

## NOTES

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*Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. Works frequently cited are identified by the following abbreviations:*

- Briefwechsel*      Martin Buber, *Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten*, ed. Grete Schaeder and Ernst Simon, 3 vols. (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972–1975)
- Letters*            Nahum N. Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr, eds., *The Letters of Martin Buber: A Life of Dialogue*, trans. Richard Winston, Clara Winston, and Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1991)
- Martin Buber  
Archive            Martin Buber Archive, National Library of Israel (formerly Jewish National and University Library), Jerusalem, ms. varia 350
- Meetings*         Martin Buber, *Meetings: Autobiographical Fragments*, ed. Maurice Friedman (London: Routledge, 2002)

Introduction

*Epigraph*: Buber to Hermann Levin Goldschmidt, October 7, 1948, cited in H. L. Goldschmidt, "Erinnerung, Begegnung, Auseinandersetzung," in *Martin Bubers Erbe für unsere Zeit*, ed. Werner Licharz (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag & Herchen, 1885), 57.

1. Hannah Arendt, "What Remains? The Language Remains: A Conversation with Günther Gaus," in Arendt, *The Last Interview and Other Conversations* (Brooklyn: Melville House, 2013), 34.

2. Philip P. Wiener, "Some Problems and Methods in the History of Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 22, no. 4 (1961): 533.

3. Bellow is cited in Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 137-144. Cf. J. W. Worthy to Goethe: "For me, the entire fascination of your work, Your Excellency, arises from the personality, I find there—or from the personality I *think* I glimpse there." From *The Correspondence of J. W. Worthy with Ancients and Moderns*, available online at <http://lettersfromthedustbowl.com/worthy.html> (accessed June 25, 2018).

4. Buber to Maurice Friedman, August 1956, Martin Buber Archive, file 217a.

5. Janet Malcolm, *The Silent Woman: Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 154.

6. More than a hundred of Buber's German poems have recently been published with commentaries by Bernd Witte in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 7: *Schriften zu Literatur, Theater und Kunst* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016).

7. *Meetings*, 21.

8. Cf. Martin Buber, "Replies to My Critics," in *The Philosophy of Martin Buber*, ed. Paul A. Schilpp and Maurice Friedman (LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court, 1967), 691-695.

9. Buber to Mitchell Bedford, December 26, 1952, in *Letters*, 572.

10. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, September 28, 1922, in

Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1955), 110 f.

11. Edward W. Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 462.

12. Arthur A. Cohen, *The Natural and the Supernatural Jew: An Historical and Theological Introduction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

13. Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, introduction by David Biale (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015), 42.

14. Hannah Arendt, *Das Private Adressbuch*, ed. Christine Rischer-Defoy (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 2007), 84.

15. Buber, *Eclipse of God: Studies in the Relation between Religion and Philosophy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 6.

16. *Meetings*, 38.

17. *Ibid.*, 40.

18. *Ibid.*, 38 f.

19. Wiener, “Some Problems and Methods,” 533.

20. Gershom Schocken, “Gossiping about Buber,” *Haaretz*, September 30, 1988 (Hebrew).

### Chapter 1. A Motherless Child

1. In an interview with Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol, Buber ironically attributed his stature as a celebrity to his beard. As the beard gained fullness, he bemusedly observed, people took him for a prophet. “Believe me,” he told his interlocutor, “I would shave this wonderful beard off, but then I would destroy my image. Hmmm.” See Fischer-Barnicol, “Spiegelungen—Vermittlungen,” in Günther Neske, ed., *Erinnerung zu Martin Heidegger* (Pfullingen: Verlag Günther Neske, 1977), 89 f.

2. Reported to Aubrey Hodes, who “maintained a close relationship” to Buber during the last twelve years of his life. See Hodes, *Martin Buber: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Viking, 1971), 43. For a slightly different articulation of this account, see *Meetings*, 22.

3. *Meetings*, 18.

4. Buber, "Die Kinder," *Jüdische Rundschau*, May 30, 1933; also "The Children" (1933), in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 225, 228.

5. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, August 2, 1922, in *Letters*, 269.

6. Martin Buber to Paula Winkler Buber, October 15, 1901, in *Letters*, 79. In an unpublished jotting, titled "For You," dated 1902, he tells Paula, "You came and gave me a soul. Therefore is not my soul merely this: your child." See *Letters*, 10 f.

7. Letter to the son of Ina Britschgi-Schimmer on the occasion of his bar mitzvah, cited in Ina Britschgi-Schimmer, "Der junge Martin Buber. Erinnerungen," *Jüdischer Rundschau* 33, no. 11 (February 2, 1920): 76. Expressing his condolence to a friend on the death of his mother, Buber wrote: "I participate in your mourning. I scarcely knew my mother, and this is perhaps why I know in a special way what it means to a person to lose one's mother." Buber to Lambert Schneider, July 23, 1955, in *Letters*, 591 f.

8. As noted in Hodes, *An Intimate Portrait*, 43. In his published autobiographical memoir, Buber explains a mismeeting as "the failure of a real meeting between men." The depth of the pain of a mismeeting was experienced for Buber when, in his thirties, his mother "had come from a distance to visit me, my wife, and children." It was the first time he had seen her since he was three years old, but "I could not gaze into her still astonishingly beautiful eyes without hearing from somewhere the word 'Vergegnung' as a word spoken to me." See *Meetings*, 22 f.

9. Buber, *Meetings*, 22.

10. Buber, *Ich und Du* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1923), 18; Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Scribner's, 1958), 11.

11. Jules-Amédée Barbey d'Aureville, "La vengeance d'une femme," in d'Aureville, *Diaboliques: Oeuvres Romanesques Complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 2: 231.

12. Buber, “What Is Man?” in Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. R. G. Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 237.

13. Rafael Buber, “Die Buber-Familie. Erinnerungen,” in R. Buber, *Dialog mit Martin Buber*, ed. Werner Licharz (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag & Herchen, 1982), 352.

