Part III

The New Schreber Texts

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Introduction to the New Schreber Texts

The most important chapter of Schreber's *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness,* dealing with "miraculous events" in his own family, was never printed with the original text because it was considered "unfit for publication," and has subsequently been lost. (See Fig. 5) In 1976, when writing a paper on Schreber, I decided to visit Leipzig in an attempt to recover this lost chapter. I did not, of course, find it, but I did come upon something else of great importance. What I found were descendants of the Schreber family, living in and around Leipzig, who gave me completely unknown texts by Schreber—texts which are printed here for the first time in English. What follows is a brief account of this significant discovery.

As is commonly known, Schreber's father wrote a number of books on medicine, orthopedics, gymnastics, and education. "Victory Gardens" in Germany were and still are called Schreber gardens in his memory. Occasionally articles are written about these gardens, which explain why they are called Schreber gardens and just who Dr. Schreber was. In one of these articles, written in 1960 and published in East Germany, the author expressed in a footnote his gratitude to a descendant of Dr. Schreber who gave him access to the family papers. When I was in Leipzig in 1976, I visited the author of that article. I asked him if this descendant was still alive, and, if so, whether he had her address. He was unable to answer these questions, as nearly twenty years had passed since he last spoke to her, and even then she had been quite elderly. He was, however, able to tell me that she had been a teacher at the Leipzig conservatory. Upon visiting the conservatory, I learned that the woman had died nearly ten years ago, but that they still had her last address. I visited the apartment, and the

people who were currently occupying it gave me the name of someone who had something to do with the woman's estate when she died. This in turn led me to a woman who proved to be Dr. Schreber's great-great granddaughter, and who was able to direct me to older living members of the family. These people provided me with a number of Schreber's writings (some poems for family occasions, and a speech for a Christening) which formed part of the basis for my doctoral thesis.[1]

Not all of the new Schreber texts, however, came from these East German descendants of Moritz Schreber. One text was published in a journal about Schreber gardens in 1907. The poem dated 1907 comes from a psychiatrist's estate, who originally acquired it from Schreber's adopted daughter. And I came upon Schreber's last writings while checking through his psychiatric file at the mental hospital at Leipzig-Dösen.

The basic historical context of these writings cannot, of course, be presented here, since that would require an extensive biographical account of Schreber's childhood and family life in general. I will, however, try to supplement the texts themselves by adding a few edifying notes—mostly ones containing details regarding names and dates. The information for these notes is derived largely from three extremely accurate family trees drawn up by G. Friedrich, a grandson of Schreber's sister Anna. The three genealogies consist of: (1) The Schreber family itself. (2) The Haase and Wenck families (Schreber's mother was born Haase, and her mother, Wenck). (3) The Jung family (Schreber's sister Anna married Carl Jung).

A. Poem for the Silver Wedding Anniversary of His Sister Anna (1889)

The first text is a poem that Schreber wrote in 1889 to commemorate the silver wedding anniversary of his sister Anna. This is not the earliest of Schreber's writings, for we have a ruling written by him in 1864 about the different kinds of membership of a student society, which is quoted in a text about that society.[2] (This is also discussed in my thesis).[3] There were also several letters about him, written in 1864 and 1865, and found in a personnel file which the Saxony ministry of justice opened on Schreber, and which were discovered by Devreese.[4]

Schreber writes in his *Memoirs:* "I was by no means what one would call a *poet,* although I have occasionally attempted a few verses on family occasions."[5] The present poem, to the best of my knowledge, is the only one written prior to the *Memoirs,* that is, before 1903. The title of the poem refers to the date on which his eldest sister Anna and her husband, Carl Jung, celebrated their silver wedding anniversary. (see Fig. 6)

The poem is written in the first person plural, and the "we" undoubtedly involves Anna and Carl Jung's five surviving children (One child, Friedrich Moritz Heinrich, died in 1868, and his death is mentioned in line 23 of the poem).

In line 24 a dead father and mother are mentioned; that must refer to parents of Carl Jung (Anna's father had died prior to her marriage, and her mother was still alive in 1889; in line 34 we read that she was recovering from an illness.). Carl Jung's parents were Friedrich Jung (d. 1884) and Anna Margaretha Jung (nee Mengerssen) (d. 1877).

