Enzo Joseph Bonaventura's *La psicoanalisi*: The importance of his thinking, history of a repression[*]

David Meghnagi[**]

Abstract. Enzo Joseph Bonaventura (1891-1948) was one of the most authoritative figures of experimental psychology in Italy between the two World Wars. Bonaventura was also a pioneer of the Italian Psychoanalysis, to which he dedicated the exhaustive handbook titled *La psicoanalisi*. The aim of this paper is to review *La psicoanalisi* in order to reconstruct a painful historical period that has been mostly forgotten. Born in Pisa to a Jewish family, in 1913, Bonaventura graduated from Florence University with a degree in philosophy. His supervising professor, Francesco De Sarlo, hired him as an assistant in the University Laboratory of Psychology. Bonaventura was a polyhedral figure with interests spanning across many fields such as philosophy, theology, developmental psychology, psychology of motivation and education. He was also a charismatic figure in the Italian Zionist movement. Expelled from the University of Florence because of the Italian "Racial Laws", he moved to Jerusalem where he played an important role in the development of academic psychology research in Israel. He died tragically on the 13th of April, in an ambush to the convoy of medical staff by the Hadassah.

Keywords: Anti-Semitism; Hebrew University of Jerusalem; History of Psychoanalysis; Father Agostino Gemelli; Silvano Arieti; Francesco De Sarlo; Cesare Musatti.

> «It seemed to us that in order to more fairly assess what is truly original and profound in psychoanalysis, it would be best to [...] place it within the vast framework of contemporary psychology […]" (Enzo Bonaventura, *La psicoanalisi* [1938; reprint: 2016], p. 5).
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> «The living room of the Pardo house [...], it was there that, for the first time, I heard open discussions about Freud and psychoanalysis, particularly from an authority on the subject, Professor Enzo Bonaventura» (Silvano Arieti *The Parnas* [1979], pp. 18-19).

Prologue

Unknown to the general public, largely ignored among psychologists and psychoanalysts for a long time, Bonaventura was a leading figure in experimental psychology and psychoanalysis in Italy in the first half of the twentieth century. A polyhedral figure, he devoted his energies to occupational psychology and to the problems of development and adolescence (Bonaventura, 1927, 1930, 1936). He was also interested in the thought of Maimonides, the work of Gioberti and the logic of the Stoics (Bonaventura, 1916, 1916a, 1930, 1944, 1947). A paradigmatic character, the story of his personal life reflects like a prism a tragedy that has involved the world of Italian science and culture, destroying its fibre (R. Finzi, 2003) and causing severe consequences for the cultural progress of the entire nation. A story of removals and denials obscured his memory for a long time.

Born in Pisa in 1891, in 1913, Bonaventura graduated from Florence University with a degree in philosophy. His supervising professor was Francesco De Sarlo, who subsequently hired him as his assistant. The Florence of the first twenty years of the 20th century, with its numerous literary and

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[**] David Meghnagi, IPA Full Member, Chair of Clinical Psychology (Roma Tre University). *Address:* Via Luciano Manara 15, scala B, interno 17, 00153 Rome, Italy, e-mail <david.meghnagi@uniroma3.it>.

philosophy journals, including *La Voce* and *Psiche,* and in which, thanks also to the group of youngsters that gathered around De Sarlo, much attention was paid to the work of Freud, was to counterbalance the role played by the city of Trieste, in the initial spread of psychoanalysis in Italy.

Founded by De Sarlo in 1903, at the *Regio Istituto di Studi Superiori* in Florence, with a creative combination of the experimental research method borrowed from Wundt and the experiential method of Brentano, the Laboratory in Florence, of which Bonaventura took over management in 1924, was, alongside that in Padua [1], a hotbed of research, where close and very fertile relations with psychoanalysis were intertwined. He was particularly distinguished by his research into the illusions of introspection and the experiences of space and time (Bonaventura, 1915, 1916, 1928, 1929; Calabresi, 1930; Luccio 1990; Algom D. & Luccio, R 2011)[2]. A student of the Rabbinical College and then a councillor of the Jewish Community in Florence, Bonaventura was part of the cultural circle of Giuseppe Pardo Roques[3], the head of the Jewish Community of Pisa, where the thoughts of Husserl and Martin Buber, Ahad Ha'am[4], Jewish mysticism and the theories of Freud were discussed. He was very active in aiding Jewish refugees in their escape from persecution (Arieti, 1979; Meghnagi, 2012, 2014). A charismatic figure in the Italian Zionist movement at a time when the majority of Italian Jews were under the illusion that Italy would remain immune to the anti-Semitic drift, he and his wife took a trip to the "Land of the Fathers" to experience first-hand the progress of a project that most people thought was a crazy and unattainable utopia and which, twelve years later, was to be a yearned-for shelter that many tried to reach (Meghnagi, 2010b, 2010c). For the young Jewish refugees who were studying in Florence and spent their time hanging around the Faculty, Bonaventura was a friendly presence, a point of reference, particularly when they first arrived. This was not to be forgiven by those who watched the participation of Italian Jews in the suffering of their brothers around the world with increasing annoyance, seeing it as a form of "betrayal".

An original contribution

While Assagioli was the first Italian scholar to translate Freud into Italian and be a member of a psychoanalytic association, Bonaventura was among the first in the world, in 1926, to hold an entire university course on psychoanalysis, which, a decade later, would inspire a book that opened the way to an original reflection on the relationships between psychoanalysis and psychological sciences (Bonaventura, 1938; Meghnagi, 1989b, 1994, 2014b, 2015).