14. See Moshe H. E. Bloch, “Martin Buber and His Ancestors,” *Ha-Doar* 44, no. 34 (1965–1966): 629–632 (Hebrew).

15. *Ibid.*

16. In the German edition of Buber’s correspondence, his grandfather’s letters are given in German, without noting that they were originally in Yiddish.

17. *Meetings*, 19; Werner Kraft, “Martin Buber über Sprache und deutsche Sprache,” *Hochland* 60 (August/September 1958): 520.

18. *Meetings*, 31 (emphasis added).

19. Martin Buber, “Reminiscences,” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism. My Testament: 1902–1965*, trans. M. Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 30.

20. See Helit Yeshurun Raviv, “A Conversation with Dr. Moshe Spitzer,” *Chadarim* (Winter 1982–1983): 53 (Hebrew).

21. Under the pressure of a deadline, Buber solicited Paula’s assistance to rework some of the tales included in his second collection of Hasidic lore, *Die Legende des Baalschem* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1908). He would provide her with a literal translation of a saying by the Baal Shem Tov, which she then elaborated freely. See the correspondence between Martin and Paula from early December 1906, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 249–252. The letters between Paula and Martin indicate that he would send her excerpts of a Hasidic text he had translated, which she would then not only elaborate but also stylize (*Briefwechsel*, 1: 250).

22. Haim Gordon, *The Other Martin Buber: Recollections of His Contemporaries* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988), 40. Buber also consulted his future son-in-law, Ludwig Strauss, a highly accomplished German poet. Cf. their correspondence of May 1922. Buber sent Strauss the manuscript of a forthcoming

book on Hasidism to review. Strauss returned the manuscript with several dozen corrections of diction and syntax, all of which Buber accepted with gratitude. See *Briefwechsel Martin Buber–Ludwig Strauss: 1913–1953*, ed. Tuvia Rübner and Dafna Mach (Frankfurt a.M.: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1990), 79–83.

23. Theodor Lessing, *Einmal und nie Wieder. Lebenserinnerung. Gesammelte Schriften* (Prague: Heinrich Mercy Sohn, 1935), 1: 291 f.

24. Cf. Omar al-Raschid Bey, *Das hohe Ziel der Erkenntnis. Aranada Upanisbad*, ed. Helene Böhlau al-Rashid Bey (Munich, 1912). Originally Friedrich Arndt-Kürnberg, al-Rashid Bey was born in Saint Petersburg to German-Jewish parents. In 1888, he traveled to Constantinople with Helene Böhlau, where they both converted to Islam, whereupon they married and he took on his Arabic name. Helene would gain fame in her own right as an acclaimed novelist.

25. Lessing, *Einmal und nie Wieder*, 294.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Buber's Israeli passport (No. 16890, issued in 1952) gives his height as 157 centimeters. At about the time he met Paula, he made the acquaintance of another woman, who in a memoir described him "as an utterly delicate, pale person with a high, broad forehead, dark, piercing inward eyes with feminine small, ethereal hands." Ina Britschgi-Schimmer, "Der junge Martin Buber. Erinnerungen." *Jüdischer Rundschau* 33, no. 11 (February 2, 1920): 75.

28. Cf. the couple's marriage certificate: "Beschieinigung der Ereschließung Martin Buber und Paula Winkler," Friedenau, April 20, 1907, Martin Buber Archive, file A:1d. Paula's religion is noted as "mosaisch," as is Martin's. Upon her conversion, Paula took on the Hebrew name Yehudit (Judith). The conversion was apparently performed by a liberal rabbi, for on March 26, 1934, she underwent an orthodox conversion in Berlin. See Chapter 8.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Teffilin* are phylacteries worn by observant Jewish men (and in contemporary times, by some Jewish women) during the weekday morning prayers.

31. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, October 1, 1922, in Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1955), 110.

32. The extant correspondence between Buber and his grandparents is in the Martin Buber Archive and the Salomon Buber Archive, both housed at the National Library of Israel (formerly the Jewish National and University Library), Jerusalem.

33. During a visit to his grandparents in October 1902, he wrote to Paula: “Here it is dungeon-like narrow (*kerkermäßig eng*.)” See *Briefwechsel*, 1: 177.

34. The English rabbi Simeon Singer recalled visiting Salomon Buber in Lemberg and “found him in his study at five in the morning.” Such men, he commented, “seem to need no sleep.” “Salomon Buber: Obituary,” *Jewish Chronicle*, January 4, 1907, 13.

35. *Ibid.*

36. See Nisson E. Shulman, “The Responsa of ‘Masat Benjamin,’” Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1970; “Slonik, Benjamin, Aaron b. Abraham,” *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Stamford, Conn.: Thomson Gale/Macmillan, 2006), 18: 675–676.

37. Obituary in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Magid* (May 11, 1870): 139–140.

38. Buber’s grandmother was also from a wealthy Galician Jewish family, and she too counted among her relatives esteemed rabbis and scholars.

39. Martin Buber to Adele Buber, December 17, 1899, in *Letters*, 69.

40. Martin Buber to Salomon and Adele Buber, January 31, 1900, in *Letters*, 70 (emphasis added; translation modified).

41. “Karol Buber of Blessed Memory,” *Chwila* 5776 (June 20, 1935).

42. The original German dedication is “Meinem Grossvater Salomon Buber dem letzten Meister der alten Haskala bringe ich dies Werk der Chassidut dar mit Ehrfrucht und Liebe.”

43. Carl Buber to Martin Buber, February 6, 1908 in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 260 f.

44. Paula Buber to Martin Buber, October 9, 1901, in *Letters*, 21.
45. Paula Buber to Martin Buber, October 18, 1901, in *Letters*, 20.
46. Paula Winkler, “Betrachtungen einer Philozionistin,” *Die Welt* 36 (September 9, 1901): 4–6.
47. Paula Winkler to Martin Buber, August 16–17, 1899, in *Letters*, 67–69; see also *Briefwechsel*, 1: 149 f.
48. Martin Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902–1965*, trans. Maurice Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 48; the original German is given on the facing page, 47.

