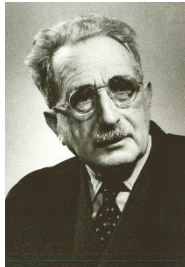


**In memoriam Prof. Dr. Fritz
Heinemann**

(1889 – 1970)

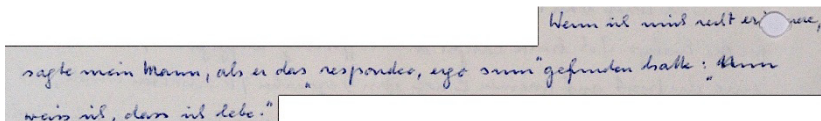


Lüneburg, 7 January 2020

Respondeo, ergo sum. "I respond, therefore I am." (...)

I am, insofar as I respond, I develop in all the layers of my being (body, senses, soul and spirit) only to the extent that I respond. Man enters into being only by the act of responding, their development occurs in a series of complex and interconnected acts of responding. For as long as he lives, he responds.

Jenseits des Existenzialismus [Beyond Existentialism], Stuttgart 1957, p. 157/158



Wenn ich mich nicht erwecke,
sagte mein Mann, als er das „respondeo, ergo sum“ gefunden hatte: „Nun
weiss ich, dass ich lebe.“

If I recall correctly, my husband's reaction to coming across the
"respondeo ergo sum" had been: "Now I know that I live."

Ada Heinemann in a letter to Manfred Göske (30 August 1971)

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Hansestadt Lüneburg
Der Oberbürgermeister
Am Ochsenmarkt
Rathaus
21335 Lüneburg

LÜNEBURG
die HANSEstadt ✓



Honoured members and friends the Association for Christian-Jewish Cooperation,

In the summer of 2015, more than 40 descendants of the Jewish Heinemann family came together in the town of their forefathers. They had travelled from the United States, the United Kingdom, Israel, Guatemala and France and elsewhere for the symbolic return of parts of the estate of Marcus Heinemann that had been wrongfully acquired by the Museum Lüneburg in 1940. These items were then loaned back to the Museum. Marcus Heinemann's grandson Fritz was not present at this gathering; this year marks the 50th anniversary of his death.

The biography of this academic philosopher illustrates the fate of the Heinemann family and many more, spread across the globe against their will and through no fault of their own. Analogue to the term diaspora reflecting the separation of the people of Israel from their ancestral home, the same deep-rooted feelings of deracination and alienation can also be found in Fritz Heinemann's philosophy.

However, he resisted concluding from the absurd and gruesome events of the 20th century that the world itself had to be absurd and without sense and purpose.

Thanks to his widow Dr. Ada Heinemann, Fritz Heinemann's work are being held in the Heinemann Archive of the Lüneburg Council Library. This is more than mere evidence of the presence and relevance of the Heinemann family in and around Lüneburg - representative for many other emigrated, expelled or eliminated Jewish families and their histories. It constitutes also an important historical document of the turmoil, fissures and human misconduct of the 20th century that Fritz Heinemann incorporated into the spectrum of his philosophy.

I am glad that there is once again obvious evidence of Jewish life in Lüneburg . For example, in 2018 – 80 years after the horrific pogroms all across Germany – I was privileged to attend the solemn inauguration of the extended memorial on the site of the former synagogue. For me, this was and still is a very precious moment. The preservation of this memory is largely thanks to the efforts of the Association for Christian-Jewish Cooperation. Such actions are not only important here in Lüneburg, but in all other place where wrongs were committed.

With heartfelt greetings

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ulrich Mädge', written in a cursive style.

Ulrich Mädge

Mayor of the Hanseatic Town of Lüneburg

Prof. Dr. Heike Düselder, Director of the Museum Lüneburg Remembering Fritz Heinemann

The Museum Lüneburg and its predecessors, the Museum for the Principality of Lüneburg, have close links to the Heinemann family. The banker Marcus Heinemann (1819-1908) was a prominent citizen of the town and patron of the museum, and he was instrumental in the building of the new synagogue in Lüneburg. When shortly before his death a sumptuously decorated Renaissance ceiling was discovered during building work on his house in Grosse Bäckerstrasse 23, he donated it to the Museum Association. It was given a place of honour in the museum's new 1913 extension, and the exhibition hall was named after the donor. Under Nazi rule, the hall was renamed and the name Marcus Heinemann quietly dropped. For many decades, there was no reminder of this generous patron and friend of the Museum.

With the redesign and reopening of the Museum in 2015, the history of the Jewish families in Lüneburg came back into focus. Thanks to a provenance research project, numerous descendants of the Heinemann family could be identified. The return of exhibits to the Heinemann family on 11 July 2015 was a very moving event for both sides, the Museum and the family alike. Family members had travelled from afar in order to get to know their Lüneburg roots. On this day, the Museum again named one of its rooms after Marcus Heinemann, its lecture theatre.

The Museum Lüneburg feels obligated to the descendants of Marcus Heinemann and to all the other Jewish families who were part of this town. It is our task to tell their history, to preserve their memory and not to allow it to be forgotten. This also applies to the philosopher Fritz Heinemann, one of Marcus Heinemann's grandsons. He deserves recognition for his work and the topics that he engaged with. He searched for the causes of the crises and

catastrophes of the 20th century and tried to understand them. His book with the telling title *Auf der Suche nach Sinn in einer zerbrochenen Welt* [Searching for Reason in a Broken World], published in 1949, has lost none of its topicality to this day.

A part of his estate is kept in the Heinemann Archive in the Ratsbücherei Lüneburg. Members of the Association for Christian-Jewish Cooperation Lüneburg have looked into his personal and academic history and have initiated a memorial event to commemorate the 50th anniversary of his death, which the Museum is happy to accommodate. The Museum is a place of memories, but not merely in retrospection towards the past, but also directed at the present and the future. People such as Fritz Heinemann have played their part in keeping the memory alive, however painful it may be, thus challenging us to constant reflection.

Hans-Wilfried Haase, Chairman of the Association for Christian-Jewish Cooperation Lüneburg

The new memorial for the Lüneburg Synagogue, demolished in 1938, bears four bronze plaques. One commemorates the Lüneburg victims of the Holocaust. The three others bear the names of all the Jewish families registered in the town between the construction of the synagogue in 1894 and the end of WWII in 1945.

Why this many names? This is a reflection not of a different, but of a more comprehensive perception of Jewish history in our country. For a long time, we have perceived Jews mainly in their role as victims of one of the most gruesome crimes in human history. These days, we become ever more aware of the human and cultural loss resulting from the break with the flow of Jewish tradition. A voice is missing that once had been an important one in our town, too. To keep alive the memory of the people of Jewish faith who have lived in our town and helped to shape it is a concern that we share with many.

One family in particular has been the focus on several events in recent years because of its particular impact on our town. It is the Heinemann family, resident in Lüneburg for numerous generations. One of its descendants is the philosopher Fritz Heinemann.

We use the 50th anniversary of his death as an opportunity to remember his life and work and to honour him with a commemorative booklet.

We are delighted to be able to add a further element to the many and varied efforts to increase the awareness of Lüneburg's Jewish past.

But in remembering Fritz Heinemann, there is more at stake than merely his Lüneburg roots. Much more comprehensively, his name stands for a tradition of thought that attempted to incorporate

Jewish heritage into the philosophical debate as an essential element of Western culture. For that reason, we are most grateful to Gerhard Glombik for his contribution, providing us with a deep insight into the thinking of this sadly almost forgotten philosopher. Here, too, the challenge is to rekindle awareness.

The realisation of this project is mainly thanks to the initiative of Maja I. Schütte-Hoof. She has been untiring in her research and compilation of photographs and documents. First and foremost, though, she has been able to enthuse others whose contributions can be presented in this booklet. Our sincerest thanks to all contributors.

Prof. Dr. Christoph Jamme, Leuphana University Lüneburg

Lüneburg has not brought forth many important personalities - its only really famous son is the sociologist Niklas Luhmann. It is therefore even more regrettable that others have fallen into oblivion. Amongst those unjustly forgotten is the philosopher Fritz Heinemann. An exacerbating factor in his case is that his obliteration had been an enforced one, brought about by the Nazi state. In 1933, they forced this descendant of a reputable Lüneburg Jewish family into exile.

The commemoration of the 50th anniversary of his death on 11 January 2020 provides an opportunity to recall him and especially his philosophy. His professorial dissertation of 1921 already set new standards in the study of Neoplatonism, and later in 1954 he became known for his critical analysis of Existenzphilosophy [existential philosophy], a term that he had coined. There is much research still to be done, this brochure is only a modest beginning. Particular thanks are due to Anneke de Rudder for her research into the family history, Maja Schütte-Hoof of the Association for Christian-Jewish Cooperation for her unstinting efforts to ensure a dignified form of commemoration, and to Iris Hennigfeld for her endeavours to reconstruct Fritz Heinemann's philosophical theories - she is in the process of preparing a comprehensive study on this subject.

**Prof. Dr. Birgitta Wolff, President of Goethe University
Frankfurt/Main**

On the reflexivity of history

It should come as no surprise that Fritz Heinemann (1889-1970) saw himself living in a world characterised by the destruction of reason, values and objects. In the “Age of Extremes” (Eric Hobsbawm), he was not alone in this view. In the “fundamental science of life”, i.e. his specialist field of philosophy, he deliberately searched for and constructed the answers to the pressing questions confronting him and his contemporaries. Dismissed by the Nazis from his position as non-tenured professor in Frankfurt in 1933 and having found a new home in Oxford from 1937 - is it mere coincidence that he chose the protagonist of the Odyssey as the title of his book published in 1939? Heinemann could serve as a textbook example for the impossibility of separating the person from the scientist and the irresolvable interdependency between the author and his work. If one agrees with this premise, it is possible to get a grasp of the person himself, not merely through “ego-documents” such as letters or diaries, but also and especially from his academic work, and thus catch a glimpse of the intellectual microcosm that he had once been. Of course, the result is not a complete picture, but one from a specific perspective depending on the method and the remains used as a starting point. It is thus a specific form of reconstruction - similar to forensic science’s ability now to recreate a person’s facial appearance from a skull. The options for forming a picture of something or someone from the past have become manifold (irrespective of whether this picture in the end equates to the actual person/object), resulting in not just one, but several merging, overlapping pictures, comparable to a kaleidoscope. What is the picture/ are the pictures that will be drawn here, 50 years after his death? What will they say about Fritz Heinemann as he used to be as a

living person - or will they also reveal something about the authors of these contributions themselves and thus about our times, about the questions concerning us in 2020? Or will the authors contributing to this booklet in their research and writing about Heinemann enter into into a kind of intellectual dialogue with him, across the barriers of time, will biographer and protagonist through the contemplation, review and continuation of the latter's theses, assumptions and arguments come together in an "invisible realm of time"? According to Heinemann, humans have "lost the ability to inspire, educate and and enchant" (Ulrich-Martin Lilienthal). However profound and enriching Heinemann's thoughts may have been elsewhere, in this respect he is mistaken - because every one of his statements proves him wrong! Rediscovering such a thinker is worth every effort and worthy of recognition - and ultimately the benefit to us is greater than the other way around.

Prof. Dr. Daniel Göske

Fritz Heinemann and his Lüneburg curator

If I remember correctly, my father Manfred Göske (1925-1986) first became interested in the important philosopher Fritz Heinemann in the late 1960s. My father worked as a teacher at the Johanneum in Lüneburg, Fritz Heinemann's (and our) former school. In his leisure time, he wrote articles for the newsletter of the school's alumni association *Vereinigung ehemaliger Schüler des Johanneums* including one to mark Heinemann's 80th birthday on 8 February 1969. However, as his widow reported from London on 15 December 1970, Fritz Heinemann had died on 7 January 1970.

On 6 January 1971, the *Landeszeitung Lüneburg* published an obituary written by my father. Over subsequent years, he was not only in regular and extensive correspondence with Ada Heinemann and her relatives, but he also became increasingly interested in Jewish life in Lüneburg and its surroundings. He championed the preservation of the repeatedly vandalised Jewish cemetery *Am Neuen Felde 10*, wrote numerous newspaper articles about the Heinemann family and other Jewish citizens of Lüneburg, became curator of the Fritz-Heinemann Archive in the Lüneburg Ratsbücherei [municipal library], invited former Lüneburg Jews who had survived the Shoah to visit their erstwhile home and visited their descendants in the UK, US and Israel.

At the time, we three sons - like so many Lüneburg inhabitants - did not pay his activities the attention they deserved. From time to time, we would go on family outings to former synagogues and Jewish cemeteries in the region around Lüneburg. Once I got a bit older, I was allowed to proofread my father's articles before they went into print. Later still, he gave me a copy of Fritz Heinemann's book *Jenseits des Existentialismus* [*Beyond Existentialism*]; I read it, though I did not understand it. But I became ever more aware of the

importance to him of Heinemann's approach ("respondeo ergo sum" I respond, therefore I am) and his deep interest in the long history of the Lüneburg Jews before they were expelled and murdered. I do not know to what extent he, the former Wehrmacht soldier, had been driven by feelings of guilt and shame. He never spoke about it, and we never asked. In any case, though, he considered the then prevalent lack of interest in Lüneburg's Jewish history "inappropriate".

In 1980, during my six-months stay at the University of Kent in Canterbury, my father urged me to pay a visit to Ada Heinemann in London. I have vivid memories of my visit to her old people's residence. Memories also of this graceful old lady throwing herself on her bed at the end of our conversation, reciting the medieval German love poem dating back to 1180 that linked her to her husband.

*Dû bist mîn, ich bin dîn.
des solt dû gewis sîn.
dû bist beslozen in mînem herzen,
verlorn ist das sluzzelîn:
dû muost ouch immêr darinne sîn.*

You are mine, I am yours.
You should be aware of that.
You are locked in my heart.
Lost is the key:
You must stay in it forever.

Recollections of Fritz Heinemann

By Mark Heineman and Judith Zeller (nee Heineman)

We are the grandchildren of Fritz Heinemann. Unfortunately our association with him was relatively short as he died when we were



both teenagers and therefore when we became more inquisitive about his work, we were no longer able to ask him. We used to visit Omi and Opa regularly in Oxford in their tidy bungalow crammed with books,

which filled almost every room. They had retained a few items of furniture and other artefacts from when they fled Germany, some of which we now have in our home but the overriding memory is of learning and tranquillity in the midst of academic studies.

Fritz was quite formal, maybe a bit old fashioned and from a generation when you still wore a suit and tie every day and not just for special occasions. He enjoyed their bungalow in Kirk Close, Oxford with its large bold corner plot and well-kept gardens, front and back. Indeed, many of the photos we have of them feature the garden. I don't remember Fritz having a car and I am not sure if he could drive so most of their time was spent in and around Oxford, which they navigated on bicycles. I am sure they both looked forward to our family visits although we were sometimes reluctant as cooking was not Omi's forte!



We are proud that we had a distinguished Oxford professor in our family even though we never understood precisely what he did. Omi always felt that Fritz was never fully recognised for his contribution to 20th century philosophy and claimed vehemently that he originated the term existentialism and that Sartre stole it from him.

We very much appreciate that his life is now being celebrated and that he has a permanent memorial here in Lüneburg. We thank you for all the efforts that have been made to honour his memory.

Eveline Goodman-Thau

In memoriam of Fritz Heinemann 1889-1970

It is a great honour for me to pay a brief tribute to Fritz Heinemann, the German-Jewish philosopher and pupil of Hermann Cohen, on the fiftieth anniversary of his death.

The Jewish professor from Lüneburg gained his doctorate with a thesis on the *Structure of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason and the Problem of Time* under the supervision of Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp.

Right from the start, Fritz Heinemann focussed on the burning issues of his time which in view of the loss of sense and orientation he perceived as rifts and threats to humanity. Existential philosophy thus became his subject.

In World War I, he served as an army medical clerk in a military hospital near Küstrin. In 1918, he married Adelheid Schiff, a fellow doctor of philosophy. In the following year, Fritz Heimann, then working as a maths teacher at the Kaiser-Friedrich Realgymnasium in Berlin, was awarded the Bonitz prize of the Vienna Academy of Sciences for his work on Plotinus. The publication of his book on Plotinus *Plotin, Forschungen über die Plotinische Frage* in 1921 was followed by his habilitation at the University of Frankfurt/Main.

1929 saw the publication of his works on Wilhelm von Humboldt [*Wilhelm von Humboldt's philosophische Anthropologie und Theorie der Menschenkenntnis*] and *Neue Wege der Philosophie* [*New Paths in Philosophy*], and in 1930 he was appointed a non-tenured professor at the University of Frankfurt.

On 8 September 1933, Fritz Heinemann's licence to teach was revoked on the basis of the *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service* issued soon after Hitler's assumption of power. Fritz Heinemann left Germany for Amersfoort in Holland,

then moved to Paris where he worked at the Sorbonne Institute d'Histoire des Sciences. In 1937, the Heinemann family was finally permitted to emigrate to Oxford. From 1939 to 1956, he taught at Manchester College Oxford. In his 1951 publication, he posed the question whether existentialism was alive or dead [*Existenzphilosophie, lebendig und tot?*].

In 1957, Fritz Heinemann was appointed emeritus professor at the University of Frankfurt; in the same year he published *Jenseits der Existenzphilosophie* [*Beyond Existentialism*].

Fritz Heinemann died on 7 Januar 1970 in Oxford.

