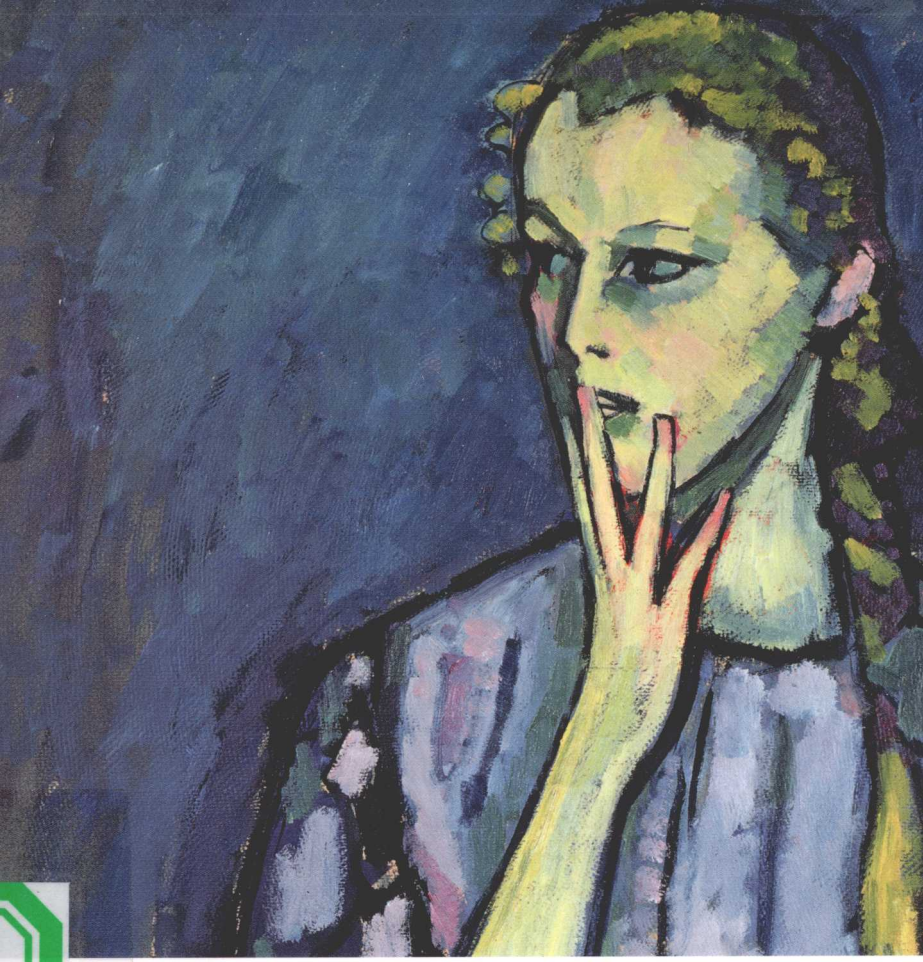

Sigmund Freud

A Case of Hysteria

(Dora)

A new translation by Anthea Bell

OXFORD WORLD'S CLASSICS

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SIGMUND FREUD

A Case of Hysteria (Dora)

Translated by
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With an Introduction and Notes by
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A CASE OF HYSTERIA (DORA)

SIGMUND FREUD was born in 1856 in Moravia, but was brought to Vienna by his parents at the age of 4 and lived there until his flight to England after the German annexation of Austria in 1938. Having received a broad classical education, he trained as a doctor at the Vienna Medical School. He worked initially on the nervous system, then became interested in the therapeutic uses of cocaine, in speech disorders, and in using hypnosis in treating psychological afflictions. His *Studies in Hysteria* (1895), written jointly with his older colleague Josef Breuer, maintained that 'hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences' which could be recalled and discharged by the 'talking cure'. In 1897, however, Freud concluded that hysterical and neurotic patients most often suffered from fantasies stemming from their relations with their parents in childhood. He embarked on the investigation of unconscious fantasy–life which produced *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901), and *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905). His *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) argued that patterns of sexual development, involving such mechanisms as identification and repression, were central to the unconscious forces shaping the personality. From there he developed psychoanalysis as a therapeutic technique and a theory of the unconscious which underwent many mutations, both in Freud's work and in that of followers, from Jung onwards, who successively established independent schools of psychoanalytic thought and treatment. Freud died in exile in Hampstead in 1939.