## Chapter 2. Herald of a Jewish Renaissance

1. For a translation of the essay, see William M. Johnston and Robert A. Rothstein, “Martin Buber’s Literary Debut: ‘On Viennese Literature’ (1897),” *German Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (November 1974): 556–566.
2. *Ibid.*, 559.
3. Ahron Eliasberg, “Aus Martin Buber’s Jugendzeit,” *Blätter des Heine-Bundes* 1, no. 1 (April 1, 1928): 1.
4. The essay is now published in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 1: *Frühe kulturkritische und philosophische Schriften, 1891–1924*, ed. Martin Treml (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 105.
5. *Ibid.*, 103.
6. *Ibid.*, 107.
7. *Ibid.*, 106.
8. *Ibid.*, 108, 113 f.
9. *Ibid.*, 104. Although he would eventually publish mostly in German (and later in Hebrew), Buber relished every opportunity to express his abiding attachment to the Polish language and culture. In 1943, for instance, he eagerly addressed in Polish the troops of the Polish Army in exile, stationed in Haifa, Palestine, on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of the Polish mathematician and astronomer Nicolas Copernicus. In 1939 he gave a series of lectures in Poland on behalf of the Hebrew University. See Chapter 9.



10. Witold Olschewski to Buber, July 27, 1962, in *Letters*, 648 (original in Polish).

11. For the quotation, see Buber, “Zarathustra,” in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 1: 107.

12. Eliasberg, “Aus Martin Buber’s Jugendzeit,” 4.

13. *Ibid.*

14. For a German translation of the address, see Buber, “‘Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe’ (Ewige Jugend),” in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 1: 99–102. As indicated in a note he appended to the text, Buber wrote the address on November 15, 1892.

15. “Rede gehalten von Martin Buber an seiner ‘Barmizwah’-Feier am 8. Februar 1891,” in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 1: 93–98. An article in the Hebrew journal *Ha-Maggid* (February 1891) reported that at a festive reception—“attended by the leaders and nobility” of the Jewish community—in his grandfather’s home, Martin apparently gave yet another bar mitzvah speech in which he concluded with a pledge “to observe all his life and with all his heart the precepts and ethical teachings of the Holy Torah.” This report is cited in an article, “Toward the History of Martin Buber,” *BeTzaron* (June 1965): 145 (Hebrew). Founded in 1840 as a “progressive” synagogue, the Lemberg “Temple,” as it was popularly called, had a choir and encouraged its rabbi to give sermons in German.

16. “Rede gehalten von Martin Buber,” 94; Friedrich Schiller, “Gedichte-Kapitel 97,” available online at <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/gedichte-9097/97> (accessed June 29, 2018).

17. Buber, “Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe,” 100.

18. Werner Kraft, *Gespräche mit Martin Buber* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1966), 129.

19. *Ibid.*, 4.

20. The late Ernst Simon, one of Buber’s closest friends, related to me that Buber defiantly claimed to have no knowledge of the Talmud. Yet, as reported by Buber’s research assistant in the early 1930s, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday Abraham Joshua Heschel gave Buber as a gift a set of the Babylonian Talmud. With palpable gratitude, he told Heschel, “All my life I

wanted the Talmud.” See Heit Yeshurun Raviv, “A Conversation with Dr. Moshe Spitzer,” *Chadarim* (Winter 1982–1983): 54 (Hebrew).

21. In his correspondence, he occasionally cites the Mishnah. In a letter to Paula of October 1902, for instance, he quotes Mishnah Hagigah 2:1, cautioning one not to probe the mysteries of existence. *Briefwechsel*, 1: 177.

22. Raviv, “Conversation with Dr. Moshe Spitzer,” 54.

23. *Meetings*, 8.

24. Eliasberg, “Aus Martin Bubers Jugendzeit,” 4.

25. Mathias Acher, *Jüdische Moderne. Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage* (Vienna: M. Breitenstein’s Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1896).

26. Jacob Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Jakob Oeri (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1898), vol. 1.

27. Eliasberg, “Aus Martin Bubers Jugendzeit,” 5.

28. Buber also wrote the foreword to the Hebrew translation of Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*, trans. J. Steinberg (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1949).

29. See Alfred V. Martin, *Nietzsche und Burckhardt. Zwei geistige Welten im Dialog*, 3rd exp. ed. (Basel: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1945).

30. “Die Kunst im Leben,” *Organ der Kunstwissenschaften Abteilung der Berliner Finkenschaft* 1, no. 1 (December 1900): 12–13.

31. *Ibid.*, 13.

32. Buber, “Jüdische Renaissance,” *Ost und West* 1, no. 1 (January 1901): cols. 7–10. For an English translation of this seminal essay, see “Jewish Renaissance,” in Gilya G. Schmidt, ed. and trans., *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 30–34. I have modified Schmidt’s translation.

33. Buber, “Jewish Renaissance,” 30.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*, 32.

37. Buber, “Feste des Lebens: Ein Bekenntnis,” *Die Welt* 5,

no. 9 (March 1, 1901): 8–9; for an English translation see “Festivals of Life: A Confession,” in Schmidt, *The First Buber*, 18–20.

38. *Ibid.*, 18.

39. *Ibid.*, 19 (emphasis added).

40. *Ibid.*, 18. (I have modified Schmidt’s translation.)

41. *Ibid.* *Erleben* denotes an emotionally affective experience.

42. *Ibid.*, 19.

43. Buber, “Feste des Lebens,” 9.

44. Buber, “Festivals of Life,” 20.

45. Buber, “Zwei Tänze aus dem Zyklus Elisha ben Abuja, genannt Acher,” in *Junge Harfen. Eine Sammlung jungjüdischer Gedichte* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1903): 31–33. Translated in Schmidt, *The First Buber*, 128–132.

46. Buber, “Das Zion der jüdische Frau. Aus einem Vortrag.” *Die Welt* 5, no. 1 (April 26, 1901): 4, reprinted with commentary in Martin Buber, *Frühe jüdische Schriften: 1900–1922*, ed. and introduced with commentary by Barbara Schäfer in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 3 (Güterlohr: Güterlehrer Verlagshaus, 2007), 71–81; Buber, “The Jewish Woman’s Zion,” in Schmidt, *The First Buber*, 111–118. The lecture, held in Vienna on April 21, 1901, was delivered before the Verein jüdischer Mädchen Hadassah.