On the initiative of his widow Dr. Ada Heinemann and the Lüneburg headmaster Manfred Göske, the Heinemann Archive in the Lüneburg Ratsbücherei was established, containing more than one hundred of his publications. In 1985, in the presence of Fritz Heinemann's son Francis Heinemann, the Ratsbücherei reading room was officially designated the "*Heinemann Saal*".

In the attempt of creating a new Europe, it is becoming ever more obvious how deeply the heart of Europe is touched by the trauma of the destruction of Jewish culture as a living tradition. The radical political and social changes in recent decades mark the end of the post-war order. However, as evident in current events, the transition to new structures proves a difficult process, largely due a mainly unreflected past.

This has consequences when we contemplate the significance of Jewish thinking in the European history of ideas. Almost 75 years after the end of World War II, it is becoming ever more obvious that we cannot restrict our discussion of the lost Jewish heritage to aspects such as "victim", "perpetrator" or "guilt", but that we have to highlight and consider the Jewish contribution to the European history of ideas as a critique of culture. It seems paradox: the more obvious the eradication of Judaism in the widest sense, the more urgent the challenge to trace Jewish tradition in the Western World.

An ever growing interest in Jewish sources is thus evident in philosophy, literary and religious studies and in the humanities.

Fritz Heinemann's own views on Judaism are proof of this: *"The German-Jewish co-existence has proved, certainly in the field of philosophy, especially fruitful [...] not only for German philosophy and for philosophy in general, but also for Jewish philosophy."*

Heinemann often reflects on Jewish philosophy and talks of a specifically Jewish existence, of a *"special way for Jews to be in the world and to shape it and themselves. The Jewish people has taken shape through the revelation of the word of God."* The prerequisite for this is a *"knowledge of the entire history of Jewish culture, including the history of philosophy"*. Furthermore, *"Jewish philosophy also has to deal with the objective questions of universal philosophy and the particular questions of the Jewish condition and the existence of the problems arising from it"*.

In many ways, this follows on from ideas that were first voiced with the rise of Neokantism, but soon faded with onset of World War I, caught between the constrictions of a militant nationalism on the one hand and a philosophy of life that replaced cultural and religious differences. This philosophy of life developed as an offshoot of the Neokantian philosophy of culture. However, the definition of "life" proclaimed by this new school of thought levelled the very aspect whose critical reflection had been attempted by a philosophy of culture based on the thinking of the Jewish cultural philosopher Hermann Cohen: the rarely obvious but deep rooted influence of religious traditions, contents and ways of thinking on the knowledge and institutions of the national state and the academic concepts of studies in philosophy and the humanities which - after the death of God - believed themselves free from any connection to religion.

Hermann Cohen's writings on cultural philosophy were influenced by his teacher H. Steinthal, editor of the works of Wilhelm von Humboldt. They impressively illustrate the problem of Judaism and

Modernity in relation to the Christian-influenced separation of faith and knowledge. In his short essay *Der Jude in der christlichen Kultur* [*The Jew in Christian Culture*], Hermann Cohen points out that popular education was still not free from ecclesiastical control and influence, from which he concludes: “ It seems that it is not the Church, but culture demanding the acceptance of Christianity, however much religious conviction, religious truth and natural human emotion may balk at this.”¹

Hermann Cohen very deliberately entitled his last work *Religion of Reason, Out of the Sources of Judaism* as a counterpart to Kant’s *Religion within the Reasons of Reason Alone*. In his introduction, he pointed out that, as is common knowledge, there is only one mathematics, but many religions, because they draw on its sources.

The importance of Jewish thinking in the European history of ideas² for the development and renewal of human sciences and particularly cultural sciences in the search for a common, universally applicable and relevant academic ethos is best illustrated by the models provided by Fritz Heinemann in his depiction of philosophy based on the teachings of his mentor Hermann Cohen.

To that extent, the study of Fritz Heinemann’s writing in the Lüneburg archive that bears his name constitutes an important source for the theory and history of Modernity in the continuing process of secularisation. The globalisation of our knowledge throws new light on the question of European Modernity which requires a new definition in view of a culturally pluralistic global society. In addition to philosophy, these questions also touch upon all other fields of academia, social and political sciences, history, but also

1 Hermann Cohen, *Jüdische Schriften*, with an introduction by Franz Rosenzweig, ed. by Bruno Strauss, Berlin vol. II, Berlin 1925, p. 195

2 Eveline Goodman-Thau, *Messianismus zwischen Mythos und Macht*, Akademie Verlag Berlin, 1994, *Bruch und Kontinuität*, Akademie Verlag Berlin, 1995, *Vom Jenseits*, Akademie Verlag Berlin, 1996.

economics and law. They concern education and orientation, linking *technical* knowledge to *human* competence.

Fritz Heinemann's writings illustrate that the primary focus should not be on an expansion of our knowledge, our historic insights, but on the question of its application, on linking theory with practice, lore with life.

Contributions

Manfred Göske:

The Lüneburg philosopher Fritz Heinemann¹



Friedrich Heinrich Heinemann was born on 8 February 1889 in Lüneburg (Obere Schrankenstr. 11²) as the second of six children of the lawyer and later legal councillor Robert Simon Heinemann and his wife Selma, née Sternau. After his childhood in the old part of the town, he spent his youth in the villa Schießgrabenstraße 10.³ He attended the private school of Miss Selig and then for nine years the Gymnasium Johanneum (a secondary school emphasizing the study of Latin and Greek). Having been exempted from the oral exam, he was the 4th of 19 pupils who, on 22 February 1907, received his high school diploma, which highlighted his above-average accomplishments in four languages and in mathematics. He was an active member of the Lüneburg Wandervogel movement and even received a leader's certificate in 1910.

He left school with the desire to study philosophy. His strong logical-mathematical talent led him to start in Cambridge, England, in the summer of 1907. Then he continued his studies in Marburg, which at that time was the stronghold of Neo-Kantianism with Cohen

1 Notes on Göske's text by Maja I. Schütte-Hoof

2 According to the information of the town archives, the birth certificate says the place of birth was Obere Schrankenstr. 22.

3 The move took place in 1898.

and Natorp. But he also devoted himself to the study of art and – among other things – therefore attended the universities of Munich and Berlin. The doctorate in philosophy (*magna cum laude*)⁴ was completed on 12 June 1912. The dissertation was reprinted in 1913 in extended version and published in the series “Philosophical Works”, edited by Hermann Cohen, (“The Structure of Kant’s Critique of Pure Reason and the Problem of Time”).⁵

In July 1919, when he was a maths teacher at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Realgymnasium in Berlin, Fritz Heinemann was awarded the Bonitz Prize by the Vienna Academy of Sciences for a work on Plotin. The great classical philosopher and founder of Neo-Platonism was the subject of further research, which was published in 1921 as a book: “Plotin. Research on the Plotinic question, Plotin’s development and its system” (Reprint Aalen 1973).

On 17 December 1921 Heinemann received the *venia legendi* of the University of Frankfurt am Main. There he was appointed associate professor in June 1930. On 8 September 1933 the Prussian Minister of Science, Art and National Education revoked the right to teach of Fritz Heinemann and another 41 colleagues on the basis of § 3 of the “Law on the Restoration of Professional Civil Service” of 7 April 1933.

Now began Heinemann’s odyssey. His wife and son⁶ had to stay in Frankfurt until 1937. Fritz Heinemann’s lonely wanderings in exile were relieved by the fact that he was known throughout Europe for

4 The doctoral letter of 18 December 1912 mentions his “very good work” and his “very good oral examination”, so his overall grade will probably have been “*summa cum laude*”.

5 The title of the dissertation was: “The problem of time and the structure of the Kantian critique of pure reason in its principal factual-systematic and genetic-historical motives” and was reformulated for the extended publication in the “Philosophical Works” edited by Cohen and Natorp. During the First World War Heinemann worked as a medical clerk at a military hospital near Küstrin.

On 9 July 1918, Heinemann had married Dr. Adelheid (Ada) Schiff.

6 Franz Marcus (later Francis) Heinemann, born in 1920.

his many publications, above all for the study “Wilhelm von Humboldt’s Philosophical Anthropology and Theory of the Knowledge of Human Nature” (1929) and for his spectacular book “New Ways of Philosophy. Spirit – Life – Existence” (Leipzig 1929). Since the publication of Heinemann’s book one generally speaks of the “philosophy of existence”. The term "existentialism" was also coined by him, however, with regard to Jaspers and Heidegger, and his friend Gabriel Marcel, and not as a key word for one’s own position.

Heinemann first worked in Amersfoort (Holland), then at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he had to publish in French. From 1939 Heinemann taught and published at Oxford (Manchester College), where he also received an academic degree “by Decree of the House” (see picture in the reading room).

His wanderings in exile were extremely challenging. But he also gained an extreme amount of life experience. He founded his “philosophy of direction”, which he developed in the essay “Odysseus or the Future of Philosophy” (Stockholm 1939), on a new, critical and comprehensive concept of experience, whereby the act of experience was “a primordial anthropological phenomenon” for him.

Although published in the series “Ausblicke” (Outlooks), where also A. Huxley, Schnitzler, Thomas Mann, Werfel, and Huizinga were published, the booklet probably never received the due attention because of the outbreak of war in 1939.

Heinemann continued to search for meaning in the absurdity of the fate of emigration. His critical discussion of existentialism became a bestseller published in England, America, Holland, Spain, and Japan; the German title was “Existenzphilosophie, lebendig oder tot?” (Existentialism, Alive or Dead? Stuttgart 1951, 4th ed. 1971). Not least because of this book, he was awarded the title of Ordinarius of

Philosophy at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main in 1957.

Until his death on 7 January 1970, Fritz Heinemann remained in Oxford, even though he took part in several philosophy congresses in Europe and never broke off his connection with Lüneburg. In his book “Beyond Existentialism” (Stuttgart 1957), he sought to counter the philosophical lack of the concept of existence. He responded to the challenge of the spiritual crisis with his principle “Respondeo, ergo sum”, conceived as a keyword.

Fritz Heinemann’s last major work was the publication of an extensive critical encyclopedia of the history of philosophy, “Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert” (Philosophy in the XXth Century, Stuttgart 1959).

Thanks to a generous foundation⁷, the Ratsbücherei Lüneburg (Council Library) has a collection of all the writings of Fritz Heinemann at its disposal.

⁷ By Dr. Ada Heinemann

From the obituary by Prof. Dr. Richard Wisser Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of 23 January 1971

The Mainz philosopher and poet Prof. Dr. Richard Wisser was a close friend of the Heinemann family.

On 5 November 1972, Ada Heinemann wrote to Manfred Göske: “As a philosopher himself, Wisser is, of course, ideally informed, as my husband had been in constant verbal and written contact with him ever since their first meeting at the philosophers’ congress in Stuttgart in 1954. He had discussed all manner of topics with him that I had no idea of.”

Wisser had assisted Ada Heinemann with sorting her husband’s estate and helped her to find some of Fritz Heinemann’s writings.

In 1981, Wisser gave a ceremonial address at the Johanneum in Lüneburg on the topic of “Fritz Heinemann - *alive or dead?*”, a revised version of which is included in his book *Vom Weg-Charakter philosophischen Denkens [The Pathway Nature of Philosophical Thinking]* (Würzburg 1998). In his address, he depicted Heinemann’s philosophical principal of the resonating quality of human nature and thus its characterisation as the “responding being” and outlined the extent to which expulsion and exile, i.e. emigration, had become a symbol for the experience of “being in transit” for Heinemann.

Thirst for discovery

On the death of the philosopher Fritz Heinemann

Professor Fritz Heinemann (...) died in Oxford on 7 January 1970, the city that had become his second home.

From 1957, the University of Frankfurt listed Heinemann as an emeritus professor. He gained his reputation not only as a historian of philosophy, but he also struck new paths in his works on existence theory, ethics and aesthetics.

It had been Fritz Heinemann who in 1929 constructively coined the term “existentialism”. He used it to designate a particular school of thought in modern philosophy that aimed to overcome the antithetic principles of “reason” on the one hand and “life” on the other, embarking on *New Paths in Philosophy* (Leipzig 1929). This book, praised at the time of its publication as a “brilliant, almost vivacious situation report” by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, would deserve to be

reprinted today, not just because of its wealth of material, but also because of its methodically significant underlying concept outlining the need for a “philosophy of the concrete”.

In 1933, Heinemann who had been teaching at the University of Frankfurt left his home country. He gave a series of lectures in the Netherlands and later worked in History of Sciences Department of the Sorbonne, and then from 1936 to 1956 at the University of Oxford.

It went beyond a mere reflection of his own life when Heinemann in his book on *Odysseus oder Die Zukunft der Philosophie* [*Odyssey or The Future of Philosophy*], published by Bermann-Fischer in Stockholm in 1939, defined *Odyssean* and *Achillean* as less pretentious and more apt key words to describe the human condition. He applied these two principles of life and thought also to his understanding of the development of modern intellectual history, the thirst for discovery and the passion of unrelenting action. (...)

After World War II, Heinemann played an active role in the analysis of the newly revived existentialism. Posing the question *Existentialism, alive or dead?* (Stuttgart 1954), he provided an overview of the state of the debate that was both erudite and spirited. It represented the drawing of breath before a new beginning, the focus on the new goals of human freedom. Heinemann’s response to the inherent deficiency of the principle of existentialism to provide a constituent base for ethics and values, to supply a sufficient foundation for a new humanism beyond mere regulative pleas and to come up with a satisfactory integration of individual academic fields was his postulate of *Respondeo ergo sum*. He explained its significance in his book *Jenseits des Existentialismus* [*Beyond Existentialism*] (Stuttgart 1957), a work whose importance is to be seen in the absence of providing a-priori truths for terminological deductions, but instead in the definition of universally applicable “creative questioning”. This basic approach also formed

the prerequisite for one of Heinemann's final undertakings, the publication of a comprehensive encyclopaedia of the history of philosophy, its principles and tasks: "*Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert*" [Philosophy in the 20th century] (Stuttgart 1959). (...)

Heinemann set out the basic tenet of this "open" encyclopaedia that wanted to overcome any tendency towards absolutisation in favour of a fundamental "mutual dependency" of perspectives. He championed his own "critical relationism". In view of the respective interrelational tissue of a complex world and perplex time that humans can no longer comprehend at a glance, neither philosophy's nor science's claim to absoluteness can be upheld. For that reason, Heinemann formulated the "basic principle of alternatives", with alternatives, contrary to common usage, referring not to just two but always to a multiple of options. One of these options with all its ensuing consequences must be chosen, without this choice devaluating the others. The term "alternativism" thus neither absolutises the relative nor relativises the absolute. In view of the relative nature, it selects one particular option in the full awareness of the presence of many others. (...)

Despite his instinct for trends and basic approaches, he never lost sight of the bigger picture.

Heinemann had a sense for what was needed in the intellectual field. He not only laid claim to active enlightening involvement, he justified this claim. Heinemann was a philosopher.

Anneke de Rudder:

The Heinemann family from Lüneburg

Almost 100 years ago, on 28 December 1920, Fritz Heinemann gave the eulogy on behalf of the family at the funeral of his father, the Lüneburg solicitor Robert Heinemann. Despite his modernity and rationality, the deceased was said to be very close to the preceding generation:

“While you still walked this earth alongside your father, all we saw were the differences between you. On the one side the meek, pious man following the customs of his people, calmly confident letting fate takes its course, filled with serene reason, and on the other side you, apparently living without God, only trusting in your own reason, unceasingly rushing from knowledge to knowledge, from work to work, with a harsher judgement of the world and the political conditions than your fellow men, but basically an untamed human. But now that the circle of your life has concluded, we realise: the very core of your nature is the same. Your father’s was religion, yours morality.”¹

Who were these two benevolent, morally strict Jewish patriarchs? And what was this family into which Fritz Heinemann was born in 1889?

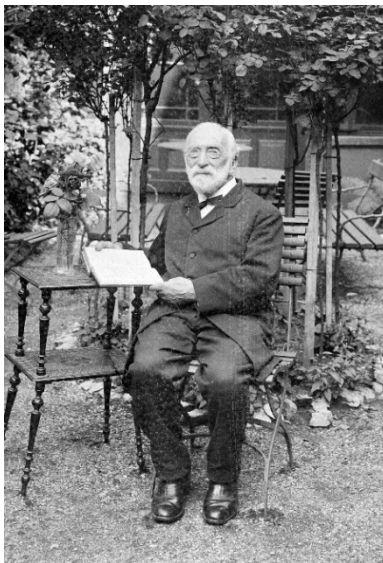
The merchant and banker Marcus Heinemann (1819-1908) was one of the wealthiest men of the then Province of Hanover and one of the greatest benefactors both within the Jewish community and the town and region. His family originated from the Franconian Reckendorf in northern Bavaria. Around the middle of the 18th century, the forebear of the Lüneburg Heinemanns came to the small town of Bleckede at the Elbe river, for reasons no longer known. In around 1810, two of his sons moved to the nearby Lüneburg, where

¹ Eulogies at the funeral of my husband and our father Robert Heinemann in Lüneburg on 28 December 1920, here: Fritz Heinemann. Private collection of Kristina Heinemann, New York.