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INTRODUCTION

FREUD'S 'Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria', popularly known, after the patient's pseudonym, as the case of 'Dora', is one of the very few case histories that he wrote, and therefore a rare piece of evidence about how he actually formed his interpretations in sessions of analysis. Strictly speaking there are only three case histories. The others are the stories of the 'Rat Man', a Viennese Jewish lawyer called Ernst Lanzer who suffered from the fear that rats would enter and devour his anus, and the 'Wolf Man', a Russian aristocrat called Sergey Pankeyev whose severe depression Freud traced back to a childhood dream of six or seven white wolves staring at him from a tree outside his bedroom window.[1] The essay on 'Little Hans' hardly counts as a case history, since Freud met the five-year-old Herbert Graf only once and relied mainly on reports from his father Max Graf; while Freud's study of the insane judge Daniel Paul Schreber was based entirely on a reading of Schreber's extraordinary memoirs.[2]

So the three case histories, few in number and bizarre in content, form the empirical material which generations of psychoanalysts have studied as part of their training. They were described in 1965 by the émigré analyst Kurt Eissler as 'the pillars on which psychoanalysis as an empirical science rests'.[3] A close study of Freud's account of 'Dora', therefore, will reveal much about what Freud did with the material presented to him and about

[1] See 'Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, 24 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1953–74) [henceforth SE], x. 155–249; 'From the History of an Infantile Neurosis', SE xvii. 7–122; Patrick J. Mahony, *Freud and the Rat Man* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986); Karin Obholzer, *The Wolf-Man Sixty Years After* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982).

[2] 'Analysis of the Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy', SE x. 5–149); 'Psycho-Analytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides)', SE xii. 9–82.

[3] Quoted in Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen and Sonu Shamdasani, *The Freud Files: An Inquiry into the History of Psychoanalysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 184.

the basis on which psychoanalysis can claim to be an empirical science, or, more modestly, a source of knowledge about the human mind and of therapy for emotional disorders. It will also provide a fuller view than any other text of what went on in Freud's consulting-room.

The Facts in the Case of 'Dora'

It is not easy to separate the empirical material in the case history from Freud's interpretations. Much that is presented as fact turns out, on closer scrutiny, to be a second-hand account or a conjecture, whether by Freud or by his patient. The following account is intended as minimalist.

The ascertainable facts about 'Dora' and her family are these. Her real name was Ida Bauer.[4] She was born on 1 November 1882 at Berggasse 32—the same Viennese street where Freud lived—to a well-to-do middle-class Jewish family. Her only sibling, Otto, born on 5 September 1881, would become a leading Marxist theorist, parliamentary secretary to the Austrian Social Democratic Party, and a prominent politician in the First Austrian Republic. Their father, Philipp Bauer, born in Bohemia on 14 August 1853, was a successful textile manufacturer, with factories in two northern Bohemian towns, Warnsdorf (now Varnsdorf) and Nachod (now Náchod, both in the Czech Republic). At the age of twenty-seven, after a two-year engagement, he had married the eighteen-year-old Katharina Gerber (born in 1862). They lived initially in the Leopoldstadt district of Vienna, known as the poorer Jewish quarter, then traded up to Berggasse in the more prosperous Ninth District.

Although a highly energetic businessman, Philipp had poor physical health. He had been virtually blind in one eye since birth.

[4] On her identity, see the long footnote in Peter Loewenberg, 'Austro-Marxism and Revolution: Otto Bauer, Freud's "Dora" Case, and the Crises of the First Austrian Republic', in his *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 161–204 (pp. 162–3), based on both written and oral sources. Hannah S. Decker has confirmed this information by consulting the records of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien: see her *Freud, Dora, and Vienna 1900* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

In 1888 he was diagnosed with tuberculosis. He handed over the active management of his business to his elder brother Karl (1848–1916), described by Freud as 'a bachelor and a hypochondriac' (p. 15), and moved with his family to the Alpine health resort of Meran (now Merano in Italy) in what was then the Austrian province of South Tyrol. In 1892 he developed a detached retina in his good eye and was temporarily blind until, by what seemed a miracle, his previously unusable eye developed enough sight for him to read and write.