Divided into ten chapters, organised by topic, accompanied by a bibliographic note on the works of Freud and the most famous psychoanalysts of the time, and containing an index of tables containing pictures and representations of medical, psychiatric, artistic and experimental psychology subjects (forced and irrelevant in a few cases) (Weiss, 1939), *La psicoanalisi* (1938) offers an informative summary that aims to fill a gap and reach the widest possible audience of readers. But it is also a meditated synthesis, the consequence of several decades of psychoanalytic literature and of intensive consultation of research carried out in the Laboratory and in the field. It is more than a mere summary of Freud's work. His knowledge of psychoanalysis goes beyond Freud's writings. He is familiar with

[1] On the Padua Laboratory, see the web page www.dpg.unipd.it/content/dipartimento/storia/storia-del-dipartimento-di-psicologia-generale.

[2] Renata Calabresi (Ferrara, 1999 - New Haven, Connecticut, 1995). Having graduated from University with a brilliant thesis on time supervised by Bonaventura, due to a lack of opportunity in Florence she moved to Rome to work with Ponzo. She subsequently emigrated to the United States following the imposition of the "Racial Laws" of 1938, specialising her activity in the clinical and psychotherapy sphere. Her brother Massimo went on to become an emeritus professor of medicine.

[3] Abramo Giuseppe Pardo Roques (1887-1944), President of Pisa's Jewish Community at the time, was assassinated by the Nazis shorty before the liberation of Pisa (Arieti, 1979; Meghnagi, 1994, 2012, 2014).

[4] Ahad Ha'am. In Jewish this means "one of the people" and it was the pseudonym used by Asher Ginsberg (Skvuyra, 1856 - Tel Aviv 1927). A Russian writer and leading exponent of cultural Zionism, he was one of the people who inspired the project to set up the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

the works of Jung, Abraham, Alexander, Ferenczi, Jones, Groddeck and Anna Freud. Bonaventura's intention was to present Freud's ideas "objectively", keeping them separate from his own, not hesitating to take a stance on important aspects of the theory that he found problematic or to be rejected. In his opinion, psychoanalysis is not a detached discipline "locked within itself" (*ibid.*, 5). It does not cover the whole area of psychological knowledge, nor could it claim to do so. Nevertheless, the consistency of some of the topics with the works of Hobbes or Herbart, Schopenauer and Nietzsche, not to mention Wundt, Janet, Heymann and De Sanctis, does not diminish the innovative and revolutionary scope of the work.

The sign of its originality lies in the way previous intuitions are reinterpreted, creating a new system, which, much more than others, offers a glimpse of the depths of the psych (Bonaventura, 1938, p. 270). The reservations on one point or another, the remarks on the "limits" of application of the psychoanalytic method, both in the "purely scientific field" and in the "practical-therapeutic field", are not a good reason to question the lasting influence of Freud's discoveries on the workings of mental life (*ibid*., p. 268). It is not necessary to embrace unilateral coercion in order to accept the fact that psychic life is much more extensive than it appears on the surface, and that a large part of human behaviour, whether healthy or pathological, is "determined" by forces that do not reach "the light of consciousness" (*ibid*., p. 360). Nor can we underestimate the importance of acquisitions such as the concept of removal, the impact that sexual instincts have on psychic life and human behaviour; the role played by oneiric symbolism and other fields of Freudian theory such as transference and the defence mechanisms of the ego (*ibid*., p. 268).

Bonventura's reinterpretation bridges the gap between the great discoveries of psychoanalysis and psychological research. The intention is to go beyond the historical reconstructions most popular amongst Freud's followers, whose medical training meant that they were unable to deal adequately with the relationship between the Viennese master's discoveries and previous and subsequent contributions from other branches of medical and psychological knowledge. Bonaventura emphasises how many of the psychoanalysts of the time lacked the theoretical and methodological tools to frame their discipline "in the complex of psychological science", of which "it is a branch" and "as a particular method" (ibid., p. 5). Claiming a specific competence that the analysts of the time, mostly doctors and psychiatrists, did not have enough of, he points out that they were often led to consider "ideas already known" as new, and facts "already established" as discoveries (ibid., p. 5). In this perspective he proposes the presentation of psychoanalysis as part of "the vast framework of contemporary psychology, (...) normal and pathological, (...) pure and applied" (*ibid.*, 5). In his approach, he considers the social, cultural and phenomenological dimensions. He looks with interest at the contribution of *Gestalt* and has numerous points of contact with the findings of field theory and the subsequent developments of research carried out by Silvano Arieti during his American exile. His is an innovation in the academic and psychoanalytic panorama of the time which, eighty years on, is striking in the freshness of its language and in the multiplicity of the topics raised well in advance, compared to an official narration which, in the first two decades after the Second World War, obsessively sought, albeit with the necessary distinctions, a dishonest respectability and tended to fall into line with medicine[5].

According to Bonaventura, modern psychology has used "two fundamental methods of research to establish itself as a science: experimentation and introspection" (*ibid.*, p. 274). The two methods clashed. In actual fact, they can and must go hand in hand, feeding one another. While "experimentation" appears to be "limited" in application but "safe", introspection presents opposite problems. "Application of experimentation to the analysis of the facts of conscience" has made it possible to collect "an enormous amount of data, to discover many laws, to rise to such a high and synthetic vision of human and animal psychic life" (*ibid.*, p. 268). Experimental research has a limit, however, because, on one hand, it investigates "the sphere of conscious psychic life" without "

[5] For example, in the presentation of the first issue of the psychoanalysis journal, re-established in 1956, Musatti, who, like Servadio, was not medically trained, presents psychoanalysis as a branch of medicine (Musatti, 1956).

exploring the dynamisms" that escape it, and on the other, it tends, with its procedures and techniques, "to break down psychic life into isolated functions" and in so doing, deprives us of a "unitary understanding of the human soul", which must be the ultimate aim of psychology" (*ibid*., pp. 268-269). The same goes for the psychiatry that moves away from clinical aspects, treating patients as though they were laboratory guinea pigs (*ibid.*, p. 269).