Simon Heinemann set up business in 1814 and soon became successful with banking operations and money changing. In 1843, he was one of the first three Jews granted citizenship in Lüneburg. Just before, he had finally been awarded the long hoped for licence to trade in cloth. Simon Heinemann's business was thus already flourishing when his three sons Sally, Marcus and Salomon took over in 1850 and expanded it further, as described by Manfred Göske:

“We can trace a total of 24 grandchildren of Simon Heinemann; almost all of his grandsons attended the Johanneum, Lüneburg's municipal grammar school. Attendance at this reputable institution of secondary education rounds of the image of the social ascent of the Heinemann family : the establishment of a business in a good location at a favourable time [...] combined with shrewd marriage politics permitted a social ascent that was unusual even in an early capitalist setting. By the second generation, we are already looking at a millionaire family with an unchallenged good reputation in the town. This good reputation and the extent to which the Heinemann family continues to be known to this day is based on the long life, unassuming appearance and commercial successes of Simon's third child and second son Marcus Heinemann.”²

With his beloved wife Henriette née Lindenberg from Vilsen, Marcus Heinemann had 17 Kinder, 13 of whom reached adulthood. In 1862, the family had moved to an old Lüneburg



² Manfred Göske, Die Familie Heinemann, MS, Göske Collection.

Ada Heinemann points out that the writer Gerson Stern had used Marcus Heinemann as a model for the protagonist in his novel *Weg ohne Ende*, published in Berlin 1934.

patrician house in *Bäckerstrasse 23*, right in the heart of the old town and not far from the Heinemann ancestral home and bank in *Bardowicker Strasse 6*. The plot in *Bäckerstrasse* extended right across the entire block to the street named *Auf dem Wüstenort*. In between was a very nice garden with an enchanted pavilion, featuring in the background of most of the family photographs taken there.³

In 1934, Marcus Heinemann's daughter Clara, born in 1864, recorded her memories of everyday life in her large family for her daughter:

“My father’s working day started early. He washed himself from head to toe with cold water. In the summer, he would rise as early as 4 o’clock, say his morning prayers and prepare his coffee. Whoever of us children was awake at that time was allowed to join him. How precious these hours were when he could fully focus on us and tell us many a story from his life. After that, my father, who was a great lover of flowers, would see to his flowers in the garden, to his pigeons and his canary aviary. At 9 o’clock, my father went to his business; he never left the house without touching the mezuzah and uttering the words ‘With God’. My mother was only awoken just before 7 o’clock. She would get up quickly and prepare her own coffee. The children would appear one after the other, sometimes also a girl to help my mother and also the young people who lived in our house and worked in our shop. There was a friendly word for everyone. My mother never left the breakfast table before the last person had finished his coffee. During that time, she was never idle, mostly busy knitting a sock or two. After that, work started in earnest.”

To the great sadness of her husband and all of her children, Henriette died as early as 1883, soon after the birth of her last son. After her death, the elder daughters Martha and Emilie looked after their father and younger siblings.

³ See also portrait and depiction in Museum Lüneburg, Marcus-Heinemann-Saal, http://www.museumlueneburg.de/news/n17_heinemannsaal.htm.

Marcus Heinemann was a member, committee member and founder of numerous associations and institutions: the Chamber of Commerce, the Trading Association, the Charitable Building Society, the House and Landowner Association and also the Museum Association for the Principality of Lüneburg. Of particular importance to this devout Jew was his role as president of the synagogue congregation, an office he held for many decades. In the 1890s, he was the driving force and financial backer for the construction of the new Lüneburg synagogue. After catastrophic flooding of the Elbe river near Dömitz in 1888, he was one of the initiators and treasurer of an aid committee for the flood victims that collected almost 500,000 Mark from all over Germany. To mark this occasion, Empress Viktoria, wife of the 100-day Emperor Friedrich III, visited Lüneburg and also talked to Marcus Heinemann who used this opportunity to inform the empress about the worrying rise in antisemitism.⁴

When Marcus Heinemann died in 1908, at that time Lüneburg's oldest citizen, Landrabbiner Dr. Gronemann compared him in his eulogy with the biblical Joseph, the provider, filled with the spirit of wisdom and practical insight.

“ [...] he opened his stores to all that were hungry and has given generously from his great wealth, as was his wont. [...] There seems to have been no charitable non-profit social institution in this town that he had not furthered through excellent involvement or even established. [...] And in all that, it is extremely rare to find a man so little driven by vanity and ambition. [...] We have all known him in his modesty and frugality and the gentleness of his nature.”⁵

The story of Marcus and Henriette Heinemann's many children and their respective families is a reflection of the history of German

⁴ Manfred Göske, Die Familie Heinemann, MS. Collection Manfred Göske.

⁵ Eulogies at the funeral of our father Marcus Heinemann in Lüneburg on 30 December 1908, here: Landrabbiner Dr. Gronemann, p. 8/9. Private collection Kristina Heinemann.

Jews between 1850 and 1950⁶. For that reason, some of their life stories will be outlined here, no least, because they cross paths with Fritz Heinemann at certain times.

The eldest child was Robert (1856-1920), the aforementioned father of Fritz Heinemann. After completion of his law studies at various universities, he returned to Lüneburg in 1886 and established his own legal practice.⁷ He married Selma Sternau from Dortmund. The couple initially lived in a house in the Old Town in *Obere Schrankenstrasse* 22, where his uncle Salomon had lived previously. Their children Else, Fritz, Gertrud, Lotte and Kurt were all born there. In 1898, the family moved into a newly built town house in *Schiessgrabenstrasse*, a quarter just then developing into one of the best addresses in Lüneburg. Their youngest son Hans was born there in 1902.⁸ Robert Heinemann's office was located in a small extension at the back of the house. In one of his cases, he successfully defended a naturopath accused of charlatanry, and he was equally successful in defending the rights of vegetable farmers from nearby Bardowick. When the Weimar Republic was established, he took on the young, politically active solicitor Dr. Strauss into his office. Robert Heinemann had been awarded the honorary title of Justizrat; shortly before his sudden death in 1920, he had been appointed a notary. He had been a liberal Jew. The family home was not religious, but Robert always fasted on Yom Kippur (even if he had to plead in court). A serious illness claimed his life already in 1920. His daughter-in-law Ada Heinemann wrote about him:

[...] highly intelligent, highly educated, with a particular interest in history. When he and my mother-in-law came to our wedding in Frankfurt in 1918, it

⁶ On individual family members, see Becki Cohn-Vargas, *The Heinemann Legacy*, <https://beckicohnvargas.com/the-heinemann-legacy>.

⁷ Oberlandesgericht [Higher Regional Court] Celle, Personnel file Heinemann, 1920. Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Hann. 173, Acc. 49/72 No. 155.

⁸ Registration cards for Robert and Selma Heinemann. Stadtarchiv Lüneburg.

took less than five minutes for him to be in deep conversation with my father about Hanoverian history. [...] He had an excellent memory, a sharp mind and well-rounded in his character [...] I was never quite sure who was the greater intellect - he or my husband. When England declared war on 4 August 1914, he immediately exclaimed: 'Now Germany is lost.' On 4 August! Who else had realised that at that early stage?⁹

Selma Heinemann died in 1931. Her daughter Dr. Lotte Heinemann took over the house in Schiessgrabenstrasse. She transformed her father's former law office into a paediatrician's practice. As assistant to the District Medical Officer, she was well known far beyond the town of Lüneburg. Even before 1933, the Nazis had subjected her to antisemitic attacks; after Hitler's assumption of power, non-Jewish colleagues soon edged her out of all her official positions and forced her to give up her practice. In 1936, Lotte Heinemann emigrated to the US, retook all her medical exams in her forties and practised once more as a paediatrician.¹⁰ Many children from the extended Heinemann family have memories of Tante Lotte who treated them for colds and childhood diseases in post-war New York. Her younger brothers Kurt and Hans were already living in the US at that time; both had emigrated soon after World War I. Their sister Gertrud Heinemann, matron at the Jewish Hospital in Hamburg, also managed to escape to New York shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939. Their eldest sister Else was also able to leave Nazi Germany in time: together with her husband Max Rhee, she emigrated first to England in 1938, then also to the US in 1939.¹¹

⁹ Letter by Ada Heinemann to Manfred Göske, 2 October 1974. Collection Manfred Göske.

¹⁰ Manfred Göske, Im Juli wäre Lotte Heinemann 90 geworden: Eine tüchtige Ärztin in bester Erinnerung. [Lotte Heinemann would have turned 90 in July. Fond memories of a competent doctor] Landeszeitung Lüneburg, 2.6.1982, S. 11.

¹¹ Cf. also Robert Rhee, Story of a Holocaust Survivor, New York etc. 2006.

The second child of Henriette and Marcus Heinemann was Betty (1859-1931). She was married to the Lüneburg banker Moritz Jacobsohn, the director of the second large Jewish private bank in Lüneburg. To his death in 1932, both were leading figures in Lüneburg's Jewish congregation and important pillars in Lüneburg's urban society. Betty was on the committee of the *Vaterländischer Frauenverein* [Patriotic Women's League] that mainly focused on women and children in difficult social conditions and organised outings for poor families. Betty and Moritz Jacobsohn had six children. Their son Albert died of a brain tumour in 1912 and their son Adolf was killed in the war in 1918. Their son Hermann was an important linguist and, like his cousin Fritz Heinemann, opted for an academic career, even though it remained very difficult for academics of Jewish descent to gain tenure in the Weimar Republic. But ultimately, they both succeeded: Fritz Heinemann in Frankfurt, Hermann Jacobsohn in Marburg. The cousins were close friends. In 1933, Hermann Jacobsohn was dismissed from his professorial position because of his Jewish descent and his political activities. Soon after, he took his own life. His eldest sister Martha fled with her children to the Netherlands, but was unable to escape persecution even there. She was deported to Auschwitz in 1943 and murdered there. His youngest sister Ruth, married in Würzburg, was murdered with two of her children in Auschwitz in 1943. Only one of the Jacobsohn children survived the Holocaust: Elisabeth married a physician from Munich and in 1936 emigrated with him to Palestine.¹²

The third child Kind Emma (1860-1921) was married to the Lüneburg banker Adolf Lindenberg, one of the directors of the Hannoversche Bank (formerly Simon Heinemann). They had five

¹² Cf. Ruth Verroen, *Leben Sie? Die Geschichte einer jüdischen Familie in Deutschland* (1845-1953), Marburg 2015; Hannah Hickman, *Let One Go Free*, Newark, Nottinghamshire 2003.

children. Their son Hans was killed in World War I, their son Rudolf murdered in 1942 near Lublin. The other children survived, having emigrated to the UK and the US. Their youngest daughter Grete Lindenberg, who had worked as a teacher in Berlin and managed to emigrate to the US, died in New York in 1993 at the age of 102.

Mention should also be made of two exceedingly successful sons, known in the family as the “American millionaires”: **the seventh child Oskar** (1863-1946) and **the fourteenth child Otto** (1876-1965). Oskar had emigrated to the US around the turn of the century and quickly rose to an important entrepreneur in Chicago who made his fortune in silk production. His younger brother Otto was an internationally important record producer. He started his career in Berlin, but went to the US soon after where he established his own record label which made its name in jazz. His label was called “Okeh” – the initials of his name Otto Karl Erich Heinemann.¹³ Many family members emigrating to the US after 1933 recall special encounters with the two wealthy uncles - they were the first port of call and sometimes also helpers in financial distress.

The eighth child Clara (1864-1949) was married to the Lüneburg merchant Arnold Jacobson, owner of a highly regarded linen and clothing shop at the Lüneburg market square. They had five children. Their son Richard was killed in World War I. Their daughter Anna emigrated to the US in the 1920s and became a Professor of German Studies. Their eldest son Ernst, working as a physician in Hamburg, was murdered in Auschwitz. Their son Henry, together with his mother Clara and his wife Gerda, managed to keep the shop open for a few more years, despite constant pressure and harassment by the Nazis - until the Pogrom Night of November 1938, when the shop was completely gutted and Henry deported to the Sachsenhausen

¹³ The label's current website: <https://www.okeh-records.com/about/>.

concentration camp. Soon after, thanks to the efforts of daughter Anna Jacobson, the family managed to emigrate to the US, thus saving their lives.¹⁴

The **eleventh child Anna Rebecca** (1869-1942) was the wife of the Berlin factory owner Otto Levy. Both lived in Berlin-Nikolassee with Otto's nephew Ernst whom they had adopted after his mother's death. As a junior lawyer at the Berlin court of appeal, Ernst emigrated as early as 1933; his parents even visited him in Paris, but returned to Berlin. From there, they were deported in 1942, first to Theresienstadt, soon after to Treblinka; both were murdered. Ernst "Rudi" Lévy fled with his wife Bertine and young son René from Paris to the South of France. All three were interned for some time in camps and prisons, but survived the persecution of the Jews and Nazi terror and remained in France. After the war, the Lévy's were in close contact with Fritz Heinemann and his family, there were mutual visits to Oxford and Paris, and they stayed in touch for decades.

The **sixth child Martha and the tenth child Emilie** remained unmarried. After the death of their mother, they looked after the father and younger siblings. Martha, in particular, was like a mother to them. After Marcus Heinemann's death in 1908, they continued to live for many years with their younger brother **Willy, the sixteenth child**, who was mentally very fragile, in the family's old home in Bäckerstrasse. Willy was a photographer, and many of the best pictures of the Heinemann family we owe to him. Martha died in 1934, Emilie in 1936. The family's residence in Bäckerstrasse was now standing empty.

14 A biography of the Jacobson family can be found on the website "Novemberpogrome 1938 in Niedersachsen" [in German], <https://pogrome1938-niedersachsen.de/lueneburg/>.

Henry Joseph, the seventeenth and last child (1883-1955), who inherited the parental home from his sisters, was the child who most radically transcended the family's bounds: he studied medicine in Munich and Strassbourg, converted to Protestantism in 1911 and before World War I went to Ceylon as a specialist in tropical medicine. During the war, he was briefly interned by the British colonial powers as an unfriendly alien. However, with the aid of his eldest brother, the Lüneburg sawyer Robert Heinemann, he was able to return to Germany swiftly. As a medical officer in a Bavarian regiment, he received several decorations. After the end of the war, he married and returned to Asia. As medical director of the hospital of a large Dutch-owned coffee plantation on Sumatra, he was now part of Dutch colonial society.¹⁵ From 1938 onwards, negotiations were held in his absence regarding the Aryanisation of the Heinemann property in Bäckerstrasse. In the end, the shopkeeper who had long rented retail premises in the house, bought the entire complex at far below value. The Museum Lüneburg secured valuable items of furniture and objects of art for its collection; the Heinemann and Jacobsohn families had been one of its main supporters and benefactors.¹⁶

No member of the extended Heinemann family ever permanently returned to Lüneburg to live here. In the 1950s and 1960s, several of Marcus Heinemann's children and grandchildren submitted restitution applications for properties and stocks. The exceeding slow processing of these applications by the German

15 Cf. biography of Henry Joseph Heinemann on Wikipedia, with many references [in German]: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Heinemann.

16 Cf. Anneke de Rudder, Objektprovenienz und Familienforschung – Das Beispiel der Heinemann-Nachfahren, <http://provenienzforschung.info/beitrage/beitrage-zur-provenienzforschung-konferenz-2016/objektprovenienz-und-familienforschung-das-beispiel-der-heinemann-nachfahren/>.

authorities, bordering on harassment, resulted in almost all cases in the descendants agreeing to hardly satisfactory settlements. Disappointment and bitterness towards the country and town of their ancestors became the main emotion of those driven out of Germany.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a few courageous Lüneburgers began to follow the traces of the Heinemann descendants spread across the globe, to spell out the crimes committed on them and to work painstakingly on restoring an almost completely torn connection. In particular, we owe much of our current knowledge about the Heinemann family to Manfred Göske and later Sybille Bollgöhn and the Lüneburg History Workshop.¹⁷ On the basis of their research, the municipal authorities were able in 1995 to invite descendants of the Heinemann families to Lüneburg for the Shalom week of reconciliation.¹⁸ In a further important step, the Museum Lüneburg in July 2015 managed to establish contact with a great number of family members. With forty of them in attendance, the Museum was able to hand back the objects wrongfully acquired in 1940 in a very moving ceremony.¹⁹ Some Heinemann descendants were also present at the opening of the new synagogue memorial in 2018. At that site and at others throughout the town, there are reminders of the Heinemanns, a family that from 1810 to their ruthless expulsion in the

¹⁷ Cf. Sybille Bollgöhn, *Jüdische Familien in Lüneburg – Erinnerungen*, Lüneburg 1995. Manfred Göske's died suddenly in 1986 before he could finish his planned book about the Lüneburg Jews. He had published his findings in the 1970s and 1980s in a long series of articles in the *Lüneburger Landeszeitung*. Some of his research has also been used in the comprehensive chapters on Lüneburg in Zvi Asaria, *Die Juden in Niedersachsen. Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Leer 1979, p. 104-158.

¹⁸ Cf. Harry Dörr and Maja Schütte-Hoof, *25 Jahre Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit e.V., Eine Chronik*, Lüneburg 2017, p. 15-20.

¹⁹ Cf. Museum Lüneburg, Family gathering of the Heinemann descendants, http://www.museumlueneburg.de/news/n15_heinem-we.htm.

1930s had formed such an important part of Lüneburg's urban society.

Gerhard Glombik:

Fritz Heinemann's Philosophy as a Vindication of Religion

1. Heinemann's philosophical problem

The catastrophes of the 20th century left deep traces in Heinemann's philosophy. The First World War became for him a symbol of the fundamental crisis of modern man. The reciprocal mass slaughter with the help of the most modern war technology and millions of casualties are to him the expression of meaningless chaos and overpowering "Nothingness in its man-killing form", and thus the nihilism of modern times.¹ After National Socialism, the Second World War and the Shoah the crisis of the modern world was further intensified for Heinemann by the threat posed to humanity by nuclear weapons and the armament race of the Cold War.