47. *Ibid.*, 117.

48. *Ibid.*, 113; Buber, “Das Zion der jüdische Frau,” 76.

49. Buber, “The Jewish Woman’s Zion,” 113.

50. *Ibid.*, 115; Buber, “Das Zion der jüdische Frau,” 78.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Buber, “The Jewish Woman’s Zion,” 115.

53. *Ibid.*, 117.

54. *Ibid.*, 116–117.

55. *Ibid.*, 118 (I have modified the translation). Buber’s partner (later wife), Paula Winkler, wrote a lengthy essay supporting his call for Jewish women to resume their role as the pillar of the family. Significantly, although she had yet to convert, she spoke in the name of Judaism. Turning to her “fellow” Jewish women, she beseeches them to acknowledge that “Your people calls upon you,

the best of your people.” Paula Winkler, “Die jüdische Frau,” *Die Welt* 46 (November 8, 1901): 4, and *Die Welt* 46 (November 15, 1901): 6 f.

56. Addressing the Third Zionist Congress (1899), Buber declared, “Zionismus ist keine Partei-Sache, sondern eine Weltanschauung” (Zionism is not a matter of party politics, but a worldview). Cited by Hans Kohn in his *Martin Buber. Sein Werk und seine Zeit, eine Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Mitteleuropas, 1880–1930*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Joseph Melzer Verlag, 1961), 27. Also see Buber’s lecture of 1914, “Zionismus als Lebensanschauung und als Lebensform,” in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 3: 134–142.

57. Cf. the Basel Program, which outlined the objectives of Political Zionism and was adopted by the First Zionist Congress held in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897.

58. Cited in Gilya Gerda Schmidt, *Martin Buber’s Formative Years, from German Culture to Jewish Revival, 1897–1909* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995), 58.

59. Paula Winkler, “Betrachtungen einer Philozionistin [Reflections of a Philo-Zionist],” *Die Welt* 36 (September 6, 1901): 5; passage cited by Grete Schaefer in her introduction to *Letters*, 10.

60. Buber to Theodor Herzl, August 11, 1901, in *Letters*, 74.

61. Theodor Herzl to Buber, August 13, 1901, in *Letters*, 75.

62. Theodor Herzl to Buber, August 24, 1901, in *Letters*, 77.

63. Buber, “Mountaintop Bonfires: On the Occasion of the Fifth Congress,” translated in Schmidt, *The First Buber*, 15.

64. *Ibid.*, 16.

65. Cf. Buber, “Die Congresstribüne,” *Die Welt* 5, no. 36 (September 6, 1901); reprinted in Martin Buber, *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 1: 88–89; Buber, “The Congressional Platform,” in Schmidt, *The First Buber*, 26–28. As was his wont, Buber often signed his early articles as “Baruch,” that is, Baruch ben Neriah, the Prophet Jeremiah’s scribe and devoted friend. In the medieval tradition he was known as a priest and prophet.

66. Buber, “The Congressional Platform,” 26; Buber, “Die Congresstribüne,” 88.

67. Buber, “The Congressional Platform,” 27 (I have modified the translation); Buber, “Die Congresstribüne,” 88 f.

68. Ahad Ha’Am, “Nachahmung und Assimilation (Part One),” trans. Israel Friedländer, *Die Welt* 38 (September 20, 1901): 9–10; Ahad Ha’Am, “Nachahmung und Assimilation (Part Two),” *Die Welt* 39 (September 27, 1901): 4–6.

69. Herzl to Buber, September 28, 1901, in *Letters*, 77.

70. The resolution stated that “the Congress considers the cultural amelioration (*culturelle Hebung*), that is to say, the national education of the Jewish people, as one of the most important aspects of the Zionist program and obliges all fellow Zionists (*Gesinnungsgenossen*) to participate in this endeavor”; see Buber, “Ein Wort zum fünften Congreß,” *Jüdische Volksstimme* 3, no. 2 (February 15, 1902): 2. A few days prior to the congress, a group of thirty-seven *Jungzionisten*, as they called themselves, met to organize as a “study circle” to strategize how to remedy what they regarded as the “neglect of cultural work within the Zionist movement. They convened at the initiative of Chaim Weizmann, who would forty-five years later serve as the first president of the State of Israel. At the congress they had no formal name, although as explained above they were ironically known as the Democratic Fraction. See Buber, “A Word Regarding the Fifth Congress,” in *The First Buber*, 95 f.; Buber, “Ein Wort zum fünften Confreß,” *Jüdsche Volksstimme* 3, no. 2 (February 15, 1902), reprinted in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 3: 92–106.

71. Buber, “Ein Wort zum fünften Congreß,” 3.

72. Buber, “A Word Regarding the Fifth Congress,” 95 f.

73. *Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Zionisten Congresses, Basel. 26. bis 29. Dezember, 1901*, 395, cited in Michael Stanislawski, *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 108 f.

74. Cited in Buber, “A Word Regarding the Fifth Congress,” 91.

75. *Ibid.*, 99.

76. Buber, “Address on Jewish Art,” in Schmidt, *The First*

*Buber*, 46 f. I have modified the translation according to Buber, “Referat über jüdische Kunst,” *Die Welt* 6, no. 3 (January 17, 1902): 9.

77. Buber, “Address on Jewish Art,” 47.

78. *Ibid.*, 51.

79. *Ibid.*, 48 (I have modified the translation).

80. *Ibid.*, 49.

81. *Ibid.*, 59.

82. *Ibid.*, 63 f.

83. *Ibid.*, 64.

84. Buber to Paula Winkler, January 1, 1902, in *Letters*, 81; *Briefwechsel*, 1: 171. In a letter to Paula, written on the eve of the session of the Congress at which he delivered his address on “Jewish Art,” Buber reported that “a group of modernists has formed [namely, the Democratic Fraction], and I am one of their intellectual leaders—to phrase it modestly. The ancients (die Alten) are terribly scared of us, for the present more so than is justified. But today we achieved an important agenda victory, which was due chiefly to a very fiery speech by me. . . . Only this one thing more, dearest: This Congress is a turning point. We youngsters are beginning to take things under control.” Buber to Paula Winkler, December 26, 1901, in *Letters*, 81.