We read in the poem that the children gave the parents a picture of themselves. The children are enumerated from line 57 onward. The first one, described as the "tall rural economist," is Carl Friedrich ("Fritz") (b. 1867). "Rural economist" was formerly a term used to describe an estate manager, which was Carl Friedrich's profession. This line of work might in turn explain line 58 "The light stripe in his hair shows his craft" *(Sein Handwerk zeigt der lichte Streifen unterm Haar).* As a gentleman farmer, he must have done a lot of outdoor work, which would account for his tanned skin and lighter hair.

In line 60 we read about two daughters: Anna Pauline Helene, called "Helene" (b. 1868), and Anna Pauline, called "Paula" (b. 1870). Paula married Paul Friedrich, who became professor of medicine at Kiel. He is mentioned in Schreber's *Memoirs* as "the husband of one of my nieces, now Professor Dr. F. in K."[6]

In line 61 Carl Wilhelm, called "Wilhelm" (b. 1872), is mentioned, and Schreber refers to his musical activities, which later resulted in a career. He was conductor and music critic in Leipzig, and his second wife, Meta Jung-Steinbrück, was a famous opera singer.

In line 65 the youngest child, Carl Woldemar Felix, called "Felix" (b. 1882), is mentioned. Felix was later in contact with Franz Baumeyer, author of two informative articles on Schreber. Baumeyer indicates that Felix Jung was "one of Schreber's nephews (son of sister Anna), Solicitor Dr. J."[7]

The poem concludes with a statement that it was read aloud by Paula. It was probably neatly transcribed by her sister Helene.

B. Poem About Swans Which His Mother Gave as a Gift to His Nephew Fritz Jung

This text is undated. It was probably written soon after the publication of the *Memoirs,* that is, after 1903. The reason I am so sure of this dating is that Schreber's mother, Pauline, gave two swans to Fritz Jung (the eldest son of Schreber's sister Anna, mentioned above), and the undated poem accompanied this gift. Now there is a photo of the estate managed by Fritz Jung which shows the two swans given to him by Pauline Schreber, and this photo was most likely

taken in 1905. (see Fig. 7) It is probable, then, that the swans were given and the poem written about this time.

To properly explain the first lines of this poem, it is necessary to invoke one of Wagner's operas. The *Memoirs* attest to Schreber's interest in Wagner (See, for example, pages 52 and 143). Wagner's *Lohengrin* has as its locale the beach of the river Scheldt near Antwerp in Belgium. The knight Lohengrin arrives there in a boat carried by a swan. He frees the heroine and breaks the spell over the swam, who then turns out to be the heroine's brother. The first two stanzas of the poem hint at these events.

The Pleisse in line 4 is a river near Leipzig. The children *(Sprossen)* in line 13 are probably the eldest children of Fritz Jung.

C. Christening Speech for a Granddaughter of His Sister Anna (1904)

This text does not require special explanation. Schreber recited it on December 26, 1904, when Fritz' daughter was baptized. Born September 30, 1904, her name is mentioned in line 72. Obviously, at this time—two years after his release from the asylum—Schreber was functioning relatively normally; otherwise he would not have been asked to recite on such an important occasion. The text had been very quickly jotted down and nearly without correction (see, for example, lines 11, 12 where the word *"empfunden"* (felt) has been written twice.). (see Fig. 8)

D. Poem for His Mother's Ninetieth Birthday (1905)

This is by far the most important text of all. It is the only piece of biographical material on Schreber's mother written by Schreber himself. Up to the present, a great deal has been written on his mother, but it was largely the result of speculation.[8]

The text was printed, so I assume other copies were struck. But I am only aware of the existence of the one copy from which the English translation was done. The poem itself was intended to accompany an album of photographs illustrating places that had played some part in Pauline Schreber's life (see lines 3, 4). (see Fig. 9)

The first paragraph (line 23 ff.) deals with the *"Feuerkugel"* (Fireball), a famous house that is often mentioned in books on the history of Leipzig.[9] Pauline Haase was born here just after the battle of Leipzig, where Napoleon ("the Corsican" in line 30) was soundly defeated.