The search for the causes of this crisis and for a way to overcome it became the main theme of Heinemann's thinking.

Here the question arose for him what kind of philosophy could still claim "intellectual leadership" at all in the face of such flagrant human errors and the dramatic escalation of universal problems – also in view of the failure of German philosophers and Christians under National Socialism.²

For the understanding of Heinemann's philosophy his Jewish origin and his faith are important, although he was probably not educated strictly religiously, because already his father – "apparently living without God" – only trusted his intellect, but was committed to

1 F. Heinemann, *Neue Wege der Philosophie* [New Ways of Philosophy], Verlag von Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig 1929, p. 5

2 F. Heinemann, *Philosophie und geistige Führerschaft* [Philosophy and Intellectual Leadership], *Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung* IX/2 1955 (Sonderdruck)

the moral law.³

The son, too, chose the use of reason as a starting point when he decided to study philosophy.

As a philosopher, the basic question for him was how to reconcile a truth based on one's own reason with a revealed truth.⁴ The struggle for the reconciliation of rational and scientific thinking with the Jewish faith in God while looking for a solution to the intellectual and social crises of the 20th century was considered by Heinemann as his main task.

2. Heinemann's own way –

Differentiation from other philosophical directions

Heinemann's professional career is an example of the successful emancipation of Judaism in Germany at the end of the 19th century and in the Weimar Republic until 1933, which Dan Diner called a "success story", despite the omnipresent subliminal or open anti-Semitism and the subsequent catastrophe of the Shoah.⁵ Heinemann received his doctorate in Marburg in 1912 from the neo-Kantians Paul Natorp and Hermann Cohen with a thesis on Kant.⁶ Almost a decade later and under the impact of the shock of the First World War, he

3 Fritz Heinemanns Trauerrede zum Tode seines Vaters Robert Heinemann am 28.12. 1920 [Fritz Heinemann's Eulogy at the Death of His Father Robert Heinemann on 28 December 1920], Broschüre, Nr. 78 im Heinemann-Archiv Ratsbibliothek Lüneburg

4 F. Heinemann (Hrg.), Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert [Philosophy in the 20th Century], Klett Verlag Stuttgart 1959, 2nd ed. 1963, p. 26

5 Dan Diner, Zerbrochene Geschichte [Broken History] 1991, p. 7, zitiert nach: Eva Schulz-Jander. Wolfdietrich Schmied-Kowarzik (ed.): Franz Rosenzweig 2011 euregioverlag Kassel, p. 8

6 F. Heinemann, Der Aufbau von Kants Kritik der reinen Vernunft und das Problem der Zeit [The Structure of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason and the Problem of Time], in erweiterter Fassung veröffentlicht in: Philosophische Arbeiten, ed. Hermann Cohen und Paul Natorp VII. Band 2. Heft Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, Gießen 1913

criticized Cohen's book "Religion of Reason: Out of the Sources of Judaism" in an essay of 1921, distancing himself from the neo-Kantianism of his philosophical teacher.⁷

Neo-Kantianism emerged from the middle of the 19th century as a counter-movement against the fragmentation of philosophy in many different directions since Kant (e.g. German idealism with Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, as well as materialism, Marxism). Against the deviations from Kant's critical philosophy, neo-Kantianism attempted to reconstruct Kant's thinking and epistemology through mathematical-logical methods on a scientific basis with the battle cry, "Thus we have to go back to Kant".

From 1876, Hermann Cohen (1842-1918) was professor of philosophy, founder of Marburg neo-Kantianism and at the same time an important representative of Jewish philosophy. After his retirement in 1912, he taught until his death in Berlin at the Scientific College of Judaism, which had been founded in 1872. He was an outstanding representative of assimilated Judaism in Germany and an opponent of Zionism.

With his signature under the "Declaration of the university teachers of the German Reich" of 23 October 1914, in which Germany's stance at the outbreak of the First World War against the opponents of war was justified, Cohen showed that despite some criticisms of general social inequality and discrimination, he felt committed to the German nation and the empire as a Jew. In the middle of the First World War, in 1915, Cohen tried to align Judaism

7 Hermann Cohen, *Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* [Religion of Reason: Out of the Sources of Judaism] (1919), Melzer Productions Dreieich 1978 (Lizenzausgabe für Fourier Verlag Wiesbaden); F. Heinemann, *Religion und Vernunft, Betrachtungen zu Hermann Cohens Schrift: Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums* [Religion and Reason, Reflections on Hermann Cohen's Writing: 'Religion of Reason: Out of the Sources of Judaism'], in: *Ost und West, Illustrierte Zeitschrift für das gesamte Judentum*, XXI. Jg. Mai-Juni 1921, Heft 5/6, p. 111-118

with the “German national spirit” seeing much of the spiritual essence of Judaism and the Jewish Messiah’s hope realized in Protestantism, in Kant’s transcendental philosophy and ethics, in German poetry and classical music.

In his opinion, through the work of the Jewish spirit for the morally good messianism was realized in the Diaspora of Judaism in Germany.⁸ In his last active years Cohen turned to the philosophy of religion and in his work “Religion of Reason from the Sources of Judaism” he tried to correct Kant’s lack of appreciation of Judaism, who saw in Judaism – probably through Moses Mendelssohn’s influence – no religion at all, but a community led by laws. Kant’s religious work “Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason” (1794) dealt with the topic of religion on the basis of the model of Christianity. Cohen, for his part, emphasized that there were also “primeval philosophical motives” in Judaism and Judaism was a “kind of philosophy”.⁹ Thus many elements of the Jewish religion appear as reasonable principles, e.g. morality (the 10 Commandments), charity, love for foreigners and social legislation. The idea of a single transcendental God finds its counterpart in Kant’s concept of God as the morally highest good. Moreover, he thought the idea of the individual, of humanity and the hope for a messianic era as the future of humanity was born in Judaism.

In the above-mentioned essay of 1921, Heinemann acknowledges Cohen’s effort to correct Kant’s lack of understanding of Judaism, criticizes, however, Cohen’s rationalism by pointing to the contradiction between Cohen’s rationalistically smoothed-out concept of God, cleansed of anthropomorphisms and the biblical God of the Prophets, who was angry at his people while walking

8 Cohen, Hermann: *Deutschtum und Judentum* [Germanity and Jewry], 1915; <https://archive.org/stream/deutscherzukunfoochoegooog#page/n12/mode/2u>
9 H. Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft*, *ibid.* p. 11, p. 299

through the land with blood squirting under his feet, but who was also able to have mercy on them like a mother. But that is not the decisive factor in Heinemann's criticism. In the face of the mental crisis diagnosed by Heinemann, the recent catastrophe of the First World War and the dangers posed by growing technical progress, reason no longer helped at all, here only "redemption" helped. Ratio, as the basis for scientific and technical development, was also to blame for this situation and could no longer help alone. The peace that came from God's forgiveness was required, the core of the Bible and the main force of Jewish virtue.¹⁰

For Heinemann, the declining significance of religion, authority and morals in society were signs of the dissolution of the bourgeois world. He rejects the predominance of reason (e.g. in the form of its scientific character), which began in the 17th century, because it removes man's connection with God and lacks life itself.

The philosophy of life (e.g. of the French philosopher Henri Bergson 1859-1941) had indeed discovered life, the layer of impulses, instinct, intuition and psychology, but a methodically sustainable philosophy could not be built on intuition.¹¹ He appreciates the breakthrough to the basic layer of life in Nietzsche's philosophy, whose atheism and nihilism he criticizes vehemently, though. He considers the fact as disastrous that man in his megalomania transforms sacredness into nothingness and places instinct on the world throne. In his opinion Nietzsche thus revealed nothingness as the ultimate reason of the bourgeois era. The "will to power" was already at work in the dictatorial movements of his time and in Bolshevism. In the Soviet Union Stalinism with its brutal power triumphed "scornfully" over justice.

10 H. Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft*, *ibid.* p. 115, p. 113, p. 117

11 F. Heinemann, *Neue Wege*, *ibid.* p. 165ff

Later he writes that Nietzsche prepared the ground for fascism and had a “devastating influence on the half-educated”.¹²

Concerning “existential philosophy” of the 20th century – Heinemann erroneously claimed the creation of the term for himself, he was, however, at least decisively responsible for its dissemination and adoption – he advocated the new approach of looking at the life situation of man, his way of being, his being thrown into the world and his concern with temporality, nonetheless criticizing temporality as a new ontological principle. Heidegger was indignantly opposed to the term “existential philosopher”, which Heinemann had intended for him.¹³

The debate about existentialism after 1945 not only hit the nerve of the time because the existentialist movement at that time appealed to many young intellectuals, but for Heinemann the old question of philosophical leadership, which he does not concede to existentialism, arises not only because of Heidegger’s failure during the National Socialist era, but also because of Jean Paul Sartre’s writings, which took effect after the Second World War. Heinemann condemns his atheism, his radical freedom in ethical decisions, which, according to Heinemann, would lead to complete chaos, and his sympathy for communism, which was also sharply criticized by Albert Camus. Sartre’s then most recent works “Le Diable et le Bon dieu” (1951) and “Saint Genet, comédien et martyr” (1952), are literally torn apart by Heinemann because in them the protagonists

12 Neue Wege, *ibid.* p. 5, p. 137, p. 139, p. 152, p. 157; F. Heinemann, *Jenseits des Existentialismus [Beyond Existentialism]*, Kohlhammerverlag Stuttgart 1957, p. 66f

13 Richard Wisser, *Fritz Heinemann – lebendig oder tot? [Fritz Heinemann – Alive or Dead?]* In: Richard Wisser, *Vom Wegcharakter philosophischen Denkens [The Pathway Character of Thinking]*, Verlag Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg 1998, p. 311-372, p. 313; F. Heinemann, *Existenzphilosophie lebendig oder tot? [Existential Philosophy – Alive or Dead?]*, Kohlhammerverlag Stuttgart 1954, 3rd ed. 1963, p. 87

ruthlessly display radical evil so that he even accuses Sartre of defiling the philosopher's mantle.¹⁴ Heinemann declares existential philosophy to be dead. However, he considers it as a sign of the fact that existence on our planet is becoming absurd.

Heinemann wants to maintain the principle of existence neither as a descriptive nor as a constitutive principle, but merely as a subjective-regulative principle.

Heinemann deals with the topic of increasing alienation in modern society, including a critical examination of Marxism, which he accuses of collectivistic tendencies. He considers a total neutralization of alienation as an illusion. It can only be reduced to bearable positions. The complete abolition of the alienation of man is described as not realizable since a remnant of it – namely the alienation from God – will always remain and fatefully stick to man. A certain "inappropriateness of man to the world" is irreversible. The English philosophy of positivism and empiricism is rejected because it excludes religious experiences, and it is even seen as more dangerous for religion than Marxism.¹⁵

14 Existenzphilosophie, *ibid.* p. 87, p. 138, p. 140ff

15 Existenzphilosophie, *ibid.* p. 177-180, p. 197f

3. The Resonance Principle

Heinemann now wanted nothing less than to give the entire philosophy a new direction. His own approach lies in the resonance principle, the importance of which only became clearer to him after the completion of his work “Neue Wege der Philosophie” [“New Ways of Philosophy”] (1929) so that he put an “epilogue as a preface” at the beginning of the book.¹⁶ He argues that man is a structure of relations, an organism, an entity inseparably connected with certain spheres of the universe and the divine. Resonance means that man on his various physical and mental levels of experience and intellect is touched by natural and spiritual forces and begins to resonate like a piano string when a note is struck on another instrument. In 1954, based on Descartes’ “cogito ergo sum”, he summarizes the principle with “respondeo ergo sum” in the Respondeo principle, emphasizing the responsibility of man when reacting to challenges.

It is interesting to note that Heinemann also speaks of his resonance “theory”, i.e. he understands his approach as an analytical method to explain the development of intellectual history.

Man, who is in resonance with the universe, God and fellow man, is the key to understanding the human world, history and the universe. Resonance can evoke sympathy and antipathy, synergy and its counterpart. Differences in world views are based on different responses of the resonant layers in man.

There are different resonance types and existential levels, from mythical existence (natural religions, where undivided resonance and homogeneous relationship to nature still exist along with secret powers and magic) to the empty nihilistic existence of modernity and the dissolution of any value and meaning in Nietzsche's work.¹⁷

¹⁶ Richard Wisser, *ibid.* p. 316, p. 331

¹⁷ *Neue Wege*, *ibid.* p. XXI-XXIV, p. 6, p. 15; *Existenzphilosophie*, *ibid.* p. 192ff

Heinemann probably received inspiration for his resonance principle from Cohen's concepts of "correspondence" and "correlation" between God and man as well as between God and nature.¹⁸ The resonance principle also has similarities with Franz Rosenzweig's work "Stern der Erlösung" ["Star of Redemption"] (1921) and Martin Buber's "Ich und Du" ["Me and You"] (1923). In his books, he mentions both authors several times, but does not discuss their works, except for the Catholic theologian Ferdinand Ebner, whose dialogical approach ("The Word and Spiritual Realities" 1921) he devotes some pages to after all.¹⁹ Moreover, Heinemann was in the city of Frankfurt in the nineteen-twenties when Rosenzweig and Buber were there as well. From 1920-1923 (formally until his death in 1929), Rosenzweig was director and lecturer of the Jüdisches Lehrhaus Frankfurt, a kind of Jewish adult education centre founded by him and Buber, which ceased operations in 1929. Martin Buber was a lecturer there, too, and besides a lecturer and honorary professor for Jewish religious instruction at the University of Frankfurt from 1924 to 1933, i.e. Heinemann's colleague and friend. Heinemann still had correspondence with Buber after 1945.²⁰ In spite

18 H. Cohen, *Religion der Vernunft*, *ibid.* p. 95, p. 135

19 *Existenzphilosophie*, *ibid.* p. 157; *id.*, *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 147-150

20 Evelyn Adunka/Albert Brandstätter (Hrg), *Das Jüdische Lehrhaus als Modell lebensbegleitenden Lernens* [The Jewish Teaching Institution as a Model of Lifelong Learning]. Passagen Verlag, Wien 1999; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Judentum. Das Freie Jüdische Lehrhaus* [In search of lost Judaism. The Free Jewish Teaching Institution], in: (*id.*)

Intellektuellendämmerung – Zur Lage der Frankfurter Intelligenz in den zwanziger Jahren [Intellectual Dawn – The Situation of Frankfurt's Intelligence in the Twenties]. Insel, Frankfurt am Main 1982, Suhrkamp-TB 1121, Frankfurt /M. 1985

Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Freies jüdisches Lehrhaus* [The Free Jewish Teaching Institution], in: Dan Diner (Hrg), *Enzyklopädie jüdischer Geschichte und Kultur (EJGK)* [Encyclopedia of Jewish History and Culture]. Band 2, Metzler, Stuttgart/Weimar 2012, p. 376-378.

of these personal and intellectual contacts, Heinemann's resonance principle cannot be stringently traced back to one of these forerunners, for Heinemann deals more closely with the different philosophical directions of his time and the results of sciences, trying methodically to fathom the resonances by means of an “alternative” science.

Man, according to his diagnosis, is in a deep crisis resulting from the disturbance of all these relationships in the resonance structure between God, world and man. To recognize the causes of these disorders and to eliminate them, as a doctor cures a disease, is the task of philosophy.

Important causes are the human ratio, science and enlightenment and the belief in the omnipotence of reason, which in modern times tore down old doctrines and thus broke the original unity of the resonance triangle. Modern life has detached itself from the basic ground of life, from the myth that linked it to nature, from the faith that linked it to God. The Judeo-Christian idea of God loses ground through the transformation of transcendence into immanence, becomes a concept of reason alone or is replaced by pagan new formations. Science, however, is just pure special and factual knowledge without deeper meaning and therefore blind, whereas philosophy is empty without science. The disturbance occurs when partial resonance instead of total resonance prevails in the resonance structure, for example by people falling for the material world, the world of work and money, or falling for intellectualism, which results in man splitting up into an instinctive and a spiritual being.²¹

The author has no information on Heinemann's participation in the Jewish Teaching Institution.

21 Neue Wege, *ibid.* p. 6, p. 10f, p. 31-33, p. 42, p. 393f

But where is the starting point to solve the problem? Heinemann speaks of the tragedy of modern man, who has lost his God and is now looking for him everywhere (i.e. in partial resonances). Consequently, it is the task of philosophy to restore the total resonance in the relationship with God and the cosmos, i.e. the lost harmonic unity. It is true that there should not be a revival of the age of antiquity, but a new age filled with cosmos and God, taking into account scientific knowledge of empirical conditions.²² The task of philosophy must be to place man in the context of nature as well as to understand the existential behaviour of an individual, a group or a people, and to delve deeper into the layers of meaning and values. Heinemann's goal of recovering the experience of former layers of existence culminates in the demand for a reorientation of science through a "basic science of life" in which the specialization of the sciences is to be superseded. For example, a sharp cut between the areas of organic and inorganic nature was not known in the past and is not found in nature.²³ The phenomenon of "direction" and "being focussed" has to be examined, starting on the material level of magnetized iron filings, through the instincts of living beings, up to the spiritual insight – only possible for man – into something aiming at the restoration of the unity of man and nature. A new approach to transcendence, however, must also be included. As long as man does not completely change direction and does not listen to God, the universe and his fellow men, the crisis cannot be overcome. In order to empirically confirm his resonance principle, Heinemann seeks

22 *Neue Wege*, p. 180, p. 394, p. 409, p. 410. The remarks about a "divine spark" in every human being, which has to be released from the bonds of matter and to be connected with the eternal, are probably only a purely linguistic reference to Plotinus.