The worst, however, was yet to come. In 1894 he suffered mental disturbance and partial paralysis. On the advice of Hans Zellenka, a shopkeeper he had got to know in Meran, Philipp consulted Freud, who already had a high reputation as a neurologist. The symptoms were the manifestation of syphilis which Philipp had contracted before his marriage and which was now entering its tertiary stage. Freud prescribed an anti-syphilitic treatment, after which the symptoms vanished. Philipp had, however, infected his wife, if not with syphilis (as their daughter apparently believed), then with gonorrhoea, which in women causes severe abdominal pains.[5] Both mother and daughter suffered also from a vaginal discharge which Freud calls *fluor albus* and which they called catarrh; they sometimes stayed in the Bohemian health resort of Franzensbad (Františkovy Lázně) in the hope of alleviation. Venereal disease was then, and for long afterwards, supposed to be hereditary as well as infectious, and Ida apparently believed she had inherited syphilis from her father.

Katharina Bauer presumably had no idea that her husband was syphilitic when she married him. Ida gave Freud reason to think that she found out when a doctor suggested a venereal origin for the detached retina. After this, Katharina withdrew emotionally from her husband. Various witnesses attest that she was preoccupied to the point of obsession with cleaning the family apartment. The public rooms were kept locked to avoid dirt, and the whole flat received a specially thorough cleaning every Friday, when the family had to keep out of it.[6]

[5] See Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna*, 51.

[6] See ibid. 54.

Ida herself had a history of ill-health starting in 1890, when she was seven, with an attack of dyspnoea or difficulty in breathing. Four years later she fell ill with migraine, aphonia (inability to speak aloud), and a chronic cough. She was treated with electrotherapy and hydrotherapy. The former probably consisted in having an electrical current applied to various parts of her body, beginning with the forehead, the temples, the top and back of the head, the neck, and so down the spinal column, two to four times a week. Hydrotherapy meant receiving a jet of cold water for fifteen seconds at a time, in order to produce a salutary shock.[7] These treatments had no effect. In 1898 her father took her to see Freud, who recommended psychological treatment, but as Ida's hoarseness and coughing got better spontaneously, this advice was not followed. Ida appears not to have attended school but to have been taught at home by a governess and sometimes to have attended public lectures.[8] She spent a lot of time taking care of her father. We must imagine her teenage years as completely overshadowed by illness—her own and that of other people.

Ida's return to Freud in October 1900, which gave rise to the famous case history, was prompted by something else. Not only Hans Zellenka, who had advised Philipp to consult Freud in the first place, but also his wife Peppina (Giuseppina Heumann, born on 20 March 1870), were friendly with the Bauer family, and Peppina helped to nurse Philipp.[9] Ida told Freud that this had led to a love-affair between Philipp and Peppina. For a time, Ida seemed not to object, indeed she and Peppina were close friends, and Ida looked after the Zellenkas' two children, Otto (born 5 January 1891) and Clara (born 26 December 1891); the latter suffered from a congenital heart defect. After consulting Freud in summer 1898, Ida and her father went on to visit the Zellenkas, who were spending the summer at an Alpine lakeside resort.

[7] See Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna*, 9–12.

[8] Decker's surmise (ibid. 57) that she attended the local convent school is corrected on the basis of further inquiries by Patrick J. Mahony, *Freud's Dora: A Psychoanalytic, Historical, and Textual Study* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 6.

[9] Data about the Zellenkas and their children come from Mahony, *Freud's Dora*, 7. Mahony's 'Guiseppina' is probably a typographical error.