Lines 35–50 deal with the following course of events. As a child living in the Fireball, Pauline had often been shown the windows of a room, in an adjoining

house, where Goethe made his student quarters. Many years later, when the local Goethe Society wanted to put a memorial plaque between the windows of his old student rooms, she was the only one who knew which were the right ones.

The second paragraph (line 51 ff.) deals with two other houses where Pauline lived: *"Hohmanns Hof"* (Hohmann's Court) and *"Schwarzes Bret"* (Black Plank). Both houses are mentioned in histories of Leipzig.[10] From line 77 onward we read that the children did not go to school: it was held to be "elegant" (line 77 *"vornehm"*) to have a private tutor at home. I have argued elsewhere[11] that it was important for Pauline to have an "elegant" grand-parental home—even grander than that of her husband Moritz. Aside from Pauline, the children were: Eduard (1812–1864), Therese (1817–1883), Gustav (1822–1871), and Fanny (1827–1895). Of all Schreber's uncles and aunts, the least is known about Eduard and Gustav. Both are mentioned in Friedrich's genealogy, but only to the extent that they remained bachelors. We can also doubt whether both uncles held conventional jobs, since Schreber's sister Anna, from whom most of the genealogical information was obtained, was extremely careful about listing the occupations of family members. Pauline's sister Therese married a Leipzig physician, Dr. Döring, in 1841. He died in 1849. Fanny married Gustav Loesch in 1851. He was the owner of an estate called "Beerendorf," and he died in 1874.

The third paragraph (line 99 ff.) deals with the next house where Pauline lived, the *"Fürstenhaus"* (Princes' House), a house that is also mentioned in literature on the history of Leipzig.[12] In line 121 we read how learned men visited the family of Pauline's parents. Among these learned men were Professor J. C. A. Heinroth, still famous for his work in psychiatry, and the professor of criminal law, C. J. G. S. Wächter.[13] When Schreber studied law, Wächter was one of his professors. In the *Memoirs* Schreber mentions "Dr. Wächter, who was to take up a position of leadership on Sirius" and who "knew me personally."[14]

In line 123 Pauline's father is mentioned: Wilhelm Andreas Haase (1784–1837), professor of medicine at Leipzig, who married Juliana Emilie (nee Wenck) (1788–1841). The "Gewandhaus" with its famous Gewandhaus orchestra still exists today (line 125). The conductor of this orchestra from 1835 onwards was Felix Mendelssohn (I have written at length in my thesis about the relationship between Pauline and Mendelssohn). The Gewandhaus may have been mentioned here because Pauline liked to hear grand stories; when she was quite old, a granddaughter-in-law wrote: "Dear Grandmama used to look down on the present Gewandhaus concerts with great scorn. In her day, Mendelssohn conducted in person, as did Schumann."[15]

Waiting for the "right one" which eventually brought a "young doctor" (line 145) is of course a reference to her husband Daniel Gottlob Moritz Schreber. Moritz Schreber had studied medicine at Leipzig, and Pauline's father was one

of his professors.[16] In the time frame of the poem, Moritz Schreber was a *Privatdozent* (university lecturer) on the faculty where Pauline's father was a full professor. The poem tells us the exact location where Moritz Schreber proposed to Pauline: under a railway viaduct. The lightning *(Blitz)* of line 149 is no doubt the name of the railroad engine passing by. I do not fully understand the course of events in line 149 through 159: Moritz Schreber proposed to Pauline Haase in the beginning of 1838. One is led to believe that Pauline's father died after that, since his death is mentioned after the proposal. But in fact he had already died in 1837, according to Friedrich's genealogy of the Schreber family.

The Nikolaikirche (St. Nicholas Church), where the wedding of Schreber's parents took place, is still extant in Leipzig. The period of happy marriage did not last very long; Moritz Schreber died at a relatively early age in 1861, and during the last ten years of his life he suffered from a severe head ailment which is mentioned at the end of the seventh paragraph. When the poem first appeared in 1905, Pauline had been a widow for nearly half a century (line 185). Line 214 refers to the first-born child: Daniel Gustav, called "Gustav," born in 1839.