23 F. Heinemann, *Odysseus oder Die Zukunft der Philosophie* [Odysseus or The Future of Philosophy], Bermann-Fischer Verlag Stockholm 1939, p. 74ff, p. 83ff. The idea of a basic life science appeared in Heinemann's diaries as early as 1930, see: Richard Wisser, *ibid.* p. 316f

scientific evidence for the traces of the divine creation in nature and for a bridge between nature and spirit in the investigations of the Indian botanist Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose, who claimed to have demonstrated that the same physiological processes are going on in metals and plants as in humans (excitation of nerves, sleep, fatigue), or in the theory of Hans Kayser, who heard sounds in numbers, atoms and crystals and spoke of the "sounding harmonic universe".²⁴ Heinemann is not primarily concerned with the protest against the destruction of nature by man. There are indeed passages in the text in which he mentions the destruction of nature through technology or refers to "the rape of nature and experimentation of contemporary man" in general as hubris. He also views the dream of a natural philosophy as too good to last and turns against philosophical designs in which nature is interpreted as the expression of a higher spirit (e.g. Spinoza, Novalis, Schelling). He also rejects a mystical union in the manner of the Indian sages. As opposed to this, a new inwardness has to be achieved in small circles and groups within religions, an inner vision that can connect humans with nature and stabilize them mentally. Only man has the possibility of recognizing the one "primal light" in the many kinds of radiations, of responding to the "play of the waves", even if not by sanctifying the name of God, but nevertheless with gratitude for the "game of giving love".²⁵ Within the framework of the Respondeo principle, this means that humans are supposed to respond to all the spheres of being in such a way that they exist in these responses. From an

24 *Odysseus*, *ibid.* p. 89-105, p. 37, p. 108-110; *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 159ff. But Heinemann also warns against putting people, metals, plants and animals on the same level in a reductionist manner, cherishing the dream of universal harmony of the cosmos or reinterpreting "the analogous into the identical", p. 169ff.

25 *Neue Wege*, *ibid.* p. 139; *Jenseits des Existentialismus* p. 44f, p. 185, p. 229f, p. 142, p. 150f; *id.* In search of meaning in a shattered world, in: *Die neue Rundschau*, 13. Heft Winter 1949, p. 85-119, p. 92

ethical point of view, it means accepting responsibility for man, in religious terms absolute responsibility in view of God and in metaphysical terms the appropriate reflection of the universe. From the innermost centre of the soul and the individual, however, renewal must also radiate in the areas of politics, society and the economy. Thus, Heinemann does not stop at the hope of “heavenly grace”, but as a component of action for taming the “Western beast”, he brings into play a global responsibility for universal ethical values, which have to be looked after above nation states, races, peoples and religions by supranational institutions or a confederation of the peoples.²⁶

4. Jewish and universal philosophy

Heinemann's book “Odysseus oder Die Zukunft der Philosophie” [“Odysseus or The Future of Philosophy”] (1939) reflects not only his personal feeling as a displaced person in exile, but also his agitated consciousness in the face of the worsening general crisis. The aftermath of the Great Depression in 1929 – interpreted as the decline of the capitalist economic system – the dictatorship of Stalinism in Russia, the rise of fascism in Europe, the seizure of power by National Socialism and the persecution of Jews in Germany, the escalation of the international situation almost made people lose their minds. The masses, however, were unwilling to accept this dangerous situation.

Heinemann not only states the failure of Protestant Christianity in the face of the seizure of power by National Socialism and the “rape of intellect”, but also the complete failure of German philosophers, who did not fight the false doctrine of the National Socialist world view. After all, some Protestant pastors in Germany resisted. But

26 Existenzphilosophie a.a.O p. 195f, p. 109f, p. 111f; Jenseits des Existentialismus, ibid. p. 93

Christianity was not able to tame the “occidental predator”, which defaced the earth through rape and annihilation, and established a hell on earth.²⁷ By 1935, 30 of the 56 professors of philosophy in Germany had lost their chairs or had gone into exile due to racial legislation or for political reasons. The others adapted and joined the NSDAP in the 1930s, the best known example being Martin Heidegger, who was a member of the NSDAP from 1933 to 45.²⁸

The first repressive measures of National Socialism against the German Jews in 1933-35 destroyed the hopes of the assimilated Jews, who regarded Germany as a “replacement for the Promised Land”. Heinemann’s cousin and best friend, Hermann Jacobsohn, professor of Indo-European studies, who was from Lüneburg, too, took his own life out of desperation over his dismissal from public service in Marburg on 27 April 1933. Heinemann became aware that the Jews in Germany were under threat and that there was an urgent need for a solution of the Galuth problem (involuntary diaspora). After the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the British mandate of 1920, the massive fifth wave of immigration to Palestine took place in 1933 (until 1939). For Heinemann, this was a completely new situation that had to be dealt with philosophically. If a separate Jewish state in Palestine was within the realms of possibility, there had to be a defined identity for a Jewish people as well. Heinemann published three series of essays on this matter in the Jewish journal “Der Morgen” [“The Morning”] 1935-36.²⁹ Heinemann first poses the

27 Odysseus, *ibid.* p. 22f, p. 55, p. 28f., p. 110f

28 Hans Jörg Sandkühler, Es hat uns nicht interessiert, Interview von Catherine Newmark [We were not interested in it, interview by Catherine Newmark], Sonderausgabe Nr. 3 Jan. 2015 des Magazins Philosophie, <http://philomag.de/sandkuehler-es-hat-uns-nicht-interessiert/>

29 F. Heinemann, Die Stunde der jüdischen Philosophie [The Hour of Jewish Philosophy], in: Der Morgen 11, Heft 3, Juni 1935 p. 101-107; id.: Phänomenologie des jüdischen Geistes. Eine Aufgabe jüdischer Philosophie [Phenomenology of the Jewish Spirit. A Task of Jewish Philosophy], in: Der Morgen 11, Heft 4 Juli

question of the justification for dealing with the subject of a Jewish, i.e. particular, world view as a philosopher who deals with universal questions of humanity. On the one hand there can only be one philosophy with a universal truth, on the other hand philosophy came into being as a particular, namely Greek, phenomenon, and even today there are typically English or French philosophies. He solves this conflict by declaring every philosophy to be both universal and particular, universal in relation to the three Kantian questions “What can I know?”, “What must I do?”, “What can I hope?” and particular in relation to its existential, temporal and spatial restrictions. Jewish philosophy has not fulfilled its task so far, since it is too strongly based on the Greek tradition. Now a new independent Jewish philosophy is possible again. A Jewish people exists which, through long centuries of suffering, has brought about the longest memory of humanity.

Thomas Meyer argued that Heinemann turned to a particular philosophy in the 1930s and did not take it up again afterwards.³⁰ From Heinemann's point of view, this thesis of particularism is incomprehensible. He was aware of the problem, but came to the conclusion that the opposition between universalism and particularism was outdated, and with the help of his new

1935, p. 159-165; id.: *Urformen des jüdischen Geistes. Der Akt der Heiligung* [Original Forms of the Jewish Spirit. The Act of Sanctification], in: *Der Morgen* 11, Februar 1936, p. 477-481

30 Thomas Meyer, *Zwischen Philosophie und Gesetz; Jüdische Philosophie und Theologie von 1933 Bis 1938* [Between Philosophy and Law; Jewish Philosophy and Theology from 1933 to 1938] (Supplements to the Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy) 2009; and Thomas Meyer, *Vom Ende der Emanzipation: Jüdische Philosophie und Theologie nach 1933* [The End of Emancipation: Jewish Philosophy and Theology after 1933] (Reihe Toldot: Essays zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur, Bd. 6). Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2008, contains: id.: „Die Stunde der jüdischen Philosophie? Zu Schriften von Fritz Heinemann“ [“The Hour of Jewish Philosophy? On Writings of Fritz Heinemann”]

phenomenology he tried to seamlessly integrate the point of view of the Jewish faith into universalist philosophy.

Heinemann therefore speaks only generally of some central elements of the Jewish faith, the sanctification of God, revelation, creation, the election of Israel, the Ten Commandments. Other content is missing, such as the Torah, Talmud, Sabbath, Jewish Holidays, Messiah, etc. It is formally correct that Heinemann announced the undertaking of a new book on phenomenology in “Odysseus”, but dropped it after 1940 because a book actually did not appear.³¹ However, in 1960 Heinemann published another essay on his specific form of phenomenology, showing that it continued to be a central instrument of his entire philosophy.³² Already in 1934 Heinemann had published a contribution on Goethe's phenomenological method, in which he indicated that phenomenology would become a key method of his philosophy.³³ In this essay, he basically agreed with Goethe's theory of colours in rejecting Newton's optical experiments and his theory of the splitting of white light into different colours, stating that the empirical-quantifying method of science only dismembered and mathematized everything. Despite a certain criticism of Goethe's strong individualism, Heinemann adds his own to the many existing attempts at saving the theory of colours, insofar as Goethe knew the hypotheses of science at the time and used them as a framework in

31 F. Heinemann, *Odysseus*, *ibid.* p. 113f, note 8; thus Thomas Meyer, *Zwischen Theologie und Gesetz*, *ibid.* p. 232

32 F. Heinemann, *Erscheinen und Sein, Prolegomena zu einer konkreten Phänomenologie*; Sonderdruck aus: *Sinn und Sein, Ein philosophisches Symposium [Appearance and Being, Prolegomena to a Concrete Phenomenology*; reprint from: *Sense and Being, A Philosophical Symposium*], ed. Richard Wisser, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 1960, p. 183-192

33 F. Heinemann, *Goethe's Phenomenological Method*, in: *Philosophy Vol IX*, No 33 Jan. 1934, p. 67-81

order to penetrate deeper into the nature of colours.³⁴ In the series of essays of 1935-36, he describes a new perception of reality as a kind of deeper grasping and bringing the phenomenon into effect. Applied to the problem of religions, it means that the different religions can be experienced with their respective typical self-awareness, and thus also Judaism. The phenomenon of religion is simply there and needs no justification for its emergence in the question circle of philosophy. The Jewish religion, too, is a view of the world that through its perspective transforms people and the world. The Jews are the people who came into contact with the Absolute and, overcome with emotion, responded that this God had to be sanctified. (The Respondeo principle becomes visible). It is the grace to be allowed to sanctify God and to receive strength through his blessing. The result is the elevation of man and the entire Jewish people out of all worldly conditionalities. Heinemann states that Jews always advance to the last things; therefore they did not develop any art or theatre. In the 1960 essay, Heinemann criticizes a loss in modern man's deeper perception of things in the world. He wants to lead back to genuine perception, which is neither an "eidetic vision" or "intuition of essences", nor a phenomenology based on Husserl, Heidegger or Scheler's method. His "pure" phenomenology is the perception of a thing and its effect even before the subject-object split. In this way, things not only received their perception but also their meaningfulness. There is not one sensual world, but many, with each place and each group of people leading to a special kind of transformation of reality. Every nation has its original basic shape with its own original forms. This also applies to the genesis of the Jewish nation with its peculiar character, which

34 This interpretation is untenable, for Goethe, as is well known, rejected Newton's hypotheses, methods and experimental arrangements of optics as fundamentally wrong. See: Albrecht Schöne, *Goethes Farbentheologie* [Goethe's Theology of Colours], Verlag C.H. Beck München 1987

distinguishes itself by its own religion, the Torah, its teaching and its state.³⁵

5. Philosophy as a vindication of religion

Although Heinemann explicitly defines his position in society as “pan-European” and “western” because it is the free world,³⁶ after 1945 he continues to sharply criticize phenomena of western society and politics, especially modern technology with its “unheard-of progress”, which has not only become “pregnant with catastrophes” through modern nuclear weapons but also leads to growing alienation of people with its machines. (It ought to be remembered that in 1957 the manifesto of the 18 nuclear scientists and e.g. Albert Schweitzer drew attention to the dangers of nuclear weapons. The anti-nuclear weapons movement began in England in 1958 and in Germany in 1960). Heinemann even notices mindless enthusiasm for technology without deeper content in modern music, e.g. jazz (“cacophony”) and twelve-tone music, in literature and abstract painting, e.g. Picasso.³⁷ Being sceptical of technology, Heinemann would never have become a proponent of the digital age and the premonition of the growing significance of “hyper-computing machines”, which not only leads to automated factories without workers, to the “shrinking energy of our minds”, but also to the “degeneration of human beings”, makes him presciently warn

35 Erscheinen und Sein, *ibid.* see note 59; F. Heinemann, Ursprung und Wiederholung [Origin and Repetition], *Archiv für Philosophie* Heft 6/1-2 Jan. 1956, p. 1-13

36 Existenzphilosophie, *ibid.* p. 5

37 Jenseits des Existentialismus, *ibid.* p. 14f, p. 220, p. 107ff. In the appendix of “Jenseits...” there are three illustrations of the modern artists he discusses. He offers similar criticisms of the twelve-tone music of Arnold Schönberg and the literary work of Gertrude Stein, in: „Existenzphilosophie“, *ibid.* p. 22f.

Incidentally, Heinemann shared the aversion to jazz with Th. W. Adorno, albeit from different motives.

against “slavery in new totalitarian states”.³⁸ Dealing philosophically with the problem of a contemporary belief in God in view of critical tendencies, Heinemann discusses the issue of theodicy and the criticism of religion. He opposes a justification of God in the face of the Shoa and rejects the arguments of various religious critics such as Marx, Nietzsche and Freud despite some legitimate concerns. He considers faith is a human need resulting from its finiteness.

Although Heinemann emphasizes that he does not want to advocate a utopian world religion, but in view of the impending catastrophe to appeal to the religious and moral forces of all religions, he nevertheless sees the clarification of the last questions and the search for the one reason and meaning as the actual task of philosophy.

God should no longer be thought anthropomorphically in this day and age and should not contradict science. In addition, faith has to be critical, must not consist of dogmas and people of another religion must not be persecuted.³⁹ But Heinemann ultimately unfolds an image of God that corresponds to Jewish tradition and is not derived from ontological arguments. God is an incessant creator, consequently a God who perpetually creates the world with inexhaustible energy in new variations, reveals himself incessantly in every atom and radiation and proves himself to be an incessant redeemer. God is the opposite of nothingness and can give people strength in the face of the “struggle with the devil, e.g. with the pseudo-religions of modern times”. This God is not the God of philosophers or an ideal, but the “God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob”, thus the “living God”. However, it is no longer the sanctification of the name that is decisive, but the sanctification of existence as a “game of giving love”. As a matter of course, Heinemann quotes the

38 *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 125ff, p. 14; *Existenzphilosophie*, *ibid.* p. 21ff, p. 30f, p. 162

39 *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 87-152; p. 121, p. 18, p. 145, p. 130ff, p. 138

Ten Commandments of the Old Testament as simple basic rules that were previously valid in the West and applies them to modern issues.⁴⁰ In his last major work, “Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert” [“Philosophy in the 20th Century”] (1959), the various sciences are presented by individual representatives of their disciplines. Nevertheless, Heinemann finds enough space to outline his personal perspective in seven of his own articles (e.g. on metaphysics, epistemology).⁴¹ He admits that philosophy has become more modest because it no longer claims to be a science. There is an inevitable tendency towards specialization in the sciences and philosophy has to acknowledge what is defined as knowledge in the sciences. These statements are astonishing at first, since Heinemann has always criticized the emptiness in terms of content, the predominance of the sciences and their insistence on facts. But Heinemann turns the tables. The discovery of non-Euclidean geometry and of alternative polyvalent logic makes possible a large number of different categories of physics, mathematics and biology, which means that science’s claim to absoluteness is invalid. This has increasingly to be accepted as a fact. Heinemann states, however, that his point of view does not correspond to relativism, as some critics think, but rather a critical version of relativism or “alternativism”, which does not end in nihilism like relativism, but explores alternative scientific possibilities and views. Through the discoveries of quantum physics, objective statements about the nature of nature can no longer be made and the ancient separation of subject and object in the cognitive process has been overcome by now. Instead of the one basic science of life, which should connect

40 Jenseits des Existentialismus, *ibid.* p. 139-145, p. 146f, p. 94ff

41 F. Heinemann, *Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert*, Klett-Verlag Stuttgart 1959, 2nd ed. 1963, p. V

all areas with each other, Heinemann now propagates a multitude of alternative sciences.⁴²

In the chapter on metaphysics, Heinemann expressly emphasizes that he does not want to renew metaphysics as theology. But here, too, there is the principle of polyvalence. Modern metaphysics no longer searches for the ontological essence of things, but for the one sense of being. One could even believe in the diversity of God, which does not, however, preclude believing in the one God. The versatility of polyvalent metaphysics begins with the three items God, World, and Man, without classifying one of the items as absolute.⁴³ Since knowledge at its core has to proceed from belief systems (hypotheses), the ancient antinomy of belief and knowledge is obsolete. The practice of dismissing some knowledge as superstition is also in need of an overhaul, as regards homeopathy, parapsychology or occult phenomena. Despite a certain susceptibility to esoteric views due to his holism and alternativism, Heinemann maintains a critical distance from the “esoteric substitute religions of the West” and “sects” such as Freemasons, Rosicrucians, Theosophists, Anthroposophists, Spiritists and other syncretistic religions, which he regards as a great danger to genuine religions as well as some esotericists and their schools he mentions individually.⁴⁴ As to ethics, Heinemann decides against the Kantian principle of autonomy and in favour of the principle of orthonomy, which means

42 Die Philosophie im XX.Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. V, p. X, p. XII, p. XIII, p. 297, p. 289; and *id.*: Das Grundprinzip der Alternativen [The Basic Principle of the Alternatives], in: *Logique et Analyse, Nouvelle série*, 3^e année, Nr. 11-12, Okt. 1960, p. 231-240.