85. See, among other places, Buber to Herzl, July 24, 1902, in which Buber solicits a contribution to the forthcoming *Jüdischer Almanach*, the inaugural publication of the Jüdischer Verlag: “You cannot be absent from this first modern Zionist anthology” (*Letters*, 83). In his reply, dated August 10, 1902, Herzl tells Buber, “I need not tell you how glad I would be to send you a decent contribution” (*Letters*, 84).

86. While it had been Herzl’s wont to address his letters to Buber as “Dear Friend,” in response to a letter in which Buber announced that the Democratic Fraction was to organize a conference on Jewish culture in protest of how the Zionist Organization had handled the issue, Herzl would now simply open his letters to Buber with the salutation, “My dear Fellow Zionist.” See April 14, 1903, in *Letters*, 91.

87. Nordau, “Ahad Ha-am über Altneuland,” *Die Welt* 7, no. 11 (March 13, 1903): 1–5.

88. Ahad Ha’am, “Yalkut Katan,” *ba-Shiloah* 10 (December 1902): 566–578; German translation: Ahad Ha’am, “Altneuland,” *Ost und West* 3, no. 4 (April 1903): cols. 227–244.

89. Herzl to Buber, May 14, 1903, in *Letters*, 92.

90. Buber to Herzl, May 26, 1903, in *Letters*, 97.

91. Herzl to Buber, May 28, 1903, in *Letters*, 97.

92. Buber to Herzl, May 29, 1903, in *Letters*, 98.

93. In private, Herzl dismissed Buber’s conduct as puerile. In a letter to Gershom Scholem, the scholar of Hasidism Joseph Weiss, then living in London, reported that he heard “from people in-the-know and the most veteran Zionists in Vienna, that when a dispute arose between the older Herzl and the young Buber, Herzl angrily said the Buber is not a surname, but rather a ‘Komperativ.’” The meaning of *bub* in German is “boy” or “youth,” hence “Buber signifies someone who is ‘more a boy,’ in other words ‘childish’ or ‘childlike.’” Weiss to Scholem, January 6, 1957, in *Gershom Scholem–Joseph Weiss Correspondence, 1948–1964*, ed. Noam Zadoff (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2013).

94. See Barbara Schäfer, “Zur Rolle der ‘Demokratischen Fraktion’ in der Altneuland-Kontroverse,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995): 292–308.

95. Buber, “Der Jünger,” in *Jüdischer Almanach* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902), 168; Buber, “The Disciple,” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism, 1902–1965*, trans. and with an introduction by Maurice Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 40. (I have modified the translation.)

96. On Herzl being someone he had hoped to love, see Buber, “The Magi” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism*, 43.

97. Buber, ed., *Jüdische Künstler* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1903). Particularly noteworthy are Buber’s introduction to this volume and his essay on the German-Jewish Impressionist painter Lesser Ury. See also his translation from the Yiddish of David Pinski, *Eisik Scheftel. Ein jüdisches Arbeiterdrama* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1905).

98. Buber to Weizmann, October 10, 1903, in *Letters*, 103.

99. Buber, "My Way to Hasidism," in *Hasidism and Modern Man*, trans. Maurice Friedman (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1988), 49.

### Chapter 3. On the Open Seas

*Epigraph*: Buber, *Legend of the Baal-Shem*, trans. Maurice Friedman (London: Routledge, 2002), 23.

1. *Meetings*, 13.

2. Buber to Paula Winkler, August 4, 1900, in *Letters*, 72; *Briefwechsel*, 1: 156.

3. Cf. "Ich taue nicht zum Stundenmenschen," in *ibid.*

4. Buber to Paula Winkler, July 26, 1901, in *Letters*, 73; *Briefwechsel*, 1: 159. I have modified the English translation of this letter.

5. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Unzeitgemäße Betrachtungen. Erstes Stück: David Strauss der Bekenner und der Schriftsteller*, ed. Giorgio Colli und Mazzino Montinari, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Munich: De Gruyter, 1999), 169.

6. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, June 29, 1933, in *Letters*, 406.

7. Richard Rorty, *Philosophy as the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 60.

8. Buber, "Das Problem des Menschen" (1947), in Buber, *Werke Schriften zur Philosophie* (Munich: Kösel, 1962), 1: 317.

9. Cf. Wilhelm Dilthey, "The Understanding of Other Persons and Their Life-Expressions," trans. J. J. Kuehl, in Patrick Gardiner, ed., *Theories of History: Readings in Classical and Contemporary Sources* (New York: Free Press, 1959), 213-225.

10. Buber to Karlfried Gründer, n.d., cited in Gründer, "Wilhelm Diltheys Tod vor fünfundsiebzig Jahren," in *Dilthey-Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Geschichte der Geisteswissenschaften*, vol. 4, ed. Frithjof Rodi (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 226. I wish to thank Meike Siegfried for bringing this essay to my attention.

11. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Die Entstehung der Hermeneutik* (1900),



in Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1987), 320. See also Steven Kepnes, *The Text as Thou: Martin Buber's Dialogical Hermeneutics and Narrative Theology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

12. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Der junge Dilthey: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Tagebüchern, 1852–1870*, ed. C. Misch (née Dilthey), 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 140.

13. *Ibid.*, 289.

14. *Ibid.*, 290.

15. Gründer, “Wilhelm Diltheys Tod vor fünfundsiebzig Jahren,” 226f; H. P. Rickman, *Wilhelm Dilthey: Pioneer of the Human Sciences* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 41.

16. Katharina Dilthey to Buber, December 5, 1911; cited in Gründer, “Wilhelm Diltheys Tod vor fünfundsiebzig Jahren,” 227.

17. *Buch des Dankes an Georg Simmel. Briefe, Erinnerungen, Bibliographie*, ed. Kurt Gassen and Michael Landmann (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1958), 233.