The sixth paragraph refers to the next houses where the Schreber family lived: in the Church of St. Thomas Square (Thomaskirchhof) and King Street (Königstrasse) (line 222). It covers the period of approximately 1841 to 1847. Schreber mentions many events during this period. "Your mother died" (line 227) refers to the death of Pauline's mother in 1841. "It meant taking in your youngest sister" (line 228). Pauline's youngest sister was Fanny Haase, but I am unable to find any reference to her living with the Schreber family, apart from this line in the poem. The apartment became too small for the family and they moved to Thomaskirchhof 22. Pauline already had two children, Gustav and Anna. And "before it had been really thought over" (line 241) the third child was born. This of course refers to the poem's author, Daniel Paul, called "Paul," who was born July 25, 1842. A few years later the family moved again (line 247). I do not know what Reklam, Engelmann and Drechsel in line 250 refer to; the only thing that seems to fit is that the Schreber's new address, Königstrasse 4, is sometimes referred to in Leipzig guidebooks as "the house of Dr. Drechsel." A fourth child (line 254), Sidonie, was born in 1846. Pauline also had to care for "unrelated" children. In 1844 Moritz Schreber took over an orthopedic clinic and moved it to his own home at Königstrasse 4. Among the patients at the clinic were a number of children who were boarded there. Thus the household grew larger and larger (line 259). It consisted of Pauline, her husband, the four children, possibly Pauline's sister Fanny, the in-patients, and a small domestic staff. Once again it was necessary to look around for other places (line 261).

Paragraph seven deals with Pauline's last house, the house in the Zeitzer Strasse (line 263). (see Figs. 10 and 11) The Schreber family moved there in 1847. Pauline remained at this address, along with her unmarried daughter

Sidonie, (see Fig. 12) until her death in 1907. The other children, Gustav, Paul, and Klara, also lived there at different intervals during their lives. Schreber's sister Anna lived in a house that was virtually next door with her family. The house at Zeitzer Strasse was originally situated outside the city proper. It was designated by several addresses and finally called Zeitzer Strasse 10. The house was demolished in 1915.

Lines 280–291 are among the most important passages in the poem. They deal with the head ailment which affected Moritz Schreber during the last decade of his life, and about which much has been written. Ritter dates the onset of the illness at the end of the fifties.[17] Most later authors have accepted this date. I have, however, shown elsewhere that the illness began in 1851.[18] In the poem Schreber even describes the effects of the head ailment on the family itself: "The world was avoided, even in the house there were off-limits areas." There were times that Moritz Schreber did not even want to see his own children. Similar reports have come down from Schreber's sisters. Anna once said about her father "that in the last ten years of his life he suffered from an exceptionally severe head complaint, so that at times his family feared for his sanity." His wife was "the only one allowed to be with him when the nerves in his head tormented him too much. Then not even the children he loved so much were allowed to see him."[19] Moritz Schreber died from a perforated intestine in 1861.

Lines 292–323 deal with Pauline as a widow. One night in May of 1877 her son Gustav shot himself (line 297). Pauline was very concerned about family illnesses (line 298). Anna suffered from a stomach problem, Paul was a psychiatric patient, and Klara was described by a nephew as "ailing." There were, however, some pleasant events as well. The coming of the three in-laws (line 302) and the grandchildren (line 303) are discussed. The three in-laws were Carl Jung (Anna's husband), Sabine (Schreber's wife) and Theodor Krause (Klara's husband). The grandchildren are Anna's (see commentary to text A).

Following these lines there are seven fragmentary vignettes, from line 324 onwards. The first is about the Arts (the municipal theater) and nature (Beerendorf and Schenkenberg). Beerendorf and Schenkenberg are two country villages where estates owned by the Haase family are located.

Rudelsburg and Kösen (line 345) are places about thirty miles south of Leipzig, and Kösen is a spa.

The third vignette deals with the commercial street "Brühl" (line 353). The businesses on the street consisted mainly of Jewish-owned fur shops. The Schreber family apparently owned a commercial building on this street. Several companies were located in the building, among which was a "chemical factory" owned by Gustav Schreber. There is, however, virtually no reliable historical information about this factory.