The method of introspection, on the other hand, has been subject to reservations and serious accusations, because "the conscience" only perceives the "end results" of processes which, in their early stages and "throughout most of their development", remain largely unconscious. But introspection continues to be one of the uppermost points in the process of human development, which cannot be neglected in order to fully describe the psychic processes. The "illusions of introspection" are "broader" and more "disruptive" than the illusions of the senses" (*ibid*., 275). However, this is not a good reason to exclude from psychological research and reflection, a fundamental expression of human experience, which has points in common with psychoanalytic research. Following in the footsteps of Benussi, Bonaventura is credited with having studied in the laboratory, not only psychopathology, but also normal thought. Thanks to Freud, the limits of introspective processes can be studied live, with reliable and rigorous techniques that take us beyond the barriers of conscious thought and down to "the first structural foundations of the human personality". With psychoanalysis it is possible to obtain "a more unitary vision of the complex dynamism" of inner life, teaching "to seek the reasons for the current psychic situations in the past of the individual", going back to their "earliest childhood", "and even" to their birth, to follow

«the gradual stratification of psychic elements, the formation of affective complexes, the development of instincts, the tumultuous progress of mental functions, so that the behaviour of the individual, be it normal or pathological, becomes transparent through the reconstruction of its origin and evolution» (*ibid.*, p. 269).

While acknowledging the great contribution of psychoanalysis to the study of cultural processes, Bonaventura does not hesitate to question the unfoundedness and mythical nature of Freud's phylogenetic fantasies about the origins of religion, monotheism and human culture (Meghnagi, 1992, 2010, 2015). Even if we accept as the Lamarckian reconstructions advanced by Freud on the genesis of religious sentiment as true, the intrinsic values of religious thought would not be diminished. The fact that "an idea" is preserved, "even when" the causes of its origin no longer exist, should be considered as the "symptom" of its "complete foundation", as well as "of the plurality of needs in which it is rooted" (Bonaventura, 1938, p. 392).

Anticipating developments that were later to find a mature and original formulation in Silvano Arieti's thought (Meghnagi, 2012, 2014), Bonaventura states that while "psychoanalysis recognises intra-instinctive conflicts, those that explode between some (sexual) and other (ego-related) instincts", it does not consider the conflicts that "still constantly arise between instincts and intellect", between "the original impulses of life, whatever their nature" and "the rules that the intellect imposes as a brake and discipline on behaviour" (Bonaventura, 1938, pp. 282-283). "The unifying effort of science, which aims to bring together the most "dispersed phenomena" in a single organism, taking them back to a single explanatory principle, has been responsible for "leading to the discovery of unpredictable relationships". There is, however, a limit at which, once reached, "it must prudently stop", foregoing "the satisfaction afforded by well-defined theoretical buildings that are systemic and harmonious in every part", but which are, also "unfaithful mirrors of the tumultuous vortex of life" (*ibid*., p. 298). We cannot predict the fate of the future for psychoanalysis, Bonaventura writes in conclusion to his book. The most vital elements are already a scientific heritage. Whether or not they realise it, even adverse critics "have had to absorb and assimilate them" (*ibid.*, p. 299). As with every process of creative development of thought, it is likely that, as time goes by, a "selection" will be made, in which "waste", "excesses" and "unilateralism" will give way to the most valid and enduring elements of Freudian theories. "It is not with unilateralism" and "exclusivism", but with "mutual understanding" and with "a healthy balance of thought" that the progress of knowledge can benefit.

Whatever "those psychoanalysts" who appear to be prisoners of a "haughty contempt" think, he writes in the final page, psychoanalysis would have everything to gain from comparison with the results achieved using other methods. This comparison would make it possible to separate "what is new" and "good" from what should be "held in check" until "more convincing confirmation" is received, and from what should be, on the contrary, "changed and corrected" (*ibid.*). If only he could mitigate the harshness of "fanatical admirers" and "die-hard opponents" with his work, he would consider his goal to have been achieved (*ibid*., pp. 5-6). "If even one day in the distant future", writes the author, "psychoanalysis, like many other "doctrines", were to turn out to be "outdated", or ended up being incorporated "into a broader and more comprehensive conception of psychic life", its "place of honour" "in the history of science" would not be diminished: due to "the wealth of research", "the fecundity of the possibilities", and "the liveliness of the debates aroused", psychoanalysis "will be remembered as one of the most powerful efforts ever made to plumb the depths of the human soul"(*ibid*., p. 299).

Published on the eve of the "Racial Laws" of 1938, the book didn't even have the time to be discussed and analysed with the students. The success of the work, published in its second edition just five months later, shows how strong the need for documentation was, despite the attacks and prohibitions imposed by the official culture. Reprinted after the war, for years it was to be an essential reference for those in Italy who wanted to study psychoanalysis seriously. A restrained yet passionate tribute to the great Viennese master which, retrospectively, sounds like the cry of a world about to be violently annihilated and erased.

Expulsion from University

Bonaventura's academic career developed despite cumulative impossibility. A brilliant researcher, chosen by De Sarlo as his assistant in the laboratory he created with a view to eventually taking over as his heir, he saw this possibility wane in the very moment that he was called upon to direct it. Opposed by Giovanni Gentile, who couldn't wait to dismiss the laboratory's original strategic role, De Sarlo was excluded from its management and prevented from teaching (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francesco_De_Sarlo). Forced to hand everything over to his pupil, De Sarlo, who had already had problems due to his opposition of fascism, decided to retire early. Bonaventura took over the management of the laboratory from his teacher and was consequently condemned to remain a contract worker for life. His position was precarious. He was employed on an annually renewable contract. The laboratory had lost its strategic function and the chair left by De Sarlo, who remained tied to the university as a philosopher, was not available to him.