18. Hans Simmel, “Auszüge aus den Lebenserinnerungen,” in *ibid.*, 256.

19. There are 78 extant letters between Buber and Gertrud Simmel, dating from her husband's death in 1916 to her passing in 1938. See Martin Buber Archive, file 729.

20. Margarete Susman, *Ich habe vielen Leben gelebt. Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1962), 53.

21. *Ibid.*, 78.

22. Judah Magnes, “The Seer of Reality in Its Fullness: For Professor Buber on His Seventieth Birthday,” *Ner* 15, nos. 10–11 (1948): 20–21 (Hebrew).

23. On Simmel's range of publications, see “Of the 180 articles published in his lifetime in various journals, newspapers, and reviews, only 64 were published in scholarly journals, while 116 appeared in non-scholarly publications destined for a wider cultivated public,” Lewis A. Coser, “The Stranger in the Academy,” in Coser, ed., *Georg Simmel* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), 34.

24. Georg Simmel to Buber, November 20, 1905, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 234.
25. Buber, “Geleitwort,” introduction to Werner Sombart, *Das Proletariat* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1906), vol. 1 of *Die Gesellschaft. Sammlung sozialpsychologischer Monographien*, 1: v–vii.
26. Buber, “Elemente des Zwischenmenschlichen,” in Buber, *Die Schriften über das dialogische Prinzip* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1954), 276.
27. Georg Simmel, *Die Religion. Die Gesellschaft*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1906).
28. Personal communication by Buber’s son, Rafael Buber, ca. 1985.
29. Landauer, “Durch Absonderung zur Gemeinschaft,” *Das Reich der Erfüllung* (Journal of the Neue Gemeinschaft) 2 (1901): 48.
30. Buber, “Alte und neue Gemeinschaft.” The text of this lecture was to be published in the never-realized third issue of *Das Reich der Erfüllung*. It is now available in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe* vol. 2.1: *Mythos und Mystik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013), 61–66.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. Gustav Landauer, *Skepsis und Mystik. Versuche im Anschluss an Mauthners Sprachkritik* (Berlin: F. Fontane, 1903), 69, 78.
34. Erich Mühsam, *Unpolitische Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1961), 44.
35. *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, ed. Martin Buber in collaboration with Ina Britschgi-Schimmer (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1929), 1: vi f.

#### Chapter 4. From Publicist to Author

1. Buber’s record of studies at Nationalen Universitätsarchiv, Vienna, is cited in Margaret Olin, *The Nation without Art: Examining the Modern Discourse on Jewish Art* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 105.

2. The letter is cited in Hans Kohn, *Martin Buber. Sein Werk und seine Zeit, eine Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Mitteleuropas, 1880–1930*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Joseph Melzer Verlag, 1961), 306. This envisioned volume was never realized.

3. Buber to Chaim Weizmann, December 12, 1902, in *Letters*, 86.

4. Cited in Kohn, *Martin Buber*, 309.

5. Buber, “Die Duse in Florenz,” *Die Schaubühne* 1, no. 25 (December 14, 1905): 422–424. Partially translated in Maurice Friedman, *Martin Buber and the Theater* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 10. The “threat of the infinite” so haunted Buber as a lad of fourteen that he contemplated suicide. Cf. Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. Maurice Friedman (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 136.

6. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, April 16, 1936, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 589.

7. Riegel and Wickhoff served as the examiners of Buber’s initial and ill-fated doctoral oral in art history. Wickhoff and the classical archaeologist Emil Reisch administered the repeat exam. See Olin, *Nation without Art*, 104 f.

8. The priority he gave to completing *Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman* may have also been prompted by a desire to see the volume in print before his gravely ill grandfather passed away.

9. Cited in Kohn, *Martin Buber*, 309 f.

10. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, May 28, 1925, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 221. He specifically referred to his foreword to *Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman* (1906) and his preface to volume one of *Die Gesellschaft* (1906) as inaugurating his career as an author.

11. *Ibid.*

12. See Rafael Buber, “Die Buber-Familie. Erinnerungen,” in R. Buber, *Dialog mit Martin Buber*, ed. Werner Licharz (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag & Herchen, 1982), 347. Before finding this spacious apartment, Buber and his family lived for a time near Landauer, in the Hermsdorf district of Berlin.

13. A. Frommhold, ed., *Hundertundzehn Jahre Verlag Rütten und Loening: 1848–1954* (Berlin: Rütten und Loening, 1954), 60 f.

14. R. Schmützler, *Art Nouveau*, trans. E. Roditi (New York: Abrams, 1964), 276.
15. Buber to Hugo von Hoffmannstahl, March 15, 1906, in *Letters*, 109 f. (emphasis added).
16. Buber to Horodetsky, July 7, 1906, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 104 (emphasis added). On Landauer's "translation," see Chapter 3.
17. Dubnow to Buber, February 17, 1907, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 253.
18. Buber, "My Way to Hasidism," in Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, ed. and trans. Maurice Friedman (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1988), 53–55.
19. Buber, "Hasidism and Modern Man," in Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, 14.
20. *Ibid.*, 16.
21. "Weisst Du es Noch . . . ?" was inscribed in the copy of *Erzählung der Chassidim* (Zürich: Manesse-Bibliothek der Weltliteratur, 1949) that Buber gave Paula. Translated in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902–1965*, ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 50–51.
22. Cited without noting to whom it was addressed, in Kohn, *Martin Buber*, 310 (emphasis added).
23. Introduction to *The Legend of the Baal-Shem*, trans. M. Friedman (New York: Schocken, 1955), 13.
24. Buber, ed., *Jüdische Künstler* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1903), 5.
25. *Ibid.*
26. David Pinski, *Eisik Schafter. Ein jüdisches Arbeiterdarma in Drei Akten: Autorisierte Übertragung aus dem jüdischen Manuskript von Martin Buber* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1903), 1 f.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Buber, "My Way to Hasidism," 48–49.
29. Buber to Paula Winkler, May 14, 1900, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 155 f.
30. *Ibid.*
31. See, for instance, Salomon Buber to Martin Buber, November 26, 1906, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 248.