Although the plan had been for Ida to stay longer with the Zellenkas after her father's departure, she insisted on returning with him. A few days later, she told her mother, who told her father, who later told Freud, that Herr Zellenka, while walking with her beside the lake, had made a sexual proposition to her, whereupon she slapped his face and ran away. Called to account by Herr Bauer and his brother, Herr Zellenka flatly denied it. Thereafter, Ida repeatedly urged her father to break off relations with the Zellenkas, which he refused to do. Over the next two years—during which the Bauers left Meran, moved briefly to Reichenberg (Liberec) near Philipp's factories in Bohemia, and then returned to the Ninth District of Vienna—she got on very badly with both her parents. The Zellenkas first stayed behind in Meran, then moved to Vienna very shortly after the Bauers had moved there. Ida alarmed her parents by writing them a note saying she intended to kill herself because her life was unbearable. Soon afterwards, while arguing with her father, she fainted, and, on recovering, had no memory of the incident. This, and Ida's continuing antipathy to the Zellenkas, determined her father, despite her reluctance, to bring her back to Freud, which he did with the words: 'Please try to bring her round to a better way of thinking' (p. 21).

These are the facts that are known with reasonable certainty. Everything else in the case is report, conjecture, interpretation.

A Bourgeois Jewish Family

Before we enter into Freud's treatment of the case, it is worth reflecting on Steven Marcus's description of it as 'a classical Victorian domestic drama, that is at the same time a sexual and emotional can of worms'.[10] The Bauer family may have been unhappy in a remarkably horrible way, but in their misery the

[10] Steven Marcus, 'Freud and Dora: Story, History, Case History', in his *Representations: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York: Random House, 1976), 247–310 (p. 253). This important essay is also available in Charles Bernheimer and Claire Kahane (eds.), *In Dora's Case: Freud—Hysteria—Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

Bauers were to a large extent living out possibilities that were always present in the bourgeois family.[11]

While the dominant role of the father comes as no surprise, we might also note the ready cooperation among men. Philipp Bauer brings his daughter to Freud and urges the latter to deal with her. Ida suspected—as we shall soon see—an unpleasant collusion between her father and Herr Zellenka over the former's relationship with the latter's wife. We shall also see that Freud, analysing the case, unwittingly identifies with Philipp Bauer and still more with Hans Zellenka. Katharina Bauer, meanwhile, receives no sympathy from anyone. Freud dismisses her as an uneducated and foolish woman who fell victim to a 'housewife psychosis' (p. 15). But one might have more sympathy with a person confined to the monotonous drudgery of housework.[12] In subjecting the family to her domestic tyranny, she was surely, as Decker points out, trying to 'retain some fragments of power' in a life where she lacked control even over her own body.[13] She locked the dining-room at night, which meant locking Otto in his bedroom, as it could only be reached via the dining-room; and she alone had the key to the sideboard where her husband's brandy was kept. Confined to a domestic role, she took house-cleaning to obsessive lengths, perhaps as a form of revenge. 'You have made me a housewife; very well, I'll be a perfect housewife and make you suffer for it.'

In this milieu, education was highly valued, but only for boys. Otto Bauer attended a classical *Gymnasium* in Meran, where he acquired a thorough education in the Greek and Latin classics, along with German, history, geography, mathematics, physics, and French and English. If the Bauers had lived in Vienna, Ida might have attended a *Mädchen-Lyzeum*, where a relatively undemanding curriculum, with modern instead of classical languages, was available: in 1910/11, 45.4 per cent of pupils in Viennese

[11] On this subject I am indebted to Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*, 5 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984–98). Gay deals with the inevitable difficulties of defining 'bourgeois' in vol. 1, *Education of the Senses* (1984), 17–44.

[12] See the extracts from the diary of an anonymous nineteenth-century Connecticut housewife, quoted in Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, i. 172–3.

[13] Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna*, 55.

girls' secondary schools were Jewish.[14] If she was educated by her governess, however, her appetite for learning, which Freud mentions with no sign of interest, probably received little satisfaction. She may have envied her brother his access to education; this, however, like her relationship to her brother generally, finds no mention in Freud's text.[15] Freud himself shared the conventional view that women belonged in the home. Writing to his fiancée in 1883, he deplored the unrealistic programme for the equality of the sexes put forward by John Stuart Mill in *The Subjection of Women*, which he had himself translated into German.[16]