The purely theoretical opportunity for promotion presented itself in 1930. With the retirement of Sante De Sanctis, the chair of psychology in Rome became available. Bonaventura, who had forty publications, including articles and monographs, to his name had the perfect qualifications. However, the post was not assigned to him, but to De Sanctis' assistant. Bonaventura came second. Cesare Musatti[6], who also had an impressive curriculum vitae, was third (Guarnieri 2012, p. 131). The first chair that was to be vacated would be his. But there were no chairs, and this had an impact on Musatti too, who aspired to the chair made vacant in Padua after Benussi's suicide.

[6] Cesare Musatti (1897-1989). Musatti took over the management of the Laboratory of Psychology at the University of Padua after Vittorio Benussi's suicide. Musatti taught two important courses on Freud, which, after the war, became part of the Treaty (Musatti 1949). His was a courageous choice which, in the poisoned climate of the second half of the 1930s, was an additional source of suspicion and slander, which, with the "Racial Laws", from which he was formally excluded, having succeeded in being recognised as "Aryan", ended up causing him problems, leading to his exclusion from university teaching. After being removed from the University, Musatti returned to teaching in schools. Called to arms at the French border for a short time, after the 8th of September 1943, when the danger was at its worst, Musatti found shelter in Ivrea, and worked as a psychologist at Olivetti.

The only person who could have perhaps done something for Bonaventure was Father Agostino Gemelli. Apart from the objective difficulties, which were real, Father Gemelli was a self-confessed anti-Semite who, in the obituary for the death by suicide of Felice Momigliano, expressed hope that his example would be followed by all Jews, and that before "liberating" the world from their presence, the "Jews" would have the care to "repent" and "convert".

«A Jewish middle school professor, great philosopher and great socialist, Felice Momigliano had killed himself. Spineless journalists wrote whining obituaries. Someone mentioned that he had been the Rector of the University of Mazzini. Someone else remembered he was a belated positivist. But if, along with Positivism, Socialism, Free Thought, and Momigliano, all the Jews who continued the work of those Jews who had crucified Our Lord were to die, wouldn't the world be better off? The liberation would be even more complete if, before dying, they repented and called for the water of Baptism» (Father Gemelli, 1924, p. 506).[7]

Thinking and writing as if it were normal for millions of people to find themselves reduced to being pariahs from one day to the next, Gemelli reminded Bonaventura that while the situation in Italy was blocked, in other countries he would have to face the competition of many valuable scholars, "guilty of being Israelites" (*sic*). Better to consider the situation of impossibility in which he found himself as a secret action of "Providence" to encourage his devotion "to a field in which forces like his own are needed".

«Dear Professor, what you tell me pains me deeply. I assumed something was wrong, because I knew about Giannelli's call. Unfortunately, I cannot see a solution in the field of Theoretical Psychology. We cannot go abroad, because the decommissioning of many German professors, guilty of being Israelites [sic!], has occupied many places in America and Europe and I know that there are some, of considerable importance, who have been left without anything. I see no other way than Applied Psychology, both in industry and in schools, and perhaps God's Providence wants you to leave university teaching to devote yourself to a field in which forces like yours are required» (Father Agostino Gemelli, 24 October 1935, in: Gori-Savellini, 1990c, p. 143).

The message was clear, and Bonaventura accepted it. In the hope of better times, which became less and less likely, year after year[8], Bonaventura combined his work as a scholar and teacher with practical activities, to supplement his income (Guarnieri, *cit.*, p. 129).

Expelled from the University following the Racial Laws of 1938, Bonaventura returned to some old projects. In 1924 he and his wife went on a trip to *Erez Israel*[9], to explore the possibility of settling there some day. Perhaps there, he would be able to find what the country of origin had denied him, making his pain and despair for an entire shattered world more bearable. Having dedicated the best of his energy to a book on Freud, published shortly before the Laws of 1938, was definitely not the best way to enhance his "credentials", disguising himself as others had done, in the hope of being accepted and co-opted. When all was said and done, when it had become clear that a similar strategy was doomed to failure, having remained true to his ideals was a source of consolation and help in dealing with the trauma of expulsion from university and exile.

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[7] Published anonymously, the obituary was recognised as his in the December issue of *Vita e Pensiero*, with words of "correction", which sounded offensive: "I must declare that the error is entirely mine, (...) much to my regret; I declare that it was not inspired by anti-Semitic hatred. Error confessed, error half-forgiven; and I hope that our readers will forgive me, considering this: that every day, as every good Christian must do, I pray for the conversion of the Jews". Stating, as another excuse, that the "lively, indeed ferocious" piece had been written "in reaction to the brutality witnessed every day: it is Jews who have given us and propagated socialism, communism, Freemasonry, the rule of the banks and a thousand other sorceries of this kind". (Gemelli, 1924b, p. 753)

[8] As testified by Jacob Tsur, a refugee student, who later became an Israeli diplomat, during a lecture held in the 1924-25 academic year, Bonaventure was interrupted by shouts of "Jew". "Bonaventura remained seated, waiting for them to stop. When he realised that the thugs had no intention of stopping, he took his notes and left the room. The non-Fascist students stood up and applauded him. (...) I believe, it was the last demonstration that the opponents of the Fascist regime dared to make at the University of Florence". (Tsur, 1968, p. 129).

[9] Meaning *Land of Israel*, in the Biblical sense.