Pauline and Moritz once took the children to Lausche and Klosterberg Oybin (line 361), located about seventy miles east of Leipzig. Oybin is a spa. Because

of his intestinal problems, Moritz Schreber visited a number of spas at the end of his life. The "border stone" on which Schreber liked to "sit straddled" (line 364) must have demarcated the border between Saxony and Bohemia (Austria).

The fifth deals with Dresden, the municipal city of Saxony. Line 387–394 refer to a house in Dresden that Schreber had built for his family (with his mother's financial help). This house, Angelikastrasse 15a, still exists in Dresden. Line 393 and 394 could be interpreted in the following way. In 1902 Schreber first left the asylum at Sonnenstein, returning to live with his aged mother (87) in Leipzig. His wife, possibly afraid of living with a mental patient, stayed behind in Dresden. He did not return to Dresden until 1903. In lines 393 and 394 Schreber expresses the hope that the person who helped him return to his home in Dresden would visit him there. This quite obviously refers to his mother.

The last and seventh vignette offers two riddles. The solution to the first one is "Fireball" (Feuerkugel); the solution to the second is: "Princes' House (Fürstenhaus). Both houses were mentioned earlier in the poem (lines 23 and 99).

E. Poem for the Fiftieth Birthday of His Wife (1907)

Sabine Schreber's birthday was on June 19, 1907. (see Fig. 13) Line 15 mentions her parents: her father, Heinrich Behr, was artistic director of the municipal theater; her mother was the daughter of Roderich Benedix, a comic playwright.

In line 16 Schreber mentions the death of his mother, which took place about a month earlier, on May 14, 1907. In lines 36 and 37 Schreber speaks about the new house in Angelikastrasse, (see Fig. 14) which was also mentioned in the previous poem. Lines 39 and 40 indicate that Sabine Schreber played an active role in decorating the new house. I have often lamented this fact, since it would have been much more interesting if Schreber himself had been responsible for some of the striking details on this house, such as a musical melody carved into the lintel above the door (see Fig. 15)—a melody from Wagner's *Siegfried.*

In line 44 a child is mentioned. Baumeyer was the first to write about this adopted daughter.[20] (see Fig. 16 and 17) Apparently, she was already living with Sabine when Schreber returned from Leipzig in 1903. At some later date, Schreber and his wife legally adopted the child. She died in 1981, and it was she who originally possessed this poem.

F. Declaration About Schreber Societies (1907)

This declaration by Schreber was originally published in the journal *Der Freund der Schreber-Vereine* (Friends of the Schreber Societies), Vol. 3, 1907.

(see Fig. 18) I am aware of the existence of only one copy of this extremely rare issue, and that is in the Gartenbücherei of the Technical University in West Berlin.

The text is the result of a rather complicated affair, which I have described at some length elsewhere.[21] Briefly put, the affair is as follows. A few years after Moritz Schreber's death a Schreber society was founded in Leipzig to honor this rather distinguished educator. This began primarily as an educational society that owned a playground. Small, high-yield gardens were eventually planted on the playground, and the educational society expanded into a kind of horticultural club, in which each member owned a small garden. Later on, in and around Leipzig, more Schreber societies were founded. They consisted of little garden plots grouped around a playground. A number of these societies were incorporated into a league which was called "Verband Leipziger Schrebervereine" (commonly referred to as "Verband" or "Leipziger Verband").

Now the text written by Schreber deals with donations that Pauline Schreber left to societies which were members of the "Verband." These donations to the official league members were, however, contested by societies not belonging to the official league, and they complained vehemently. As a result, they also received donations from Pauline's descendants, and it was Schreber who was responsible for this. The gesture of giving gifts to non-member societies was used for polemical purposes by these societies against the official league members. I am not exactly sure where they published these polemics, but I suspect that it was in their own journal, *Der Schrebergärtner* (I have never found the 1907 volume of this publication). At any rate, the effects of this affair on Schreber are probably reflected in a remark entered in his psychiatric file in 1907: "After his mother's death, he made many calculations concerning numerous legacies, overworked himself and slept badly some nights."[22]

G. Texts Written in the Leipzig-Dösen Mental Hospital (1907–1910)

The last documents are some short notes (sometimes just a word or two) written by Schreber in the mental hospital at Leipzig-Dösen, where he spent the last years of his life. The hospital's archives contain Schreber's psychiatric file. This file has been conscientiously published by Franz Baumeyer.[23] An envelope in the file contains these notes, and I am not entirely certain why Baumeyer did not publish them along with the rest of the material in the file, or why he made no mention of them.