43 Die Philosophie im XX.Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. 364, p. 371f. One recognizes the Respondeo principle, though it is not mentioned explicitly.

44 Die Philosophie im XX.Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. 13f, p. 22, p. 309f ; *Auf der Suche nach Sinn...*, *ibid.* p. 92ff; *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 159ff, p. 169ff; p. 208. *Wisser* regards Heinemann’s assessment of *Kaysers*’s researches as too positive. *Richard Wisser*, *ibid.* p. 357

that it is more important that a commandment or a rule establishes a correct order rather than being derived logically and correctly by reason. If a commandment applies to everyone and the individual is more important than material things and if the vital interests of everyone and not of just one group are prevailing, it is wrong to reject commandments of world religions simply because they are religiously justified. This equally removes in ethical terms the differentiation between is and ought. There is already value in mere existence and laws result from facts. Even the beauty of crystals, plants or birds testifies to the value of nature. Heinemann admits that he agrees with Thomism on this issue. If laws “engraved” in the human heart such as motherly love or “chivalry” are violated and, as under National Socialism, human beings were taken in wagons designed for cattle to extermination camps to gas them to death as worthless matter, the violated divine order will afterwards be restored with the help of those people who still respect these commandments.⁴⁵

Conclusion: Although Heinemann wants to remain true to Kant in one point, namely in the fact that the perception of things does not depend on objects, but objects depend on constructive perception, since reason alone gives our empirical sensory impressions their rational forms,⁴⁶ he takes back the distinctions and delimitations posited by Kant during the age of enlightenment. The strict rationalism of science and philosophy is softened in favour of alternativism. For Heinemann's God, who is neither a philosophical God nor an impersonal mystical divinity, but rather the God of the Hebrew Bible, wants to be considered in the context of his Respondeo concept and have a say. Heinemann does not want to

45 Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. 465f, p. 462f; *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 85, p. 67f

46 Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert, *ibid.* p. 9, p. 273f

practice theology but philosophy, in which critical reason is also used to discuss the role of religion in modern times. The belief in God, however, is considered indispensable for human existence and for solving the problems of the world. Heinemann's philosophy thus claims nothing less than to simply grant this monotheistic religion legitimate access to philosophical and scientific discourse, and in this way it becomes a defender of the central role of the faith in God.

6. Critical appraisal

By declaring the loss of faith to be the central cause of the crisis and megalomania of modern man and idealizing the period of antiquity and the Middle Ages as a lost stage in which man still lived in harmony with God and the universe, Heinemann underrates the dark and dangerous sides of monotheism, e.g. the religious zealots in history or the disastrous role of faith in religious conflicts or wars. It would have been important to analyze which dangerous beliefs were responsible for provoking fatal conflicts. And aren't modern atheists sometimes more human than fanatical believers, as Heinemann himself suggests?⁴⁷ The secularization of modern society, by contrast, has brought about verifiable progress, such as the separation of church and state, freedom of religion and citizens dealing more freely with matters of sexual morality. Heinemann's system is too monocausal to explain political disasters. For there is no analysis of the contents of the dangerous political ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries and no historical investigation of the circumstances why precisely these ideologies in the form of unitary parties were able to seize power in certain states, but not in other Western democracies. Sweeping recriminations such as nihilism,

47 Heinemann himself asks a similar question, but does not deal with it any further: "Aren't atheists at times more humane and helpful than churchgoers and zealots?", *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 131

internal homelessness or the collapse of authorities do not suffice to explain anti-democratic developments or totalitarian systems. Heinemann wants to get down to things and to the fundamentals of life, but his diagnosis remains on an abstract level. Despite the fact that Heinemann clearly distances himself from totalitarian ideologies and places them on the ground of the free Western social system, parliamentary democracy sometimes merely appears as one bad system among others, for example when he talks about materialism tyrannizing the East, while in the West it “dominates” wide circles of life as a science, about the parties in both East and West tending to abuse power, or our time being the “most inhuman” of all time.⁴⁸

Since Heinemann’s system is distinctly based on the faith in the God of Israel and the Ten Commandments, it is difficult to comprehend – especially as a purely philosophical one – through the critical reasoning of “post-metaphysical thinking”. Nevertheless it is remarkable that given the dwindling importance of religion in Western secular societies, just Jürgen Habermas as representative of post-metaphysical thinking, who comes from the Marxist tradition of thought and is a critical theorist who describes himself rather as “religiously unmusical”, has for about twenty years focused on the role of religion in the modern world. This is not only due to the experience that in recent decades the West has encountered the vitality of religious fundamentalism and the diversity of religions through migration movements as a result of globalization, but also to the insight that one root of universal human rights and the modern Western constitutional state lies in the Judeo-Christian tradition, even if its contents had to be translated from the religious language into the language of reason before.⁴⁹ Precisely the fact that

48 Existenzphilosophie, *ibid.* p. 5; p. 174 (adoption of a quotation by Berdjajew); *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 15; p. 94, p.182

49 Jürgen Habermas, *Gespräch über Gott und die Welt* [Conversation about God and the World], in: *Zeit der Übergänge, Kleine politische Schriften IX* [Time of

the modern state, which is not only based on certain democratic institutions but also has to count on the support of the democratic attitude of its citizens, gives Habermas – in the face of many political crisis phenomena – reason to doubt whether citizens really have all the motivational forces at their disposal to assert human rights and justice in the world and to oppose a possibly “derailing modernity”. Besides, Habermas sees the problem that one cannot be sure whether actually all the cognitively relevant religious content has been identified and translated into the language of philosophy so far. In a critical review of Kant's writing “Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone” Habermas states that even Kant, because of his strictly logical derivation of the autonomous morality of reason (categorical imperative), drafted a doctrine of the postulates (e.g. God as the highest or supreme good, immortality of the soul) in order to mitigate the sensation of privation, and that one cannot expect bliss as a reward if ethical action is considered a duty. Moreover, he borrowed some ideas from the handed-down religion (Christianity) regarding the emotional promotion of the community or body politic as realization of the “Kingdom of God” and thus extended reason by a faith of reason. Thereby Kant was faced with the dilemma that reason wanted to replace religion and at the same time feed on its inheritance. But one cannot eat the cake wanting to keep it at the same time. A philosophy that was willing to learn would do well to forego a paternalistic position towards religion and not to play the better-knowing competitor. Religious statements have to be recognized as equal in dialogue, whereby the boundaries

Transitions, Small Political Writings IX], Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M 2001, p. 173-196 ; id. Nachmetaphysisches Denken Bd.II [Post-Metaphysical Thought Vol. II], Suhrkamp Berlin 2012; id. Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion [Between Naturalism and Religion], Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt/M 2005

between religion and philosophy should be observed.⁵⁰ However, philosophy should only rely on rational grounds and not become a religious philosophy, otherwise it would lose its seriousness. This condition is a crucial difference between Habermas and Heinemann. After all, Habermas also mentions Hermann Cohen's achievement in working out the humanistic content and the universalistic meaning of the Jewish tradition for philosophy.⁵¹ – But considering that Heinemann, in his independent position, wanted to bring the aforementioned Jewish legacy, which had been repudiated, repressed and suppressed, directly to the fore in philosophy in the form of a contemporary monotheism, because the “Occidental predator” could neither be tamed by Christianity nor by previous philosophy, and the intellectual deficiencies in modern man’s understanding of the world simply seemed too great to him, one will perhaps assess Heinemann’s philosophy with greater leniency. In today’s interreligious dialogue, at any rate, one would have liked to see Heinemann as a Jewish interlocutor experienced in criticism.

There are only few passages in Heinemann’s works in which he gives a positive evaluation of science and technology. He fights the “belief in science”, i.e. the claim that science can solve all the problems of life and society. His criticism of the one-sidedness of scientism (biologism, physicalism, economism, technicism) undoubtedly remains his merit and connects him with Critical Theory, which he does not deal with anywhere – perhaps because of its Marxist foundations. Science and technological developments, through their “nihilistic abuse”, have not only led to technical alienation and slavery, but also to the rape of nature and a threat to

50 Jürgen Habermas, Zur Wirkungsgeschichte und aktuellen Bedeutung von Kants Religionsphilosophie [The Impact History and Current Significance of Kant’s Philosophy of Religion], in: Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion, *ibid.* p. 216-257

51 Jürgen Habermas, Zwischen Naturalismus und Religion, *ibid.* p. 237

civilization as a whole. Concerning the aspect of technical scepticism, too, he comes close to Critical Theory. Heinemann demands a “reasonable use of the economic and technical forces of the globe in the interest of the international community”, but gives no answer with regard to alternatives to the use of modern technology.⁵² Since Heinemann goes even further seeing science and logic shaken to its foundations by quantum mechanics and systems of many-valued logic, he actually dares to assert that the alternative between belief and science has become irrelevant. In this point, Heinemann anticipated postmodern debates. However, his demands for a basic science of life in response to the disintegration into individual sciences and for a new phenomenology had little chance of success, because foundational research – despite some interdisciplinary projects – remained highly specialised and, moreover, necessarily at an ever higher technical level.

Heinemann’s question as to what intellectual leadership of philosophy could look like in a modern democracy will rather have to be answered with some reserve. But his effort to awaken critical conscience and independent thinking, his call to assume responsibility for present and future generations and also for the socio-political whole, and his appeal to all world religions to recognize their part in the preservation of human culture have to be appreciated as pioneering.⁵³ The principle of global responsibility, which is later found, for example, in Hans Jonas and in Hans Küng’s “Global Ethic”, was already addressed by Heinemann in the 1930s. In his contribution “Fritz Heinemann – Alive or Dead?”, which he gave in a shorter version as a lecture at the Johanneum Lüneburg on 17 June

52 F. Heinemann, *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 145

53 F. Heinemann, *Existenzphilosophie*, *ibid.* p. 111; p. 203f; *Jenseits des Existentialismus*, *ibid.* p. 18; p. 84; p. 93f; p. 209ff

1981, Richard Wisser described, among other things, the resonance principle as the permanent feature of Heinemann's philosophy.⁵⁴

Heinemann was neither part of the socio-critical mainstream of the 1960s, nor was he an ecological philosopher, but his – almost forgotten – resonance model was intended to help bridge the rifts between man and nature, body and mind, knowledge and belief, individual and society, which even today are perceived as unnatural and painful by many.

Therefore, it may not be too surprising that this resonance principle is being revived in new publications. From the perspective of a left-wing theoretical tradition, the social scientist Hartmut Rosa takes critical stock of the modern commercially-driven high-tech society. He states that the pressure of competition and performance results in the need to accelerate and increase, in disturbed global relationships between individuals and society as a whole. He diagnoses an ecological crisis, a crisis of democracy and a psychological crisis (increase in depression, stress). The concept of resonance serves him as a counter-concept against these forms of “alienation” – even with references to Martin Buber's dialogical principle.⁵⁵ Hartmut Rosa distinguishes between different resonance spheres such as nature, cosmos, history, religion, art, body etc. as well as the three resonance axes vertical (God, life), horizontal (other people, politics) and diagonal (nature, world of things). He characterizes modernity by terms such as “resonance catastrophe”, “loss of resonance” and “resonance crisis of tremendous dimensions” stating that people of today's society lack the ability to

54 Richard Wisser, Fritz Heinemann – lebendig oder tot? [Fritz Heinemann – Alive or Dead?], *ibid.* p. 370ff

55 Hartmut Rosa, Resonanz [Resonance], Suhrkamp Verlag Berlin 2016, 1st ed. p. 289, note 276, p. 439f; *id.* Weltbeziehungen im Zeitalter der Beschleunigung [Global Relations in the Era of Acceleration], Suhrkamp Verlag Berlin 2012, 2nd ed. 2013 p. 10, note 4

generate resonances. By increasing sensitivity to resonance, e.g. through the expansion of spaces of freedom, emotionalization and the expansion of communication, successful resonance relationships are to be established and the harsh dualisms of the technico-rationalist world concept and forms of reification are to be eliminated. The “resonance oases” of art and religion play an important role in this context. Although Rosa does not give religion the same central significance as Heinemann’s model, many considerations sound similar to Heinemann’s.⁵⁶ Regardless of whether Rosa would acknowledge Heinemann’s concept as the precursor of his resonance principle, it remains to be seen to what extent resonance might after all be discovered and accepted as a possible more intensive form of communication in view of the problems in modern society.

56 A request by the author to Hartmut Rosa regarding the similarity to Heinemann has remained unanswered until today.

Maja I. Schütte-Hoof

The Fritz-Heinemann-Archive in the Lüneburg Ratsbücherei

Manfred Göske (1925-1986) was a teacher and later headmaster of the Johanneum grammar school and also served for a time as a member of the Lüneburg town council. He had made it his life's work to research and record the history of the Jewish men and women in Lüneburg. His starting point were the former Johanneum pupils from Jewish families. Very early on in his work, he came across Fritz Heinemann, the philosopher born in Lüneburg. He paid particular attention to Fritz Heinemann's life and work and was in direct contact with him towards the end of the 1960s.

In December 1970, Dr. Ada Heinemann, the philosopher's wife, got in touch with *Oberstadtdirektor* [Municipal Director] Stelljes. She expressed her thanks for the congratulations received on the occasion of her husband's 80th birthday on 8 February 1969 in the newsletter of the Johanneum alumni [*Mitteilungen der Vereinigung ehemaliger Schüler des Johanneums*] and also gave news of Fritz Heinemann's death on 7 January 1970. The Municipal Director seems to have passed Ada Heinemann's letter to Councillor Göske who by that time had already studied Lüneburg's Jewish history. This was the start of an intensive exchange of letters between Ada Heinemann and Manfred Göske that was to continue for a decade until Ada Heinemann's death in 1982. To her great regret, she had been forced to dictate the last of her letters, because her until then perfect copperplate handwriting no longer met with her own exacting standards.

This highly intensive correspondence soon gave rise to the idea of establishing a Fritz Heinemann archive in Lüneburg. Ada Heinemann concerned herself with her husband's books, essays and documents that she wanted to donate. With great attention to detail, she

examined his estate, conducted research, assembled bibliographies, wrote letters, made copies and little by little posted off her parcels of books, photographs and documents. In addition, she painstakingly researched the Heinemann family history and created a many-branched family tree.

Manfred Göske convinced the authorities in Lüneburg of the importance of a Fritz-Heinemann archive. On 28 October 1972, the Town Council agreed unanimously to the establishment of the Fritz-Heinemann-Archive to be located in the Ratsbücherei [Council Library] and to appoint Manfred Göske as its curator. In the context of an exhibition, the archive was presented to the Lüneburg public in November 1973. On 3 June 1985, in the presence of Fritz Heinemann's son Francis, the Ratsbücherei reading room was officially named the "*Fritz-Heinemann-Lesesaal*".⁵⁷

It was very important to Ada Heinemann to have a sign put up that she had founded the Fritz-Heinemann-Archive "in loving memory". In her letters, she often mulled over the most appropriate wording. However, to this day her wish has not been fulfilled.

Ada Heinemann and Manfred Göske would have liked to have seen Fritz Heinemann's entire library move to Lüneburg.⁵⁸ However, this would have required the municipal authorities to purchase the books (estimated then at £5,500), at that time not politically feasible. In the end, Professor Wisser took on some of the estate. Ada Heinemann commented on this on 22 December 1977 in a letter to Manfred Göske: "The larger part of my husband's estate is on its way to Frankfurt, where he [Wisser] will collect it. Altogether, it is more

57 See also the articles in the *Landeszeitung für die Lüneburger Heide* about the ceremony on 3 June 1985 in the document section.

58 "In my view, this library ought to be in Germany. If that is not possible, it will go to Israel after my death, to the University of Tel Aviv". (Letter of 2 January 1976)

than Professor Wisser or you will ever be able to process. It requires a second lifetime.”

Some parts of Fritz Heinemann’s estate that Professor Wisser received back then will soon be handed to the Heinemann-Archive in Lüneburg, including the diaries. In 1975, Ada Heinemann had begun reading her husband’s diaries. Fritz Heinemann had not wanted them to come into the possession of strangers. His widow was now faced with the task of deciding what to destroy and what to keep. In the end, she decided to hand all of the diaries to Professor Wisser.

On 12 October 1981, six months before her death, Ada Heinemann wrote to Manfred Göske in the last letter written in her own hand: “I hereby authorise you to do everything for the Heinemann Archive that you consider right and proper. I am no longer able to do anything for the archive. [...] I owe you deep and heartfelt thanks for everything that you have done for the archive. Without you, it would have never come about.”

Maja I. Schütte-Hoof

From Ada Heinemann's letters

The hours that I spent in the museum reading the the letters from Ada Heinemann and Manfred Göske were quiet and moving. They were hours in which I could immerse myself into the thoughts and emotions of a woman who with love, solidarity and wisdom had been at her husband's side for a lifetime. This experience fills me with immense gratitude.

One bible verse held particular significance for Ada Heinemann. For that reason, I want it to precede the excerpts from her letters: "He has shown you, O mortal, what is good. And what does the Lord require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God." (Micah 6,8)

Ada Heinemann points out that this verse refers to Deuteronomy 10,12: "And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God ask of you but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in obedience to him, to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul."

