymen -- he favored pragmatic considerations strongly

over philosophical ones; his aim was to establish himself and eventually his children, just as Freud's father had aimed to do -- and many of our own fathers, too. An education in Latin and Greek -- the classical trappings of *Bildung* Vienna-style -- meant nothing here, but there was a New York version. Brill spotted it, and he went after it.

If Freud was frustrated by his exclusion from the academic community, at least he had the social and cultural credentials he needed to realize many of his other ambitions. Brill at first did not. He started out with no credentials at all. What would serve, as a Gymnasium education would have in Vienna, to buttress the young man, to ground him, to give him roots and a sense of belonging and worth? Like Freud, but later on, he found it in education. He managed to put himself through high school and college, and to fight his way into a top-ranked medical school. By the time he was twenty-nine he had graduated from the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons and trained in psychiatry and neurology. Eager to build his new career, he traveled to Europe in 1907 -- first to Paris, and then to Zurich and Vienna in search of the latest in psychiatry. On that trip he became fascinated by the work of Sigmund Freud. When he came back to New York, he married a non-Jewish wife and began the first private practice of psychoanalysis in the United States. In 1911 he organized a group of twenty physician colleagues to found the first American psychoanalytic organization, the New York Psychoanalytic Society (most of whose members were Jewish). He strove (unsuccessfully) to lose his accent, and as his prominence increased, he sought to become part of New York

LOWER EAST SIDE IN NEW YORK CITY



society. He joined the German Jewish Harmonie Club and the Ethical Culture Society, described by Cuddihy (1974) as a neutral place "where socially and culturally aspiring Jews, for whom reform Judaism had become an impossible option, could meet socially with their Christian counterparts" Once established himself, he worked tirelessly to find an institutional home for psychoanalysis in the profession that had made a home for him; in 1934 a Section on Psychoanalysis was established in the American Psychiatric Association, with Brill was its first head. What Freud had found at the Sperl Gymnasium, Brill found in medicine. And what Freud found in the establishment of psychoanalysis as a "free profession" outside of the university, Brill found in the establishment of psychoanalysis *within* medicine. Freud's struggle to keep psychoanalysis part of the humanistic culture rather than a medical specialty furthered his goals of assimilation, and Brill's struggle to medicalize it furthered his.

The intense and prophetic 1920s controversy between the two men over lay analysis, therefore, reflected both the differing social conditions in two cities thousands of miles apart, and also the need of both men to find their ways into societies in which they were still partly marginalized. It could be argued that Brill projected his own need for status and belonging onto psychoanalysis in his fierce battle to establish it as a medical specialty, while Freud, a more confident outsider, maintained in the institutional structure of his creation the Gymnasium-like structure and ideals that assured his own status and prestige. Both of them recognized that psychoanalysis, to endure, would need to establish autonomy as a thought collective. But they acted differently on that perception. Freud tried to preserve psychoanalysis by keeping it out of the anti-Jewish hegemony of the universities and hospitals, while Brill believed that the best chance for survival for the new science was as a branch of psychiatry. Medicine equaled power and security to Brill, and he may well have been right in his appraisal; in this country, at least, practical skill was valued as nowhere else, and doctors were the holders of great status, prestige, and wealth.

I think that these brief histories demonstrate how psychoanalysis -- its theory, its institutions, and to some degree its practice -- has been influenced by extra-intellectual considerations: specifically, the need of two men to make places in societies that still habitually excluded them. There has always been a socio-political dimension in scientific discourse, and psychoanalysis is no exception; Fleck's genius was to find a way to conceptualize and organize that dimension, and in the two "Jewish sciences" of sociology and psychoanalysis, one major sociopolitical dimension was the need of well-trained Jewish thinkers to understand the societies into which assimilation was sought. .

Let me recapitulate briefly.

(1) *Bildung* was neither a curriculum nor an experience; it was an ideal. (2) The ideal of *Bildung* in Vienna was transmitted through the institution of the Gymnasium, membership in which conferred great rewards of social prestige. (3) In the United States, however, the idealization of practical professional skills had replaced the older European ideal of contemplation and appreciation. (4) Freud's own training in the classics deeply informed his own conception of psychoanalysis and his defense of lay analysis. (5) Similarly, the thought collective of the early Viennese psychoanalysts was strongly shaped by the classical ideal of culture that was integral to their society and in whose atmosphere they had grown up. (6) In American society, however, it was professional skill and credentials that were the markers of prestige, not more abstract ideals of "learning." (7) The importance Brill attached to his medical training informed his conception of psychoanalysis and his rejection of lay analysis. (8) The thought collective of American psychoanalysis, and its practice in this country, was strongly shaped by this more concrete view of psychoanalysis as a medical specialty and an instrument of cure rather than a

source of self-knowledge for its own sake.