One of the notes is cited in a file on Schreber dated December 11, 1907: "Writes a letter to the senior medical officer in which he asks if he may be allowed to make 'arrangements for his burial'."[24] This refers to the first of these notes. (see Fig. 19)

The next note, undated, probably belongs to the same time period as the first; it seems to be thematically connected. (see Fig. 20)

Let me quote from Schreber's psychiatric file once again: "February 1, 1909 . . . Now and then writes in barely legible characters, 'Miracle' (after he was asked the cause of his groaning) or 'Tomb' or 'Don't Eat'."[25] Without this last clue I would never have been able to decipher the final two words of the fourth note: *"nicht essen"* (Don't eat).

There is nothing much I can say about the later notes. The psychiatric file dated 1910 states: "From time to time writes something on his note pad, his scribble only resembling characters (see Figs. 21 and 22)." That a few of these "scribbles" have been deciphered at all, is the result of the great skill of Dr. Annemarie Hüber. (We do not, however, claim that the deciphering is either perfect or in any way definitive.)

I must conclude by saying that the commentary has, unfortunately, remained rather fragmentary. This is due mostly to space limitations. But, hopefully, what little is here will be of some help to the interested reader.

Notes

1. Here I refer to my dissertation: *Schreber: Father and Son* (Amsterdam: 1981), republished in a new English-language edition by International Universities Press, Madison, Conn., 1987. All further references will be to the present edition.

2. Adolf Hirschfeld and Franke, August, *Geschichte der Leipziger Burschenschaft Germania 1859–1879: Festgabe zum zwanzigsten Stiftungsfeste am 25., 26., 27., und 28. Juli 1879* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 18.

3. Israëls, *Op. Cit.*, p. 133.

4. Daniel Devreese, "Adelstolz und Professorendunkel" in *Psychoanalytische Perspektiven 1: Schreber-dokumenten I* (Ghent, 1981) pp. 131–163.

5. Daniel Paul Schreber, *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness* (London: W. Dawson & Sons, 1955), p. 80.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

7. Franz Baumeyer, "The Schreber Case" *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, No. 37, 1956, p. 69.

8. See, for example, Robert B. White, "The Mother-Conflict in Schreber's Psychosis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* No. 42, 1961, pp. 55–73; Harold Searles, *Collected Papers on Schizophrenia and Related Subjects* (London, 1965), p. 432; Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of Self, The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, No. 4 (Monograph), New York, 1971, p. 255.

9. See, for example, Karl Grosse, *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig von der ältesten bis zu die neueste Zeit* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 272.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 361 and p. 288 respectively.

11. See Israëls, *Op. Cit.*

12. Karl Reumuth (ed.) *Heimatgeschichte für Leipzig und den Leipziger Kreis* (Leipzig, 1927), p. XXI.

13. Richard G. Siegel, "Frau Pauline verw. Dr. Schreber," in *Der Freund der Schreber-Vereine* 3 (1907).

14. Schreber, *Op. Cit.*, p. 72.

15. Israëls, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 333–334.

16. Ernestus Henricus Weber, *Annotationes anatomicae et physiologicae* Prol. XX, Lipsiae, 1833.

17. Alfons Ritter, *Schreber: Das Bildungssystem eines Arztes* Dissertation, University of Erlangen, Erfurt, 1936, p. 14.

18. Israëls, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 347–348.

19. Hugo Fritzsche, "Aus Dr. Moritz Schrebers Leben," *Garten und Kind: Zeitschrift der mitteldeutschen Schrebergärtner* 6 (1926), p. 13.

20. Franz Baumeyer, "Noch ein Nachtrag zu Freuds Arbeit über Schreber," *Zeitschrift für psychosomatische Medizin und Psychoanalyse,* No. 16, 1970, p. 244.

21. Israëls, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 183–185 and 237–239.

22. Baumeyer, "The Schreber Case," p. 65.

23. *Ibid., passim.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

26. *Loc. Cit.*

The New Texts