The experience at the Hebrew University

At the Hebrew University, founded in 1925 with the active support of Einstein and other important figures in Hebrew culture, the opportunity of creating a teaching programme on psychology had been under discussion for years, and among those that mattered, there were some who wanted to focus this teaching on Freud's theories and work (Rolnik, 2007; http://psychology.huji.ac.il/en). Psychoanalysis was an important ingredient of the *Yshuv*[10] culture. After Theodor Herzl[11] and Max Nordau[12], Freud was the third most read author in the country. The translation of the writings into Hebrew was a testing ground for the rebirth of Hebrew, involving philologists and teachers. There was nothing that the Viennese master said or wrote that was not the subject of debate and controversy. In the 1930s, Jerusalem was a city in turmoil. Thousands of German Jews, fleeing from Nazism, have found shelter in the country. It was an educated immigration, populated by many academics and scholars, including numerous exponents of the psychoanalytic movement in Germany and Austria[13]. For some, the father of psychoanalysis was the profound interpreter of a process of rebirth and redemption in the *Land of the Fathers*, going far beyond the political stances taken on this or that aspect of Jewish life. For others, his work was a sign of "incompleteness" and "neurosis", set against a backdrop of " a disease of the diaspora". Among German and Austrian Jews, many of whom would not resign themselves to the collapse of an entire world, suffering the abandonment of their mother tongue in favour of Hebrew with a sense of alienation, psychoanalysis ended up being a surrogate for a lost world, a way of expressing an irremediable psychological and existential fracture (Freud/Zweig, 1927-39, in: Meghnagi, 2000). On the contrary, in the kibbutz which were being set up, psychoanalysis was part of a new cultural and pedagogical ethos which seemed inextricably linked to the plans to build a new society, breaking openly with the life and values of the diaspora. Those who, from Zionist, Socialist and Modernist positions, adopted Freud's theories on sexuality, also had to reckon with his diasporic thought. (Meghnagi, 1992, 2004). The militants of the first hour, who enthusiastically experimented with Freudian theories on childhood and aspired to the creation of a "new Jew", free from the *burden* of the diaspora and its alleged "diseases", similarly to the youth protest movements of the sixties, ended up overshadowing a profound part of his thought: the *new Jew*, like every other palingenetic idea, was just a myth. A figure that belonged to the realm of illusion. It may have been necessary in order to mobilise the masses but, like every other kind social and human utopia, it was destined to undergo an opposite process of disillusionment. (Freud, 1929, 1934-38; Meghnagi, 1985, 1992, 2004; Rolnik, 2007). Two ways of reading Freud, in which new existential challenges were reflected in an epic contrast of opposing *Weltanschaung*, the stakes of which were the Jewish identity and the meaning to be attributed to the impending tragedy (Meghnagi, 1992, 2005, 2010).

In the opinion of David Eder[14], pupil and friend of Freud, who achieved a prominent position within the executive of the Zionist movement, the best man to take up the challenge was Siegfried Bernfeld. A Zionist of the first hour, Bernfeld played a leading role in the organiation of the first Zionist youth gathering in Vienna. Attentive to the educational dimension, he played a central role in

[10] *Yishuv* or *Ha-Yishuv* (in Hebrew: הישוב). Meaning "settlement". The term is used to indicate the immigrant Jewish population from 1882 onwards, present in the country prior to the construction of the State of Israel.

[11] Theodor Herzl (Pest, 1860 – Edlach, 1904). A Hungarian journalist, writer and lawyer, naturalised Austrian. He founded the Zionist movement in 1897.

[12] Max Simon Nordau (Pest, 1849- Paris, 1923). A Hungarian doctor and journalist. Co-founder of the Zionist Movement together with Theodor Herzl.

[13] The Jewish population of the city in 1896 was 28,110, rising to 33,971 in 1922, 51,200 in 1931 and 97,000 in 1944. The Muslim population rose from 8,560 to 13,413, 19,900 and 30,600. Christians increased in number from 8,750 to 14,669, 19,300 and 29,400 (Harrel, 1974; https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerusalemme#XX_secolo).

[14] British doctor and psychoanalyst David Eder (1865–1936). Friend of Freud, was part of the Zionist executive between 1921 and 1927, subsequently becoming chairman of the Zionist Federation in Great Britain.

the project for libertarian pedagogy in support of orphans, within the *Hechalutz* movement[15]. Implemented at the B*aumgarten Children's Home*, a centre created with the support of the *American Joint Distribution Committee*, the project was a source of inspiration for child psychology, taking due account of cultural and environmental aspects (Bernfeld, 1971, pp. 5-120). Due to his historical rigour, it was to Bernfeld that Anna Freud entrusted her father's papers to reconstruct his biography[16].

Max Eitingon, who moved to Jerusalem in 1933, was interested in the assignment. He had an excellent psychoanalytic curriculum. He was also a tireless organiser and one of the seven members of the *Secret Committee* for the defence of psychoanalysis, created after the breakdown in relations between Freud and Jung. His financial standing meant that he was able to contribute to the accomplishment of the most important editorial projects in the psychoanalytical movement, using his own resources to set up the Psychoanalytic Polyclinic in Berlin. A unique structure which, until the rise of Nazism, provided free psychotherapeutic support to the German working classes. With the transfer to Jerusalem of the prestigious library of the Polyclinic, Jerusalem became one of the international centres of psychoanalysis. Who better than he could act as hinge between Freudian psychoanalysis and the academic world? Confident of Freud's support, however, Eitingon failed to realise that his mentor, who would have preferred him in Europe or the United States, had pledged himself, without informing him, to Moshe Wulff[17]. In his correspondence with the rector Yehudah Magnes, Freud suggested including psychoanalysis, as a science of the unconscious, among the teachings of the future department of psychology (Freud to Magnes, 17 November and 22 December 1933, *cit.* in Rosenbaum, 1954). Magnes believed that teaching psychology should take precedence. His was a traditional approach that followed the guidelines of the major research centres in Germany and Austria, from which the Jews had been expelled. The newly developing university offered them shelter. Respect for Freud was not up for discussion. He was one of the spiritual fathers of the university. However, underestimating Freud's problematic relationship with the academic world, Magnes informed him that the university was in favour of assigning the task to Kurt Levin. This irritated Freud (1925, 1930), who had hailed the birth of a university in the historical cradle of Judaism with moving words, declaring himself proud of "our university", welcoming the flourishing of "our" Kibbutz settlements (and supporting the projects of the pioneering Zionist movement, *Hechalutz*). Especially since Levin was one of the most aggressive critics of his work. Relations became somewhat chilly and the project is dropped. Academic psychology and psychoanalysis were to proceed separately.