32. Moshe Hayyim Ephraim Bloch, “Martin Buber and His Fathers.” *Ha-Doar* 45 (August 20, 1965): 632 (Hebrew).
33. Salomon Buber to Martin Buber, February 5, 1905, translated from Yiddish in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 229.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Carl Buber to Martin Buber, February 6, 1908, in *Letters*, 114.
36. Buber to Eugen Diederichs, June 16, 1907, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 256.
37. Buber to Eugen Diederichs, June 20, 1907, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 257.
38. Cf. “Das Ganze hat für mich einen durchaus episodischen Charakter und kann ebensogut warten oder ganz unterbleiben.” Buber to Eugen Diederichs, June 20, 1907, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 257.
39. Cited in Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Ecstatic Confessions: The Heart of Mysticism*, trans. E. Cameron (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1985), 1–11.
40. Georg Simmel, *Verhandlungen des ersten deutschen Soziologentages von 19–23 Oktober 1910* (Tübingen: Schriften der deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie, 1911), 206–207.
41. Editor’s “Foreword,” in Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays*, trans. and ed. Maurice S. Friedman (New York: Schocken, 1957), ix.
42. Buber, *The Legend of the Baal-Shem*, 11.
43. *Ibid.*
44. In 1910 the volume was published in Leipzig by Insel Verlag.
45. Reminiscence of Rafael Buber related to me in a personal conversation, ca. 1985. See also Jonathan R. Herman, “The Mysterious Mr. Wang: The Search for Martin Buber’s Confucian Ghostwriter,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 37 (2009): 73–79.
46. The Chinese ghost and love stories were published in 1911 in Frankfurt by Rütten & Loening.
47. Buber to Landauer, September 1912, Martin Buber Archive, file 62d.
48. Cited by Martin Tremml in his commentary to the critical

edition of *Daniel*, in *Martin Buber: Frühe kulturkritische und philosophische Schriften, 1891–1924* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 319.

49. Cited by Treml in his introduction to Buber, *Daniel*; *ibid.*, 66.

50. Buber, *Daniel*, 56 (emphasis added).

51. *Ibid.*, 53 f. (German text: 186).

52. *Ibid.*, 54 f.

53. *Ibid.*, 59 (German text: 190).

54. *Ibid.*, 133.

55. See Chapter 1.

56. Buber, *Daniel*, 134.

57. *Ibid.*, 135.

58. *Annale de l'Université de Paris*, 28 Année 4 (1958): 503 f.

59. Gustav Landauer to Buber, July 27, 1912, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 306.

60. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (N.p., 1872), paras. 17 and 23.

61. “Martin Buber,” *Neue Blätter des Festspielhaus Hellerau* 3, nos. 1–2 (“Buber Heft”) (1913): 90–107; reprinted in *Gustav Landauer. Werkausgabe*, vol. 3: *Dichter, Ketzer, Außenseiter. Essays und Reden zu Literature, Philosophie, Judentum*, ed. Hanna Delf (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 165.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Rainer Maria Rilke, *Briefe an seine Verleger* (Leipzig: Insel, 1934), 180, 182.

64. Gershom Scholem to Erich Brauer, November 3, 1917, in Gershom Scholem, *Briefe*, vol. 1: 1914–1917, ed. Itta Schedletzky (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1994), 122 (emphasis added).

## Chapter 5. Prague

1. Quotations in this and the following paragraph are from Leo Herrmann to Buber, November 14, 1908, in *Letters*, 118 f.; *Briefwechsel*, 1: 268 f.

2. Letter, dated Christmas 1905, cited without noting to whom it was addressed by Hans Kohn in his biography *Martin*

*Buber. Sein Werk und seine Zeit, eine Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Mitteleuropas, 1880–1930*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Joseph Melzer Verlag, 1961), 309.

3. Buber, “My Way to Hasidism,” in *Hasidism and Modern Man*, trans. M. Friedman (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1988), 20 f.

4. Buber, “Drei Stationen (1929),” in Buber, *Kampf um Israel. Reden und Schriften, 1921–1932* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933), 223 f. On the third stage, see Chapter 7. The third stage would be marked by the affirmation of a transcendent God whom one “meets”—as opposed to “experiences”—in response to His address.

5. Buber’s note to Hermann, “Forty-Five Years Ago,” in *Prague and Jerusalem: A Book in Memory of Leo Herrmann*, ed. Felix Weltsch (Jerusalem: Keren Ha-Yesod, n.d. [1955]), 143 (Hebrew).

6. *Ibid.*

7. Gershom Scholem, “Martin Buber,” *Haaretz*, February 6, 1953; reprinted in *Dvarim be-Go*, ed. Avraham Shapira (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1976), 456 f. (Hebrew).

8. Buber, “Forty-Five Years Ago.”

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*, 78.

11. Kafka to Felice, January 16 and 19, 1913, in *Letters to Felice*, ed. Erich Heller and Jürgen Bore (New York: Schocken, 1973), 157, 161. In the letter to Felice, Kafka was actually referring to a lecture, “Myth in Judaism,” that Buber delivered after the publication of *Drei Reden*, which he also attended.

12. *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 3: *Frühe jüdische Schriften, 1900–1922*, ed. and introduced with commentary by Barbara Schäfer (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007), 415.

13. Hermann, “Aus Tagebuchblättern,” *Der Jude. Sonderhaft zu Bubers 50. Geburtstag* (special edition for Buber’s fiftieth birthday) (1928): 161.

14. Buber, “Erneuerung des Judentums,” in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, 3: 240.

15. *Ibid.*, 244; Buber, “Renewal of Judaism,” in Buber, *On*

*Judaism*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer, trans. Eva Jospe (New York: Schocken, 1967), 34 f.

16. Buber, "Renewal of Judaism," 34.

17. Buber, "Erneuerung des Judentums," 3: 238.

18. Buber, "Renewal of Judaism," 35; *ibid.*

19. Buber, "Judaism and Mankind" (second of the three addresses), in Buber, *On Judaism*, 27.

20. Buber, "Renewal of Judaism," 36; Buber, "Erneuerung des Judentums," 3: 239.

21. Buber, "Judaism and the Jews" (first of the three addresses), in Buber, *On Judaism*, 17.

22. *Ibid.*, 19.