Austria had its feminist movement, but the General Austrian Women's Association, established in 1893 with the determined feminist Auguste Fickert as its secretary, had far fewer members than its antagonist, the anti–Semitic and anti-emancipatory Viennese Christian Women's League, founded in the same year.[17] Even such a devastating cultural critic as Karl Kraus, who campaigned against the illiberal and hypocritical laws on prostitution, did not support female emancipation through education, as it would weaken the intrinsically erotic character which distinguished woman from the predominantly intellectual man.[18] However, women were admitted to Vienna University, though initially only to the arts faculty, from 1897 onwards. The prominent Viennese feminist Rosa Mayreder argued that women's education should equip them for motherhood, but that they should not see their destiny as confined to the roles of wife and mother:

> The woman who omits to develop any special talent of her own because of her belief that it is possible to 'develop' it in her son, will, in

[14] Decker, ibid. 57; Marsha L. Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 121.

[15] This absence is noted by Juliet Mitchell, *Mad Men and Medusas: Reclaiming Hysteria* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), pp. 100–7.

[16] *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, ed. Ernst L. Freud, tr. Tania and James Stern (London: The Hogarth Press, 1961), 90–1. See Estelle Roith, *The Riddle of Freud: Jewish Influences on his Theory of Female Sexuality* (London and New York: Tavistock Publications, 1987), 120–1.

[17] Harriet Anderson, *Utopian Feminism: Women's Movements in fin-de-siècle Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 42.

[18] See Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Crisis in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 63–93.

ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, be grievously cheated of the fruits of her life. Why not live your own lives, dear mothers, and thereby spare your children all these immense burdens of hopes and wishes which they must bear with them under the supposition that their duty in life is to please you and not themselves![19]

Wives and daughters were not the only female members of the bourgeois household. There were servants, including nursemaids, and the Bauers had a governess for Ida. Domestic servants were ready targets for philandering employers, and a solitary governess was particularly exposed (think of *Jane Eyre*). In 1904 a statistical study of illegitimate births in German and Austrian cities found that in Vienna and Berlin over a third of all illegitimate children were born to domestic servants.[20] We shall presently see that governesses played a significant role in Ida's recollections. A governess could also provide her charge with knowledge of the world, including sexual knowledge, which a well-brought-up girl was not supposed to have. She could provide a boy with early sexual experience: another of Freud's famous patients, the 'Rat Man', at the age of six, was allowed by his governess to feel her genitals.[21] Thus the bourgeois family, supposedly secure against the outside world, was in fact highly permeable: 'Sexuality leaks, and sometimes bursts, into the family cell through the channel of the nurse, the governess, the maid.'[22]

Relations between the sexes were threatened by venereal disease. Sexually active young men, who were expected to marry relatively late, like Philipp Bauer, readily resorted to prostitutes.

[19] Rosa Mayreder, *A Survey of the Woman Problem*, tr. Herman Scheffauer (London: Heinemann, 1913), 67–8. Originally published as *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit* (1905).

[20] Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience*, vol. 2: *The Tender Passion* (1986), 408–9.

[21] Freud, SE x. 160. In 1896 Freud claimed that sexual relations with children were often initiated by a variety of adults—governesses, nursery-maids, tutors, or close relatives—or by other children (SE iii. 163–5, 207), and in a letter of 4 October 1897 he told his close friend Wilhelm Fliess that his own nurse was 'my teacher in sexual matters and complained because I was clumsy and unable to do anything': *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess, 1887–1904*, tr. and ed. J. M. Masson (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Belknap Press, 1985), 269. It is not clear whether this was an actual memory or Freud's inference from one of his own dreams.

[22] Lisa Appignanesi and John Forrester, *Freud's Women* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992), 162.