However, Levin's project went beyond the University's possibilities and its real needs. The decline of Levin's candidacy offered Bonaventura an opportunity to get out of the situation he was in. Frustrated in Italy, Bonaventure's dream of becoming a professor one day finally came true in Jerusalem. It would have been hard to conceive of a better choice for the emerging psychology laboratory at the Hebrew University, and it is certain that, had Freud lived longer, he would have been able to appreciate it. Due to a lack of resources, Bonaventura was unable to continue his laboratory research. That world, with its problems, had to be left behind, at least for the moment.

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[15] Created in 1881 to deal with the Tsarist pogroms, the Jewish youth movement of *Hechalutz* developed particularly in Poland and Romania. In Germany, it only met with a certain degree of success towards the end of the First World War. According to that reported by J. Toch (Chemouni, 1987, p. 1238), a former member of the movement in Vienna, in a letter to the Jerusalem Post dated 22 July 1970, Freud was kept regularly informed by him of the state of a movement which, on the eve of the Second World War, had around 100,000 members. Established in Berlin, the *Hechalutz* movement later moved its headquarters to Warsaw. The first congress was held in 1928 in Karlsbad, a city visited by Freud for spa treatments. The number of members of the movement rose from 5,400 in 1923 to 33,000 in 1925. After falling to 8,000 in 1928, it rose again to 83,000 in 1933. During the 1930s, about 34,000 *chalutzims* reached Mandatory Palestine. (Laqueur, p. 360).

[16] Siegfried Bernfeld (1892, Lember, Galicia [now Lviv, Ukraine] - S. Francisco, USA, 1953). Bernfeld's works, compiled in a volume by Ilse Grubrich Simitis, were published between 1944 and 1952. The result of a monumental collection of data and ingenious conjectures, only partly used in the works published, Bernfeld's studies were (along with the archive created with his wife) one of main sources of information used by Jones in his approved biography (Meghnagi, 1992, 2004).

[17] Moshe Wulff (Odessa, 1878 - Tel Aviv, 1971).

Educational needs were a priority. On the strength of his experience in education and his research into motivation and determination, Bonaventura had to immerse himself in the real needs of a young society in the making, rising to the challenges of a youth which had burnt its bridges with the countries of origin and had left an entire world behind forever (Bonaventura, 1944, 1947). He also had to learn the language. An epic challenge, embraced with passion, which laid the foundations of Israeli academic psychology over the course of a decade.

Brief return to Italy

The dream of returning to Italy after the war, possibly with a dual role as teacher and researcher, in Florence and Jerusalem, had perhaps never been completely abandoned. For the moment, the University where Bonaventura was teaching was unable to guarantee him the possibility to continue the research with which he had made his debut in the scientific world. Perhaps he hoped that, returning to Italy after the war, he would be able to resume his laboratory research. Perhaps spending some time in Jerusalem and the rest in Italy, like certain authoritative scholars who followed him and who didn't want to move there permanently[18].

Upon returning to Italy for a year's sabbatical in 1947, Bonaventura got in touch with his old colleagues. He received a cordial welcome in Florence but no mention was made of the possibility of him returning. The great scholar decided it was time to leave, acknowledging, with dignity, the impossibilities that have accumulated during his absence. In Jerusalem, he returned to his university post. Ben Gurion was getting ready to proclaim the rebirth of an independent Jewish nation in the places where the Jewish civilisation had been founded and developed two thousand years before. The Arab League was against the division of Mandatory Palestine into two friendly, neighbouring states. The entire country lived under the threat of a war of destruction. Mount Scopus (*Har* Ha-Zofim), where the University was located, was isolated. To get to it, it was necessary to travel through the Arab quarter and the risk was huge. On April 13, 1948, a month before the proclamation of independence, the medical convoy in which Bonaventura was travelling fell under a deadly ambush. Despite repeated appeals by the Jewish Agency and the guarantees given, the British police intervened when it was too late. Seventy-nine people died in the attack (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Massacro_del_convoglio_medico_di_Hadassah)

In a country where an entire nation was forced put an impossible burden of sadness behind it in order not to go mad, Bonaventura's death, endured painfully by those who knew him, was among the many suffered by the country. Five years earlier, European Judaism had been almost entirely destroyed. In the war of destruction unleashed by the armies of the Arab League, the State of Israel lost 1% of its population. The elite of the *kibbutz* and three generations of scholars at the recently born University lost their lives in the war. The same percentage as that represented by the Italian soldiers who died in the Great War, triggering the collapse of the regime set up after the Risorgimento, which was experiencing a severe crisis, and opening the way to Fascism. (Segre, 2008; Meghnagi, 2010).

A decade passed before the Department of Psychology reopened its doors in 1957. But that is another story (Meghnagi, 2016; Ben-Ari & Amir, 1986). Bonaventura is remembered in the stele commemorating those who fell in the ambush of April 1948. Almost half a century later, the municipality honoured his memory by naming a street in the city after him in 1995, in an area of new development in which the Italian Jews who contributed to the development of the country are remembered.