28/08/1975

My husband loved the Lüneburg Heath, it was his refuge in all turmoils of the soul. I only got to know it in 1914. (...) At that time, Lüneburg was a sleepy town, but I loved the trumpeting of an anthem from the tower of St. Johannes at 10 o'clock every morning.

28/06/1977

How much my husband loved the Heath has become clear to me in his diaries that I am reading at the moment. He wanted them burned after his death, but some of them are purely philosophical and will be passed to Wisser¹ first.

1 Prof. Dr. Richard Wisser

23/03/1975

My husband said: "Getting old is a blessing, not a reward."

Sometimes I ask myself whether it is truly a blessing. I see so much misery and suffering around me that life become ever more incomprehensible. But what can our finite intellect grasp?

24/06/1975

My husband said in his *Odyssey*: "Death remains the eternal riddle of human reason." (p. 52) You have to incorporate it into your life, otherwise living is impossible. I am entirely prepared for it, I would only like to finish my work on my husband's estate.

02/09/1974

My husband said: "Death is the eternal riddle of human experience:" I am with Spinoza, there is no possible statement about death. Biologically, it is the end.

20/12/1974

My husband used to say: "We Jews are chosen for suffering." But does that not apply to all humankind?

07/06/1974

Every day after breakfast, my husband used to read a psalm, in Luther's translation from a small book of psalms that I had given to him in 1914 when he joined up. Fortunately he did not have to serve at the front. Shortly before his final illness, he said to me: "I am relieved to know that I never killed another person." He always favoured peace, same as I.

04/11/1975

I think I have written to you before that my husband was happy to know that he never killed another person. We were both pacifists, and I am still one today.

19/06/1974

“Peace” was almost the last word that my husband spoke, he was an avowed pacifist.

10/01/1973

In 1969,, my husband went steadily downhill, on 20 [December] he lost the ability to speak, could only clearly say yes and no; for that reason I knew that I no longer had the right to hope for an improvement. His suffering ended on 7 January.

Photographs

1. Fritz Heinemann and his sister Else in the 1890s
2. The family of Robert and Selma Heinemann 1914
3. Fritz Heinemann and his fiancée Ada Schiff 1914
4. As a medical clerk in a military hospital near Küstrin in 1917
5. Fritz Heinemann at his typewriter (no date)
6. Ada Heinemann 1937
7. Fritz and Ada Heinemann in the garden 1938
8. Manchester College Oxford 1938
9. Fritz and Francis Heinemann 1948
10. Fritz Heinemann in his academic gown 1953
11. Fritz Heinemann seated in his academic gown
12. Ada and Fritz Heinemann 1956
13. Ada and Fritz Heinemann 1960
14. Fritz and Ada Heinemann with René, Bertine and Ernst Lévy
15. Ada and Fritz Heinemann in Dehli 1962
16. Bertine Lévy, Ada and Fritz Heinemann in Versailles
17. Ada and Fritz Heinemann (no date)
18. Ada Heinemann in her house in Kirk Close Oxford 1965
19. Grand- and great-grandchildren in the Ratsbücherei 2016



Fritz Heinemann and his sister Else in the early 1890s



The family of Robert and Selma Heinemann in 1914



Fritz Heinemann
and his fiancée Ada Schiff in 1914



Fritz Heinemann as a medical clerk in a military hospital near Küstrin in 1917



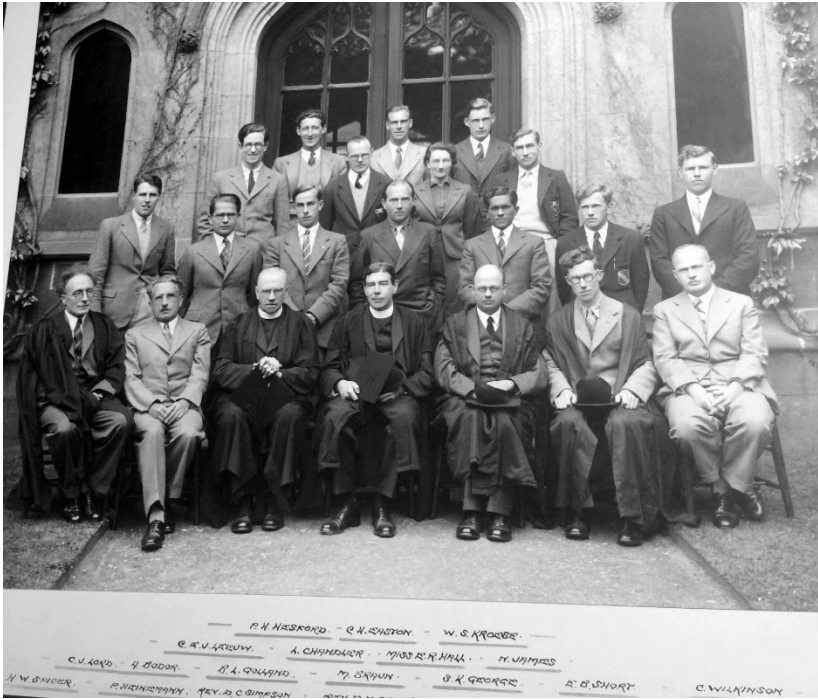
Fritz Heinemann (no date)



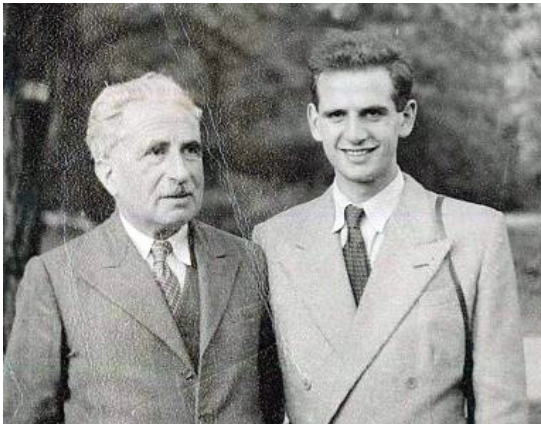
Ada Heinemann in 1937

Ada and Fritz in the garden in 1938

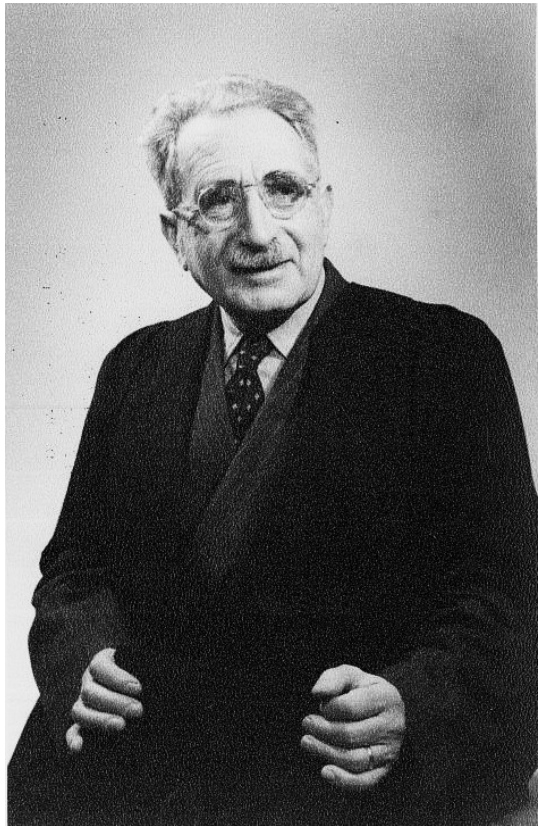




Manchester College Oxford in 1938



Fritz Heinemann
and his son Francis in 1948





Ada and Fritz in 1956



Ada and Fritz Heinemann in 1960



Fritz and Ada Heinemann with René,
Bertine and Ernst Lévy



Ada and Fritz Heinemann in
Dehli in 1962



Fritz and Ada Heinemann with Bertine Lévy in Versailles
(no date)

Ada and Fritz Heinemann (no date)





Ada Heinemann in her house in Kirk Close Oxford in 1965



The grandchildren Mark Heinemann and Judith, née Heinemann with the great-grandsons Daniel and David in the Ratsbücherei in 2016

Documents and memorabilia

1. Johanneum registration card
2. Poem about Lüneburg
3. Eulogy for his father (1920)
4. Letter to his niece Eva Cohn
5. Letter to Manfred Göske 1969
6. CV (written by Fritz Heinemann)
7. Obituary for Ada Heinemann
8. Obituary by Prof. Wisser in the FAZ
9. Newspaper article by Manfred Göske in the Landeszeitung Lüneburg of 31 May 1985
10. Newspaper article by Manfred Göske in the Landeszeitung Lüneburg of 4 June 1985
11. Letter by René Lévy 2019

Johanneum registration card

I. †

(Diese Seite ist von dem Vater oder seinem Stellvertreter auszufüllen.)

Anmeldungsschein
für Schüler, welche in das Johanneum zu Lüneburg eintreten sollen.

1. Familienname.	Heinemann
2. Sämtliche Vornamen, — Der Hauptvorname ist zu unterstreichen.	<u>Friedrich</u> Heinrich
3. Geburtstag, -jahr und -ort.	Geb. den 8ten Februar 1899 zu Lüneburg im Kreise Lüneburg
4. Konfession.	reformirt
5. Stand u. Wohnort des Vaters.	Rechtsanwalt zu Lüneburg, Schiffgraben im Kreise Lüneburg
6. Bürge (bei auswärtigen Schülern.)	
7. Bisheriger Unterricht und sonstige Bemerkungen.	Fraulein Selig

Unterschrift des Vaters oder seines Stellvertreters:

Robert Heinemann

From a poem by Fritz Heinemann

*Ich liebe Euch Bäume,
die Menschen haben Euch vergessen,
wissen nicht mehr, daß ihr einst Götter
wart,
ahnen nicht, welche Weisheit, welche
Ausdrucksfähigkeit in Euch schlummert,
und daß in Euch tiefe Geheimnisse
verborgen sprechen,
Geheimnisse der inneren Spannung,
Geheimnisse des Sich-Richtens,
Geheimnisse der Raumeroberung,
wissen nicht, daß in Euch ruht
die Hälfte des Menschengheimnisses
selbst.*

*Sie gehen durch die Wälder und ahnen
nichts von den Tragödien,
die sich hier abspielen,
von dem Kampf um Licht und Luft,
(...)*

*und so steht Ihr auf Bergen und Ebenen,
mit mächtigen, allseitig entfalteten
Kronen,
ein Sinnbild der Kraft,
des Reichtums, der Sicherheit,
und eines ganz in sich gefestigten
Lebens (...)¹*

*I love you trees.
Humans have forgotten you,
They no longer know that once you
were gods,
Have no inkling of the wisdom and
expressiveness slumbering within
you, and of the deep secrets
speaking within you,
secrets of inner tension,
secrets of self-adjustment,
secrets of spatial conquest, they do
not know that you harbour half of
the secrets of humanity itself.*

*They walk through the woods and
know nothing of the tragedies
played out there, of the struggle for
light and air
(...)*

*and thus you stand on mountains
and valley, with mighty spreading
crowns,
a symbol of strength,
of wealth, of safety,
and of a life completely consolidated
within itself (...)*

1 (as quoted in *Wisser*, l.c. p. 320 – 322)

About Lüneburg

Fritz Heinemann in Florence on his trip to Italy in 1909:

“In the afternoon, I had a strange experience while walking through the narrow streets north of the Piazza San Lorenzo: it suddenly seemed to me as if I was in my home town, the beautiful old town of Lüneburg, as if the protruding houses were those in Bäckerstrasse and I was standing in the market square ... I saw my mother approaching and wanted to run into her arms - when I noticed that I was in Florence and continued slowly on my walk - thinking how nice it would be to return to my home just for a brief moment and then to continue gazing at all the splendour here ... Only one thing causes me to ponder: that it was the image of my mother that came to me together with that of my home town.....“¹

¹ Fritz Heinemann, from his diary, quoted in Richard Wisser, *Der Weg-Charakter philosophischen Denkens*, p. 320

Eulogy for his father December 1920

III.

(Fritz Heinemann)

Geliebter Vater! In der Nacht, die Millionen von Menschen die heilige nennen, bist Du von uns gegangen. So wird sie auch uns, Deinen Kindern und Enkeln, eine heilige Nacht. Als vor 12 Jahren, fast an demselben Tage, unser lieber Grossvater starb, dessen ehrwürdige, weisslockige Gestalt lebendig vor unser aller Augen steht, riefst Du an seiner Bahre Deinen Geschwistern zu: „Ihr habt einen herrlichen Vater verloren, versucht durch Euren Wandel Euch seiner würdig zu erweisen.“ Was soll ich Euch, Brüder und Schwestern, heute sagen? Ihr habt einen herrlichen Vater verloren; seid seiner würdig.

Als Du noch neben Deinem Vater auf der Erde wandeltest, da sahen wir nur Eure Verschiedenheit, dort den gottergebenen, frommen, in den Gebräuchen seines Volkes lebenden, in ruhiger Zuversicht das Schicksal gewährenlassenden, von abgeklärter Vernunft durchdrungenen Mann, daneben Dich, den scheinbar ohne Gott lebenden, nur seinem Verstand vertrauenden, rastlos von Wissen zu Wissen, von Arbeit zu Arbeit schreitenden, die Welt und die politischen Verhältnisse schärfer als seine Mitmenschen beurteilenden, aber doch ungebändigten Menschen. Jetzt aber, da der Kreis Deines Lebens geschlossen ist, erkennen wir: der Kern Eures Wesens ist der gleiche, was Deinem Vater Religion war, das war Dir Sittlichkeit. Pflicht war der Name, der über Deines Vaters und Deinem Leben stand, die Achtung vor dem Sittengesetz war der Grundtrieb Deines Handelns und nicht um Haaresbreite wichst Du von ihm ab, unbekümmert um die Folgen. Arbeit war sein Leben und das Deine, und glücklich bist Du zu preisen, dass bis zum letzten Augenblick Deine Hand und Dein Geist nicht ruhten und dass ein sanfter Tod Dich mitten aus der Arbeit nahm.

Aber Du tatest mehr als Deine Pflicht, denn grösser noch war Dein Herz. Ihr wisst, Geschwister, was er an jedem einzelnen von uns getan. Da aber verstummt mein Mund, und ein armselig Stammeln sind meine Worte, wenn ich Dir zurufe: „Vater, wir danken Dir.“ Kein Opfer war Dir für uns zu gross, stets sorgtest Du für Frau und Kind und Mädchen, ehe Du an Dich selbst dachtest. Du warst gut, vielleicht zu gut gegen Deine Kinder. Derselbe Dank gebührt Dir, unserer lieben Mutter, die Du ein Gleiches an uns getan hast, und überdies die Jahre hindurch mit

aufopfernder Liebe in den schweren Tagen seiner Krankheit
unsere Vater gehegt und gepflegt hast, bis an die Grenzen
Deiner Nervenkraft und nun gramgebeugt das Liebste hergibst,
das Du Dein nanntest.

Die Bahn, die Du, Vater, gingst, ist steil und einsam,
ein Pfad, von dem der Prophet sagt:

„Und es wird daselbst eine Bahn und ein Weg
sein, welcher der heilige Weg heissen wird, dass kein
Unreiner darauf gehen darf“

und dessen Wanderern er Freude und Wonne verkündet.
Du bist den heiligen Weg der Pflicht gegangen, möge
Freude und Wonne über Deinem Haupte sein.

Du glaubtest nicht an eine Unsterblichkeit. Ich aber
sage Euch, er schläft, doch seine Liebe ist wach. Das
werdet ihr in allen Stunden Eures Daseins erfahren. Ge-
schwister, was Ihr von unserem Vater und Grossvater ererbt:
das Pflichtgefühl, den Willen zur Arbeit für die Allgemeinheit
und das gute Herz, das bewahrt als Euer kostbarstes Erbe.
Es ist das Einzige, was bleibt, was Ihr hinüberrettet in die
Ewigkeit und was Ihr Euren Kindern und Enkeln vermachen
könnt. Alles andere verschwindet, alles andere verweht
der vernichtende Atem des Todes. Lassen wir den
Vater fortleben in uns, fortleben in jedem Augenblick unseres
Handelns, das sei das Gelöbnis dieser Stunde. Versuchen
wir den heiligen Weg zu beschreiten, den er ging.

Wohl haben wir Menschen Grund zur Klage, dass das
Schöne vergeht, dass das Vollkommene stirbt und doch

Auch ein Klaglied zu sein im Mund der Geliebten
ist herrlich,

Denn das Gemeine geht klanglos zum Orkus hinab.
Aber es wäre nicht in Deinem Sinn, sich der Trauer willen-
los hinzugeben. Das Leben gehört den Lebendigen, sagtest
Du. Und so will ich Dir denn als Abschiedsgruss die Worte
eines von Dir geliebten Dichters zurufen:

Wenn im Unendlichen dasselbe
Sich wiederholend ewig fliesst,
Das tausendfältige Gewölbe
Sich kräftig ineinander schliesst.
Strömt Lebenslust aus allen Dingen,
Dem kleinsten wie dem grössten Stern,
Und alles Drängen, alles Ringen,
Ist ewige Ruh in Gott dem Herrn.

Ruhe aus, geliebter Vater, von den Kämpfen des Daseins.
Ave, pia anima, ave!

III.
(Fritz Heinemann)

Beloved Father! On the night that millions of people call the holy one, you have passed away. Thus it will – in a particular sense – be a holy night for us, your children and grandchildren. When 12 years ago, almost on the same day, our dear grandfather died, whose venerable, white-curly figure stands before our very eyes, you addressed your brothers and sisters standing at his deathbed saying: “You have lost a wonderful father, try to prove worthy of him by your way of life.” What am I to tell you, brothers and sisters, today? You have lost a wonderful father; be worthy of him.