Prostitution was often claimed to be essential to satisfy male libido and thus to safeguard the purity of the bourgeois household.[23] The case of the Bauer family indicates, on the contrary, that prostitution made the family vulnerable to infection. Men, once infected, might well persist in vice. Arthur Schnitzler tells a revealing story about an incautious friend of his, Richard Tausenau, who picked up an infection, but did not change his ways. Shortly afterwards the two men drew lots for a chorus-girl, but Schnitzler, a medical student, felt a suspicious gland on her neck and resigned her to his friend, who could afford to take the risk.[24] Venereal disease was thought to be widespread: the British suffragette Christabel Pankhurst declared that at least three-quarters of Victorian men were infected with gonorrhoea, and 'a considerable percentage' with syphilis (though one should allow for the tendency of reformers to base their cases on wild guesswork and possibly also on self-serving exaggeration).[25] It was also generally believed that syphilis was hereditary and that syphilitic men would father deformed, disabled, hideous, and short-lived children. Doctors and moralists issued dire warnings, but the methods that might have done something to check the spread of syphilis—publicity and contraception—were severely discouraged. Boys were warned against syphilis, but girls were supposed to know nothing about it. Young men took risks, often in the spirit of a dare, and if after marriage they infected their wives, the scandal was hushed up.[26] Some notorious plays—Ibsen's *Ghosts*, Eugène Brieux's *Les Avariés* (*The Diseased*, 1901), and in Austria, Ludwig Anzengruber's *Das vierte Gebot* (*The Fourth Commandment*, 1877)—dramatized the issue of hereditary disease.[27] Freud's case history may have helped further to break the taboo on the subject.

[23] Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, ii. 363.

[24] Arthur Schnitzler, *Jugend in Wien*, ed. Therese Nickl and Heinrich Schnitzler (Vienna: Molden, 1968), 176.

[25] Pankhurst, *The Great Scourge and How To End It* (1913), quoted in Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London: Virago, 1992), 197.

[26] A well-known case is the Danish writer 'Isak Dinesen' (Karen Blixen), who was infected with syphilis by her promiscuous husband in 1914: see Judith Thurman, *Isak Dinesen: The Life of Karen Blixen* (1982; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), 149–54.

[27] On the scandalized reception of *Ghosts* in Scandinavia, see Michael Meyer, *Ibsen* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 348–52; in London, Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 200, and the

Many bourgeois families were plagued by less lurid but still often disabling illnesses. In the later nineteenth century it was generally believed that the increased pace of modern urban life harmed people's nerves and caused such afflictions as nervous exhaustion (called 'neurasthenia'), hypochondria, and hysteria.[28] Freud argued in 1908 that modern nervousness, far from having an undiscovered organic cause as many physicians assumed, resulted from the sexual repression and self-control required by bourgeois civilization.[29] Family pressures can also be blamed. There are famous examples of women confined for long periods to sick-rooms with ailments which seem at least in part to have been psychosomatic. Ida Bauer can be added to a long list of female invalids which includes Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Florence Nightingale, and Alice James (sister of the philosopher William James and the novelist Henry James).[30] Thus Eliza Wilson, the future wife of Walter Bagehot, resembled her mother in suffering from migraines and eye-strain; Peter Gay observes that Bagehot too 'had intermittent crippling headaches and accepted her psychosomatic symptoms, like his own, as most nineteenth-century bourgeois accepted them: with resignation, practically as a matter of course'.[31] Psychosomatic illness could be a way of internalizing the oppressive restrictions of the bourgeois household, but also a means of manipulating the rest of the household: Ida's illnesses suggest both.

anthology of press quotations in Bernard Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, in his *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932), 70–1. On Brieux's *Les Avariés*, see Claude Quétel, *History of Syphilis*, tr. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), 152–8. Anzengruber's play is named after the commandment 'Honour thy father and thy mother' (Deuteronomy 5: 16), which is counted as the fourth of the Ten Commandments in the Catholic and Lutheran churches, but as the fifth in the Church of England. In it, a young woman, too obedient to her parents, marries a debauchee and has a short-lived child; the hint of syphilis is more discreet than in Ibsen.

[28] See Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, ii. 330–52.

[29] Freud, '"Civilized" Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness', SE ix. 181–204. Cf. Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, ii. 349–52.

[30] See Daniel Karlin, *The Courtship of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Jean Strouse, *Alice James: A Biography* (1980; New York: New York Review Books, 2011), esp. 97–131; Brian Dillon, *Tormented Hope: Nine Hypochondriac Lives* (2009; London: Penguin, 2010), esp. 107–11 on Nightingale's unidentifiable illness and 112–13 for her complaint about women's enforced idleness.

[31] Gay, *Bourgeois Experience*, ii. 20; cf. ii. 119.