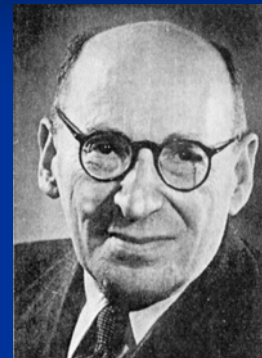
This tale of two men, this double *Bildungsroman*, as fascinating -- and I think educational -- as it is, is also a cautionary tale. The prestige that our society continues to accord to science must not seduce us back into the assumption that science is value-free, and that the choices we make for our own science are purely objective. Science and scientists have a social history. So does the schooling that contributes to the *Bildung* of individual scientists, to the thought collectives they eventually develop, and to the thought styles that become characteristic of them. Freud's use of the Oedipus myth to organize psychological experience is a vivid example of how psychoanalysis reflects one man's classical education. So do his ideas about Narcissus and Eros and Thanatos, although the latter might have more to do with what happened in Meyerling in 1898 where Rudolph and his mistress committed suicide after their love tryst.

Once upon a time, in the early years of the twentieth century in Vienna, Sigmund Freud made a decision to keep psychoanalysis away from psychiatry and to isolate it from the university setting from which he himself had been excluded. In his tough-minded and independent way, to retain control of his creation and ensure its survival, Freud cast the die that separated psychoanalysis from the rest of the academic world.

At the same time, several thousand miles away in New York, Abraham Arden Brill made a decision to link psychoanalysis to psychiatry, to attach it to a prestigious profession in order, he hoped, to secure its survival and to secure his own access to it. In *his* tough-minded and independent way he cast the die that made American psychoanalysis and medicine bedfellows, leaving it accessible to some (including Jews) at the same time that he effectively closed it off to others (non-physicians). The so-called "free" professions or *freie Berufe* like medicine and law, unlike the pure "academic" disciplines (*akademische Berufe*), had room for practice and success outside the confines of the university -- that is, for Jews and other "outsiders." For Freud this was not good enough; he wanted institutional status for his creation, and if the university wouldn't have him, he would establish an institution of his own. For Brill, the *freie Berufe* were the haven that he, and many like him, needed to establish both psychoanalysis and themselves. In their own ways, both Freud and Brill made decisions for psychoanalysis that ensured its exclusion from the academy, decisions that are now reverberating strongly as psychoanalysis tries to define a place for itself in the twenty-first century.

To bring this all together, I turn back to Fleck, with a word or two about *his Bildung*. As I've said, Fleck was also a Jew from Austro-Hungarian Poland; in fact he was a Galizianer just as Freud's father had been, and A. A. Brill himself. Born in Lvov in 1896, he was considerably younger than the other two, but he was educated in the same broad European tradition that the early analysts had so valued. Fleck attended a Lyceum, the Polish equivalent of the Viennese Gymnasium, and graduated from it at eighteen, fluent at least in German and Polish and with a deep interest in philosophy. At medical school, Fleck achieved highly in immunology and bacteriology, but his ethnic background disqualified him from a formal position at the University of Lvov. After a period as assistant in a research laboratory for infectious diseases in Przemysl (in an interesting Freudian aside, the town of the Ratman's maneuvers), he founded a laboratory of his own.

Ludwig Fleck



Like Freud, Fleck was more than "just" a physician. He grew up in a world where a scholar's competence in his own field was appreciated, but where broad knowledge was respected more than narrow specialization. Out of his own breadth of interest, in the autonomous studies he pursued after his exile from the university, Fleck too eventually established a new discipline -- the sociology of scientific knowledge. As Freud explained the complex psychological vicissitudes of the individual within society, Fleck explained the organization of European intellectual life, and his own reaction to it. Like Freud in Vienna, Fleck in Lvov was an outsider in the larger social community, but his Lyceum education had given him access to the world of the intellect as well as the world of the technician. As Freud challenged some of the shibboleths of the psychology of his time, Fleck took on the mythology of science, and turned its own tools upon it. Brill had a narrower education, and he took the narrower path of transmission of knowledge rather than creation, translating Freud's work into English and proselytizing for psychoanalysis in the United States.

It is too simple to say that a broad education makes for a creator and a narrower one for a transmitter. Certainly there are people with fine humanistic educations who make little of them, and equally there are outsiders who manage to educate themselves by hook or by crook, and become creators in their own right.