[18] David Rapaport, an example for all. Epistemologist and psychoanalyst, he was among the most famous scholars of Freud's theories.

Bonaventura's return

Bonaventura's colleagues in Florence were upset by the news of his death. A conference was held in Florence. The belated and only partial acknowledgement of such a severe loss by Italian psychology was not followed by symbolic acts to stabilise his memory over time. Fifty years went by before the university commemorated him publicly. A worthy initiative, inspire, among others, by Simonetta Gori-Savellini, who studied his work (Gori Savellini, 1990a). In the room made available by the Viesseux Cabinet, the atmosphere was charged with emotion. Authoritative academics and exponents of the Italian Psychoanalytic Society (SPI) were present. The programme was divided into three sessions, spanning the whole of Bonaventura's scientific production: the contribution to academic psychology, dialogue with psychoanalysis, Jewish engagement in Florence and the Israeli experience. His son, David Asheri[19], an authoritative historian at the Hebrew University, chaired one of these sessions.

But something didn't add up. The reasons for the meeting were to reflect on "a singular cultural event" that led from "experimental psychology to psychoanalysis and applied psychology" (Simonetta Gori-Savellini, 1990, p. 1). The rest, despite involving an important of cultural life in Florence with its burden of pain, was marginal. Yet it was not a secondary aspect for the understanding of the author's life and the developments of his work.

The laws of '38 marked the beginning of an irreversible decline for Italian universities. Entire areas of research were destroyed. Several post-war Nobel prizes were won by Italian scholars who had fled Italy. The Italian Jews, a minority of one per thousand of the population, made a unique contribution to the construction of the Risorgimento State. Their identification with the history of the country was complete. During the First World War, they competed to stand out in the defence of the country, only to find themselves, from one day to the next, two decades, deprived of all rights.

There are endless stories to be told: the anguish of expulsion from work, the difficulties in meeting daily needs, with young children expelled from schools, the departure for Jerusalem, in a permanent state of danger, the circumstances of a tragic death. Anna Di Gioacchino, the daughter-in-law of Umberto Cassuto, a luminary of the University of Florence, who was also expelled from the University following the laws of 1938[20], also lost her life in the ambush against the Hadassah convoy, together with Bonaventura. Faced with the prospect that what had happened in Rome, with the raid on the 16th of October 1943, would happen again in Florence, Nathan Cassuto, who had taken on the duties of chief rabbi after his father's departure for Jerusalem, cycled from house to house to warn people of the danger, indicating safer places and obtaining false documents, thanks to contacts with the Resistance and the Curia.[21]. Betrayed by a delator, Nathan was captured at the headquarters of the *Azione Cattolica*. Don Leto Casini, a just man among the nations, also fell into the trap. Three days later, Saul Campagnano, Anna Cassuto and Raffaele Cantoni were tricked into being captured too. During the journey to Auschwitz, Cantoni managed to escape, and resumed his aid activity from Milan and then from Switzerland. Deported with his wife Anna and his friends in January 1944, Nathan Cassuto died in Gross Rosen camp in February 1945. Anna survived. Upon returning to Florence in 1946, she had hopes of a different future for herself and her children[22]. As in Levi's double

[19] The surname Asheri is a reinterpretation of the Hebrew for Bonaventura.

[20] Umberto Cassuto (1883-1951), chief rabbi of Florence, taught in Florence and then in Rome. From 1935, he was a correspondent member of the Accademia dei Lincei from which he was expelled following the laws of 1938. He subsequently moved to Jerusalem and taught at the Hebrew University.

[21] After of September 8, 1943, thanks to the good relations with Cardinal Elia Dalla Costa (Casini, 1986) and the connections that Raffaele Cantoni ensured with Giorgio Nissim (Pisa 1908 - Pisa, 1976) and the Delegation for the assistance of Jewish emigrants (Delasem) in Genoa, Nathan Cassuto prevented the Florentine Jewish community from finding itself completely unprepared in the face of danger..

[22] Former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, his son David is currently dean of the Faculty of Architecture at Ariel University.

dream, it was only a truce (Levi, 1963; Meghnagi, 2005, 2012, 2014). In the words of Tassinari, Bonaventura's death was an "episode of war" (Luigi Tassinari, in: Gori-Savellini, 1990a, p. 7). Father Gemelli's words are the fruit of a shared wisdom: a "bitter viaticum" that helped him. (Gori-Savellini, 1990c, p. 143)[23]. Bonaventura taught "at the University Florence until 1938", the year in which "Racial Laws (sic.) resulted in his removal from the University he had always considered his own". His journey as a scholar "continued at the University in Jerusalem, close to which he met his death in 1948" (Gori-Savellini, 1990b, p. 3).

Father Gemelli wanted him back at the University and invited him to Milan to deliver some lessons. In a crescendo of interpretative denials, the director of the Institute of General and Clinical Psychology of the University of Siena asserted that Bonaventura's death was a consequence of his religious choices. To be blamed on the "dominant history" of men, which has been avenged again (Fancesca Morino Abbele, in: Gori-Savellini, 1990a, p. 12).

But time did not pass in vain. In the words of the Chairman of the Psychoanalytical Society, "although not a psychoanalyst and not one of the first Italian analysts to establish the SPI", Bonaventura can ideally be connected to "that first nucleus of founders". Not only "due to his serious knowledge, documentation, and substantial adhesion" to Freud's theories, but also "due to the underlying moral choice" and "the consequent" "need" to leave the country.