The Bauers, like the Freuds, belonged specifically to the Jewish middle class.[32] Hannah Decker has argued that they lived in an insecurity that helped predispose Ida to hysteria, and the claim deserves consideration. Vienna had a large Jewish population, almost 9 per cent in 1900, but more than half of this population was concentrated in three districts—the First, Second, and Ninth—and, within those districts, in particular streets and apartment blocks. Hence, when one explores the references to people in Freud's works and personal writings, one has the sense of a quite close-knit community where everybody is a relation or colleague of everybody else.[33] However, Viennese Jews, especially as they rose in the social scale and absorbed Western culture, became detached from Jewish tradition and religious practice. They celebrated Christmas like their fellow-citizens: Ida Bauer mentions a Christmas present; Theodor Herzl, who published *The Jewish State* in 1896, was embarrassed the year before when the Chief Rabbi of Vienna called on him just as he was decorating a Christmas tree for his children.[34] Their Jewish identity had less and less Jewish content. In his treatise on nationalism, Otto Bauer described the Jews as a people without a history, whose culture belonged to the remote past, and who should be absorbed into the surrounding population instead of receiving the national autonomy which he proposed for other groups.[35]

[32] Sander Gilman has based an elaborate interpretation of Freud's text on the claim that Freud concealed Philipp Bauer's identity as an Eastern European Jew who, in the beliefs of the time, was hypersexual and especially prone to syphilis and hysteria: 'The Jewish Psyche: Freud, Dora, and the Idea of the Hysteric', in Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 60–103. But a Jew from Bohemia did not necessarily fit the contemporary stereotype of the Eastern Jew or 'Ostjude'. See Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). Still less can 'Dora' be called 'the Eastern European Jew Ida Bauer': Gilman, *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 127.

[33] Cf. the testimony of Freud's son Martin, quoted in Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna*, 31.

[34] Theodor Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. Alex Bein *et al.*, 7 vols. (Berlin, Frankfurt a.M., and Vienna: Propyläen, 1983–96), ii. 288.

[35] See Loewenberg, 'Austro-Marxism and Revolution', 164–6; Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1924), 366–81.

Viennese Jews supported the liberal politics to which they owed their legal emancipation.[36] In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud recalls wistfully the 'Bürgerministerium' or Bourgeois Ministry, the largely middle-class cabinet appointed by the emperor in 1868, which even included Jews, 'which meant that every industrious Jewish boy carried a ministerial portfolio in his satchel'.[37] After the liberal era ended with a change of ministry in 1879, Viennese Jews felt marginalized. Presently a new breed of populist politicians—first the Pan-German Georg von Schönerer, and later the Christian-Social Karl Lueger, who was mayor of Vienna from 1897 till his death in 1910—won support by using anti-Semitic rhetoric to denounce the Jewish press, businesses, and banks.[38] Lueger's rhetoric appealed to a poorly educated Catholic populace that was used to hearing Jews denounced as enemies of Christ. The year before Ida Bauer's analysis, the Bohemian village of Polna, not far from her father's factories, witnessed a charge of ritual murder against a Jewish man after a nineteen-year-old girl was found murdered; the Hilsner case was described at the time as 'the Austrian Dreyfus affair'.[39] Meanwhile, in 1897, the First Zionist Congress in Basel had publicized a new and, to most observers, impossibly hare-brained solution to what was called 'the Jewish question'. Against this background, there may well be a realistic justification for the view of the Viennese bourgeoisie that Schnitzler ascribes to the Gentile protagonist of his novel *Der Weg ins Freie* (*The Road to the Open*, 1908): 'Wherever he went, he met only Jews who were ashamed of being Jews, or others who were proud of it and afraid people might think they were ashamed.'[40]

[36] See Robert S. Wistrich, *The Jews of Vienna in the Age of Franz Joseph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[37] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, tr. Joyce Crick, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 148.

[38] See Carl E. Schorske, 'Politics in a New Key', in his *Fin-de-siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 116–80.

[39] František Červinka, 'The Hilsner Affair', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 13 (1968), 142–57 (p. 147); Decker, *Freud, Dora, and Vienna*, 83–4.

[40] Arthur Schnitzler, *Die Erzählenden Schriften*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer, 1961), i. 661. My translation.