DISCUSSION

The structure of society and place of the individual within it were essential concerns to the Jews as they cautiously emerging from ghetto and *shtetl*. Sociology and psychoanalysis, the

FLECK TIMELINE

- 1896:** Born in Lwow (now Lviv)
- 1914:** Graduated from Polish Lyceum (equivalent to Austrian Gymnasium). Fluent in German as well as Polish.
- 1914:** Started Medical School
- 1920:** Assistant in research laboratory for infectious diseases in Przemysl (town of Ratman maneuvers)
- 1923-1939:** Worked as bacteriologist but unable to have formal position at the University of Lwow even though he was clearly qualified.
- 1935-1939:** Worked in bacteriological laboratory which he founded.
- 1927:** First publication in the philosophy of science on the analysis of the discipline of medicine. Title: Some Specific Features of the Medical Way of Thinking
- 1929:** Essay "On the Crisis of 'Reality'" generalizes his statements on medicine to cover all of the Natural Sciences. Fleck rejects the possibility of an absolute reality independent of experience.
- 1935/36:** Publication of his monograph "Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact." His philosophical sources include Mannheim, Jerrusalem Simmel, LeBon, McDougal, Freud, Durkheim, Bergson, and Levy-Bruhl and he questions the approaches of the Vienna Circle including Carnap and Mach.
- WWII Odyssey**
- 1941:** Deported to Lwow Jewish Ghetto. Developed vaccine against typhus using urine of typhus patients. Germans heard about his vaccine and that Fleck was leading specialist on typhus.
- 1942:** Fleck arrested and forced to instruct German doctors in production of vaccine.
- 1943:** Sent to Aushwitz. Probably survived typhus because he had injected himself with his vaccine.
- 1943:** Deported to Buchenwald to run laboratory for the production of typhus vaccine. Made inert vaccine (600 liters) for German soldiers and gave active vaccine to the Jews.
- 1945:** Returns to Poland. Director of Department of Medical microbiology at Marie-Curie's University.
- 1954:** Admitted to Polish Academy of Sciences.
- 1955:** Elected its President.
- 1957:** Emigrated to Israel.
- 1961:** Died in Israel age of 64.

studies of society and the individual's place in it, developed as Jewish sciences for two reasons. There was more room for Jews to make their mark in these softer disciplines that operated independently from the old and closed university networks, and they were far more useful in the process of assimilation than the harder sciences.

Handlin is clearly correct when he points out that the movement of Jews out of the peasantry and proletariat and into the larger intellectual world resulted in "an extraordinary explosion of creative energy." The result, as he says, "helped to remake the modern world into which the Jews had so recently moved."

The question Handlin asks is: "What in the position of Middle European Jews shaped their role in the great cultural developments of our times?" Freud contributed to a new conception of the nature of man and a new way of knowing what that nature was. Fleck took on the development of the great sacred cow, Science itself. Brill single-handedly managed to transplant an abstract and philosophical discipline in the soil of a practical and in some ways mechanistic society. Handlin believes that what was crucial in stories like these was the emphasis on innovation, "not through elaboration of existing theories or a refinement of existing practice, but through sharp breaks with what was accepted." Freud clearly fit that bill. So did Fleck. So, for that matter, did Einstein. All of them were searching for grand universal laws, laws that explained the observable particulars. Their basic premise was that the universe was comprehensible -- as Einstein put it, that "God doesn't play dice with the universe." But the search was not only metaphysical. It can also easily be seen as a metaphor for the quest to understand the concrete universe in which one lives, and to find a way to fit into it.

Freud the outsider was a keen observer of the world he aspired to, and he quickly concluded that conformity would not get him very far. Fleck turned his own sharp eyes on his situation, taking it literally and subjecting it to his own analytical tools. Brill equally keenly assessed a very different society, and took on its establishment with his own interests in mind. Their outlier positions both increased their motivation and diminished the riskiness of their rebellions. "Because I was a Jew," Freud said, "I found myself free from many prejudices which limited others in the use of their intellect and to renounce agreement with the "Compact majority" (Jones, Freud I, p. 235).

Freud was not alone in this discovery. There are times and places where marginality stimulates creativity, and Central Europe after the Enlightenment was one of them. "Was it an absolute coincidence that the beginnings of twelve-tone music, modern architecture, legal and logical positivism, non-representational painting, not to mention the revival of interest in Schopenhauer and Kierkegaard were taking place simultaneously in Vienna?" asked Toulmin and Jank in their book, Wittgenstein's Vienna. And might I add psychoanalysis and sociology?