Although not a psychoanalyst and not one of the first Italian analysts to establish the SPI, Enzo Bonaventura can ideally be connected to that first nucleus of founders, not only due to his serious knowledge, documentation, and substantial adhesion, during those years, to Freud's theories, but also due to the underlying moral choice and his consequent need to abandon the country. In February 1938, when the first group of analysts and the analytical institution broke up when the first group of analysts and the analytic institution broke up, Enzo Bonaventura published the first edition of the volume *La Psicoanalisi* (...), and at almost the same time he left for Jerusalem where ten years later, in 1948, he died (G. Hautmann, in: Gori-Savellini, 1990a, p. 84).

At a time when psychoanalysis had to rethink the scholastic subtleties of the past with respect to the development of neuroscience and the debate on social sciences. Particularly when questioning the typically nineteenth-century reductionist structure with which Freud looks at culture, religion and the origins of moral sentiment[24].

The ghost of the Parnas

Bonaventura's contribution to academic psychology and psychoanalysis was largely ignored, having developed subtly in the post-war period. Like a karst river, it indirectly influenced a new attitude in the approach to Freud's work and its relationship with psychological and academic knowledge. Apparently invisible, the echoes of Bonaventura's work and teachings were to be reflected in the work of Silvano Arieti (1914-1981), one of the greatest innovators of post-war psychiatric and psychological thought.

[23] "Father Gemelli also sent his best wishes, but the viaticum for the Jewish professor was bitter. In the years immediately following that letter, Enzo Bonaventura may have also have had the impression that a will superior to his own had destined him to another place, the Promised Land". (Gori-Savellini, 1990c, p. 143).

[24] While acknowledging the value of the work, Edoardo Weiss, from his American exile, polemically relegated Bonaventura's contribution to the margins of the development of psychoanalysis ("outside of the sphere of psychoanalysis"). Criticising the author for having identified the Freudian Es with the Unconscious, thereby losing sight of the change made by Freud with his structural theory (Weis, 1939, pp. 90-93). Criticising the author for having identified the Freudian Es with the Unconscious, thereby losing sight of the change made by Freud with his structural theory (Weis, 1939, pp. 90-93). A decade later, Nicola Perrotti was to use a misleading and ungenerous contrast between the rigour of Musatti's Treaty and the supposed superficiality of Bonaventura's contribution (N. Perrotti, 1949; Musatti, 1949). Two decades later, a more attentive and sensitive Servadio was to positively quote a work prior to Bonaventura, on the psychology of infants (Bonaventura, 1937; Servadio, 1971).

In Bonaventura's theoretic perspective, psychoanalysis "teaches not to artificially isolate the individual from the human environment in which they have lived and continue to live" (Bonaventura, 1938, p. 269). In that of Arieti, with the fertile and creative thesis of a cognitive unconscious and the consequent theoretical and clinical need to integrate the approach of classical psychoanalysis to the primary functions of the mind, there is a specific focus on its most complex functions (Meghnagi, 2014b). This was an important change of perspective that laid the ground for a fruitful relationship between psychoanalytic research and future developments in neuroscience. The starting point was, once again, a story that took place in Pisa, the hometown of Arieti and Bonaventura, in a double interweaving of lives and individual destinies with collective history.

Arieti knew Bonaventure personally and met him several times in the Jewish circles of Pisa. He read and reread his book on Freud, taking it with him to America as if it were a "transitional object" (Winnicott, 1951), to make his departure and exile less painful. A book with a dedication, borrowed from the Parnas (the head of the Jewish community of Pisa), who had "inadvertently" packed it in his suitcase in preparation for the long journey that would take him to safety, across the ocean. He planned to return it when he returned, but at the end of the war the Parnas was no longer there. He had been fiercely murdered on the eve of the liberation. Some elderly people who had taken refuge in his house had been killed with him, along with his Christian housekeepers who hadn't wanted to leave him in his moment of trouble (Arieti, 1979).

The Parnas suffered from severe agoraphobia. He was afraid of being attacked. He was afraid he'd be attacked and torn to shreds by wild animals. Living in the city, he had transferred his fears to cats and dogs. He used to walk with a stick which he used to tap the ground and was ridiculed by the children, who sometimes used to scare him. His condition was so severe that sometimes he wouldn't leave the house for weeks. Nevertheless, he was a man of the world, who had held an important position in the Municipal Council of his city and community, where he was admired and respected. He was an entrepreneur who had helped Jewish refugees who had arrived in Italy and, on Fridays, he would offer anyone who requested it, without religious distinction, a voucher for a meal in a restaurant in the city (Meghnagi, 2012, 2014b).

In an idealised representation transfigured by memory, the Parnas' condition was defined by Arieti (1979) as a paradigm of a reading of mental illness, complementing Freud's discoveries on the primary mechanisms of the unconscious with an approach that considered even the most complex and superior functions of the mind. Arieti saw the Parnas' illness as more than just a symptom of an unresolved conflict. It was also a symbol of higher functions, that could have been somehow prophetic. the Parnas was a bit like Isaiah, a bit like Tiresia. He had seen where evil could lead and this had made him ill. His irrational fears were a consequence of the refusal to embrace the idea that men can behave like wolves towards their neighbours (*homo homini lupus*, to quote Hobbes, 1640). And that is what was about to happen in the world. Defenceless prey to his torturers, the Parnas discovered the true meaning of his illness. His phobias were a way of disguising a greater fear: the violence unleashed against defenceless people. Discovering the meaning of his illness, as a "chosen" victim, he became witness to the evils of the world (Meghnagi, 2012, 2014)**.**

The ghost of the Parnas, which oppressed Silvano Arieti for forty years (1979), eventually becoming the subject of a book, is a key element in the connection between Bonaventura's interrupted work and Arieti's subsequent work in America. The book on the Parnas, written shortly before his premature death from cancer, is his scientific testament, written "in blood", linking events from his past, with the memories and teachings received, to the fruits that subsequently germinated.

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