When you were still walking beside your father on earth, we only saw your differences, on the one hand the devotional, pious man, living in accordance with his father’s customs, awaiting his fate in quiet confidence, imbued with serene reason, on the other hand you, the man who apparently lived without God, trusting only his intellect, restlessly striding from knowledge to knowledge, from work to work, judging the world and the political conditions more distinctly than his fellow men, but still untamed. But now that the circle of your life is complete, we realize: the core of your life is the same; what religion was to your father, morality was to you. Duty was the notion that stood above your father’s and your life, respect for moral law was the basic drive of your actions and you did not deviate from it by a whit, unconcerned about the consequences.

Work was his life and yours, and you are blessed for your hand and your mind did not rest until the last moment and a gentle death took you right out of work. You did, however, more than just your duty because you had too big a heart.

You know, my siblings, what he did to each and every one of us.

But now my mouth falls silent, and my words are but a poor stammering when I call to you: “Father, we thank You.” No sacrifice was too great for you, you always took care of wife and child and nanny before you thought of yourself. You were good, maybe too good to your children. The same thanks are due to you, our dear Mother, who have done the same to us, and moreover, over the years, with self-sacrificing love, in the difficult days of his illness, you have cared for our Father to the limits of your nervous energy, and now, bowed by grief, you give away the love that you called yours.

The path that you, Father, took is steep and lonely, a path of which the prophet says:

“And an highway shall be there, and a way,
and it shall be called the way of holiness;
the unclean shall not pass over it”

and to those who wander on it he promises joy and gladness. You have walked the holy path of duty, may joy and gladness be above your head. You did not believe in immortality. But I tell you he is asleep, but his love is awake. You will experience this in all the hours of your life, my siblings, what you have inherited from our father and grandfather: the sense of duty, the will to work for the community and a good heart; preserve the latter as your most precious legacy. It is the only thing that remains, that you will preserve forever and that you can bequeath to your children and grandchildren. Everything else disappears, everything else is blown away by the destructive breath of death. Let our Father live on in us, live on in every moment of

all our actions, let this be the vow of this hour. Let us try to walk the sacred path he took.

We human beings have reason to complain that beauty and perfection fade away and die, and yet: To be a lament in the mouth of the beloved is also wonderful, for the ordinary descends to Orcus without any sound. But it would not be in your mind to indulge in grief unresistingly. Life belonged to the living, you said.

And so, as a last farewell, I would like to cite the words of one of your favourite poets:

*Wenn im Unendlichen dasselbe
Sich wiederholend ewig fließt,
Das tausendfältige Gewölbe
Sich kräftig ineinander schließt.
Strömt Lebenslust aus allen Dingen,
Dem kleinsten wie dem größten Stern,
Und alles Drängen, alles Ringen,
Ist ewige Ruhe in Gott dem Herrn.*

When in eternity the same
is repetitively flowing forever,
the thousandfold vault's lock
closely and tightly interlocks.
The joy of life pours out from all things,
the smallest as well as the largest star,
and all the urging, all the fighting,
is everlasting rest and quiet in the Lord.

May you rest, beloved Father, from the struggles of life.
Ave, pia anima, ave!

Letter to his niece Eva Cohn

Sender's name and address:

28 Kirk Close
Oxford

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

SECOND FOLD HERE



Mr. & Mrs. H. Cohn
3103 Flower Lane
Palo Alto

U.S.A., California 94306

28, Kirk Close,
Oxford
20. 7. 1967

Dear Eva and Hans,

Thank you very much for
your kind letter of June 1965.
We appreciate it very much since
we know how busy you are.

Meanwhile we heard about
your short visit to New York
and that you have seen the
whole family ^{affair}

You will, I see from the
back-page of my book that
I coined indeed the term Ernstian
philosophy in my book Nine Days

der Philosophen. I have coined
the English term Existenzialismus in one
of my surveys on 'Recent German
Philosophical Literature' in Philosophy
during the last winter. The English
book has also appeared in German,
Spanish and Japanese editions, and
is shortly to be published in Holland.

We are very glad to hear
that you are well and flourish-
ing and that your children
are already helping you.

The first chapter of the
Israeli war was exhibitionary.
Now the second chapter will be
nobody cannot forget. I do not
like the dirty and insincere game
which the Russians are playing.
They want to dominate the Middle

^{Alexandria}
East and have already gained
Alex as a harbour for their
own fleet. Generally speaking,
the greater the successes of the
Jewish people are (either in the Diaspora
or in Israel) the greater the
resistance, hate and cruelty
of their surroundings. But let
us hope the best for a real peace
which is still possible.

Cordial regards to all of you
Your uncle Erik

FIRST FOLD HERE

Dear Eva & Hans,

We heard from your mother how she
enjoyed to have Barbara's company & that
the child was no trouble at all. It is amazing
how quickly children grow up nowadays & how
independent they are. Judy will be 14 on
Saturday, a real "Backfish", lang & dinner
& very nice. For the first time she is top in
German. She could do better at school if she
would work harder.

All the best to all of you. Yours
ann dda.

28, KIRK CLOSE,
OXFORD.
OX2 8JN
TEL. 57701.

19. 1. 69

Sehr geehrter Herr Oberstudienrat!
Herzlichen Dank für Ihre freundlichen Zeilen.
Ich erhole mich gerade von einer Influenza, bin
daher aus Haus gefergelt und kann Ihnen daher
lediglich nur senden, was gerade zur Hand ist. Ich
bitte zu entschuldigen, dass der Lebenslauf auf
englisch abgefasst ist.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen
Ihr sehr ergebener
F. Heinemann

8.19. 2. 69
zl. LZ 6.1.71

Letter to Manfred Göske 1969

Thank you for your kind letter. I am currently recovering from influenza and thus confined indoors. For that reason, I can only send to you what is currently at hand. My apologies that the CV is written in English.

STATEMENT OF QUALIFICATIONS

Born U.S. 1889 at Lueneburg, Hanover
Gymnasium Johanneum, Lueneburg, 1895-1907
Studied Philosophy, Mathematics and Physics since 1907 at
Cambridge under Profs. McTaggart, H. Jackson, Serley, J.J. Thompson
Marburg " " Cohen and Natrop
Munich " " Lipps, Scheiler, Goiger
Berlin " " Simmel, Erdmann
Heidelberg " " Windelband and Lask
D.Phil, Marburg, 1912 - Magn. cum Laude
Final Examination for teaching at Secondary Schools, 1913
"First" in Philosophy and Mathematics
War Service, 1914-1918, chiefly at the office of a Surgeon Major
Married 1918

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1915-21 Three years' teaching experience at Secondary Schools
1921 Boniz Prize of the Vienna Academy of Science for my book
on Plotinus
1922-23 Lecturer in Philosophy at the University of Frankfurt
1930 Professor Extraordinarius, Member of Examination Board
1933 Lost position on account of new regime, Sept-Oct lectures
in Holland (Amersfoort, Amsterdam, The Hague)
1934 Lecturer at the Institute for the History of Science,
Sorbonne, Paris
1937-40 Research Scholar at Manchester College, Oxford
1939 Since 1939 I have lectured in the University of Oxford
on the following subjects -
Introduction to Philosophy
Metaphysics
Theory of Knowledge
Philosophy of Science
Moral Philosophy
Descartes
Locke's Essay
Berkeley's Theory of Knowledge
Hume's
Kant's Critique of Pure Reason
Kant's Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten
Leibniz' Logic and Metaphysics
Present-day Philosophy
Principles of International Organisation
Existentialism

I have taken pupils individually in
General Philosophy from Descartes to the present time
Theory of Knowledge (Locke, Berkeley, Hume)
Kant
Preliminary Logic
Logic
Moral and Political Philosophy
Political Theory from Hobbes
General Social and Political Theory

1953 M.A. Oxford

CV (written by Fritz Heinemann)

Obituary by Prof. Dr. Richard Wisser (1927-2019)
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung of 23 January 1971

The Mainz philosopher and poet Prof. Dr. Richard Wisser was a close friend of the Heinemann family.

On 5 November 1972, Ada Heinemann wrote to Manfred Göske: “As a philosopher himself, Wisser is, of course, ideally informed, as my husband had been in constant verbal and written contact with him ever since their first meeting at the philosophers’ congress in Stuttgart in 1954. He had discussed all manner of topics with him that I had no idea of.”

Wisser had helped Ada Heinemann with sorting the estate and helped her to find some of Fritz Heinemann’s writings.

In 1981, Wisser gave a ceremonial address at the Johanneum in Lüneburg on the topic of “*Fritz Heinemann - alive or dead?*”, a revised version of which is included in his book *Vom Weg-Charakter philosophischen Denkens [The Pathway Nature of Philosophical Thinking]* (Würzburg 1998). In his address, he depicted Heinemann’s philosophical principal of the resonating quality of human nature and thus its characterisation as the “responding being” and outlined the extent to which expulsion and exile, i.e. emigration, had for Heinemann become a symbol for the experience of “being in transit”.

From Manfred Göske's obituary for Ada Heinemann LZ of 16 November 1982

On Sunday 30 May, Dr. phil Ada Heinemann, née Schiff, died shortly before her 92nd birthday. In her quiet and unassuming manner, the widow of the philosopher Fritz Heinemann played a part in her husband's work. She shared his thoughts and performed the inevitable painstaking tasks of verifying quotes and produced indexes for the books he was writing.

Bravely she took care of their son during the years of persecution in Germany from 1933 to 1937, and while in exile cleaned rooms for students and prepared meals in order to enable the philosopher's existence.

After her husband's death, she created important genealogical registers in painstaking work. Her memory was wonderfully precise. She provided information to the last, either in beautifully written letters or in an incredibly sprightly voice on the phone.

Made possible by her donations, the Fritz-Heinemann Archive was set up on 28 October 1972.

"We complemented each other ideally", Ada Heinemann said about her marriage. "We were like a pair of gloves, right and left, like spirit and home."

Every encounter with her was joyous. She radiated reconciliation and peace.



An der Feierstunde beteiligt: Organisator und „Motor“ Manfred Göske, Philosophensohn Franz Heinemann, Oberstadtdirektor Reiner Faulhaber und Gerhard Hopf, Leiter der Ratsbücherei (v. l.).

Foto: hei

Lüneburger Philosoph geehrt

oc Lüneburg. Eine Fotografie und eine Gedenktafel erinnern seit gestern im Lesesaal der Ratsbücherei an den 1970 gestorbenen Lüneburger Philosophen Fritz Heinemann. Oberstadtdirektor Reiner Faulhaber benannte in einer kleinen Feierstunde den Lesesaal nach dem 1889 in Lüneburg geborenen Philosophen, dessen Sohn Franz und Gattin aus London nach Lüneburg gekommen waren.

Als anerkannten Gelehrten und

„großen Sohn unserer Stadt“ würdigte Faulhaber Heinemann, der sich unter anderem mit Arbeiten zur Existenzphilosophie internationale Anerkennung erworben hatte. Der frühere Johanniter Heinemann mußte während des Faschismus Deutschland verlassen und ließ sich nach langer Odyssee in England nieder, wo er bis zu seinem Tode wirkte.

Eine kleine Ausstellung in der Ratsbücherei und ein Falblatt,

das Manfred Göske als „unermüdlicher Motor“ (so Faulhaber) verfaßt hat, geben einen Einblick in Leben und Schaffen des Philosophen.

Interessiert zeigten sich neben zahlreichen Gästen auch die Landtagsabgeordneten Winfried Feldmann und Winfried Hartmann, der als Vorsitzender des Landesverbandes Niedersachsen im Deutschen Bibliotheksverband an der Feier teilnahm.

Newspaper article by Manfred Göske in the Landeszeitung Lüneburg of 4 June 1985

On the occasion of the naming of the reading room in the Ratsbücherei as “Fritz Heinemann Lesesaal” on 3 June 1985, the Landeszeitung Lüneburg published two articles:

1. on 31 May 1985 about Fritz Heinemann, written by M. Göske
2. on 4 June 1985 about the ceremony (see above)

From an article by Manfred Göske

LZ of 31 May 1985

On Monday 3 June, the town of Lüneburg honoured the philosopher Fritz Heinemann in a special celebration. As reported earlier, one of the Ratsbücherei reading rooms will be named after this son of Lüneburg. His son Franz and daughter-in-law will also come from London to attend the celebration. [...]

Same as the ancient thinker Plotinus, to whom he dedicated his first book, [...] Fritz Heinemann also saw his own role as that of a “mediator”; in numerous journal contributions from 1938 onwards, he attempted to show the links between German and English philosophy. [...]

[Fritz Heinemann had received the *Venia Legendi* at the University of Frankfurt/Main in 1921] and was appointed non-tenured professor in 1933.

Soon after Hitler’s assumption of power, Fritz Heinemann realised that he could not stay in Germany. After his formal dismissal on account of the *Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service*, his odyssey as an émigré began.

By that time, the publication in 1929 of his book *Neue Wege der Philosophie* [New Paths in Philosophy] had made Fritz Heinemann known throughout Europe. Dutch friends arranged for him to teach in Amersfoort, acquaintances in Paris, Marcel and Nikolai Berdyaev (he met them in Clamart, by the way) associated with him at the Sorbonne where he had to publish in French. The main outcome of these bitter years of exile when he was separated from his wife and son and forced to teach and publish in foreign languages, is his essay on *Odysseus oder Die Zukunft der Philosophie* [Odyssey or The Future of Philosophy] (Stockholm 1939).

In Manchester College Oxford, Fritz Heinemann finally found a new home and could send for his wife and son. He was a prolific academic teacher (until 1955) and attendance at philosophers' congresses, talks for the BBC and numerous publications further enhanced his reputation. His book *Existenzphilosophie, lebendig oder tot?* [*Existentialism, alive or dead?*] (4th reprint 1971), also published in English, Spanish, Dutch and Japanese, enjoyed particular success. His encyclopaedic overview *Die Philosophie im XX. Jahrhundert* [*Philosophy in the 20th century*] (1959) was reprinted three times in German, twice in Portugal and is now available as a reprint by Scientia (Aalen).

Fritz Heinemann always remained close to his home town of Lüneburg. After negotiations for his reinstatement, in which Carl Jaspers and Paul Tillich both interceded on his behalf, he was registered as a professor emeritus at the University of Frankfurt. When the philosopher died in January 1970 after severe influenza, he was mourned by many friends. Prof. Herbert Frankel (Oxford) wrote: "I respected him greatly for his erudition, his courage, his steadfastness, but most of all for his kindheartedness. He bore the ills of this world like a true philosopher." [...]

In November 2019, René Lévy wrote to Anneke de Rudder:

Chère Anneke, merci de nous tenir au courant régulièrement des événements concernant la famille Heinemann.

Quand vous avez fait l'exposition, je vous avais, entre autre, envoyé 2 photos prises en 1950 (j'avais 14 ans) lors de notre passage chez Fritz Heinemann à Oxford.

J'étais avec mes parents et Fritz nous a gentiment fait visiter l'Université, à pied, et lorsque c'était plus loin, nous nous déplaçons avec la voiture de Rudi (Ernst), mon père, et je me souviens que Fritz qui n'aimait pas rouler en auto disait à chaque carrefour: "make a little noise, dear boy" pour demander à mon père de klaxonner....

Cette visite guidée avait été très intéressante, puisque évidemment, avec Fritz, nous avons pu voir beaucoup d'endroits non ouverts au public.

Mes parents quelques années après ont été à Londres au mariage de son fils.

Je pense, qu'à part les enfants et petits enfants de Fritz, je suis le seul vivant, de la famille Heinemann, à avoir connu Fritz et sa femme.

Je suis repassé par Oxford avec mes enfants plus de 22 ou 23 ans après, Fritz était mort, et évidemment ce n'était pas la même chose....

Malheureusement, il est évident que nous ne pourrions pas nous déplacer en janvier à Lunebourg pour la cérémonie, le froid et la santé de ma femme ne se prêtent pas à un voyage surtout en janvier... Nota : A l'époque de notre long séjour en Angleterre, en 1950, il n'y avait pas de Ferry, et notre Simca 1100 avait été chargée, à Boulogne, sur le bateau (s/s Dinard) comme un gros ballot avec une grue...

Translation

Dear Anneke, thank you for regularly keeping us updated on matters concerning the Heinemann family.

When you put on the exhibition, I sent you two photographs (amongst others) taken in 1950 (I was 14 years old) on our trip to Fritz Heinemann in Oxford.

I was there with my parents, and Fritz was kind enough to show us the university, on foot, and for longer distances, we have taken Rudi's (Ernst's) car, and I remember Fritz, who was not fond of travelling by car, requesting at each crossroad "make a little noise, dear boy", to get my father to sound the horn.

These excursions were most interesting, because naturally we could see many places with Fritz that were otherwise not open to the public.

A few years later, my parents attended his son's wedding in London.

I believe that apart from Fritz's children and grandchildren, I am the only family member still alive to have known Fritz and his wife.

22 or 23 years later I returned to Oxford with my children, Fritz had died by then, and of course it was no longer the same.

Unfortunately we will be unable to travel to Lüneburg in January for the ceremony, as the cold and my wife's health do not permit travel, particularly not in January.

By the way: In 1950, for our long stay in England, there were no car ferries as yet, and our Simca 1000 was loaded by crane onto the ship, the SS Dinard, like a large package ...