23. Cited *ibid.* Heimann was the leading spirit of Berlin's *Donnestagsgesellschaft*, an open discussion group which met on Thursday mornings at a café on Berlin's fashionable Kurfürstendamm. In addition to Buber, its members included, among others, the Hebrew writer Micha Joseph Berdyczewski; the artists Emil Orlik and E. R. Weiß; the writers Gerhard Hauptmann, Emil Strauß, and Alfred Mombert; and Walter Rathenau. See Kohn, *Martin Buber*, 313.

24. Buber, "Judaism and the Jews," 19.

25. Richard Beer-Hofmann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Verlag, 1963), 654 (emphasis in original).

26. Buber, "Judaism and the Jews," 13.

27. Buber, "Renewal of Judaism," 39.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Buber, "Judaism and Mankind," 31.

30. Buber, "Judaism and the Jews," 19-20 (emphasis in original).

31. The lectures were, namely, "Myth in Judaism" (January 16, 1913) and "Jewish Religiosity" (May 3, 1914). See Buber to Elijah Rapperport, May 6, 1914, in which Buber cites the latter as the most important of his Prague lectures; in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 359. Cf. "Buber's connection with the Bar Kochba Zionist Student Association of Prague lasted over many years and was for both of utmost significance. . . . For the thoroughly assimilated West Euro-



pean Jewish youth who joined the Bar Kochba, Buber became their guide to Judaism, a teacher who broadened their spiritual life and spurred them to [plumb] its depth.” Kohn, *Martin Buber*, 90.

32. Hans Kohn, “Geleitwort,” in *Vom Judentum. Ein Sammelbuch vom Verein Jüdischer Hochschüler Bar Kochba in Prag* (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1913), viii.

33. *Ibid.*, vi.

34. *Ibid.*, viii.

35. The essay was first published posthumously in Franz Rosenzweig, *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937), 278–290.

36. Kohn, *Martin Buber*, ch. 2.

37. Buber, “Elements of the Inter-Human,” trans. R. G. Smith, in Buber, *Knowledge of Man. Selected Essays*, ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 86 f.; Buber, “Elemente des Zwischenmenschlichen,” in Buber, *Das dialogische Prinzip* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1979), 295 (I have emended the translation slightly).

38. Buber to Frederik van Eeden, April 3, 1930, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 369 f.

39. Excerpt from Frederik van Eeden’s diary cited in *Praemium Erasmanum, MCM-LXIII, Inveniemus Viam Aut Faciemus* (Amsterdam, 1963), 86 f.

40. “Dialogue,” in Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. R. G. Smith, introduction by Maurice Friedman (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 5 ff.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Florens Christian Rang to van Eeden, August 24, 1914, cited in Christine Holste, “Menschen von Potsdam—der Forte-Kreis (1910–1915),” in *Der Postdamer Forte-Kreis. Eine utopische Intellektuellenassoziation zur europäischen Friedenssicherung*, ed. Richard Faber and Christine Holse (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2001), 23.

43. Florens Christian Rang to Buber, September 18, 1914, continued September 21, 1914, in *Letters*, 157–159 (I have emended the translation).

44. Buber to Hans Kohn, September 30, 1914, in *Letters*, 160.
45. Georg Simmel to Margarete Susman, September 21, 1914, cited in *Aufgesplatenem Pfad. Ein Festschrift zum neunzigsten Geburtstag Margarete Susman*, ed. Manfred Schlösser (Darmstadt: Erato-Press, 1964), 308 f.
46. Frederik van Eeden sent, in fact, two circular letters, dated August 10 and September 19, 1914, respectively. To the latter, he attached a German-language article that he had published in a Dutch newspaper: "Offener Brief an unsere deutschen Freunde," *De Amsterdammer: Weekblad voor Nederland*, September 1, 1914.
47. Buber to Frederik van Eeden, October 16, 1914, in *Letters*, 164.
48. Buber, *Daniel: Dialogues on Realization*, trans. Maurice Friedman (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 115 f.
49. Buber to van Eeden, October 16, 1914, 165.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, 163.
52. *Ibid.*, 165.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, 164.
55. Buber, "Richtung soll kommen," *Masken* 10, no. 11 (1915): 173.
56. Buber, "Bewegung: Aus einem Brief an einen Holländer," *Der neue Merkur* 1, nos. 10-11 (1915): 491.
57. Buber to Frederik van Eeden, October 16, 1914, in *Letters*, 165.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Buber to Gustav Landauer, October 18, 1914, in *Letters*, 167.
60. Gustav Landauer and Buber to Forte Circle, end of November 1914, in *Letters*, 167-168.
61. Buber to Frederik van Eeden, September 8, 1915, in *Letters*, 177-178.
62. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, September 8, 1915, in *Letters*, 177.
63. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, September 10, 1915, in *Letters*, 178 f. (The translation has been slightly modified.)

64. Gustav Landauer to Buber, May 14, 1916, in *Letters*, 188–192.
65. Buber, “Der Geist des Orients und das Judentum,” in *Vom Geist des Judentums* (Leipzig: Kurt Wolff, 1916), 47–48. In the second edition of this volume, published after the war in 1919, this passage is deleted.
66. Landauer to Buber, *Letters*, May 14, 1916, 189 (emphasis added).
67. Gustav Landauer to Hedwig Lachmann (Landauer), April 3, 1915, in *Landauer: Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, ed. M. Buber (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1929), 2: 63 f.
68. Buber, “Zum Gedächtnis” (1915), in Buber, *Jüdische Bewegung. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Ansprachen, 1900–1915*, 1st ed. (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1916), 1: 248.
69. “Tempelweihe,” in *Jüdischer Rundschau* 10–11 (January 1915): 73–74; reprinted in Buber, *Jüdische Bewegung*, 1: 232.
70. *Ibid.*, 1: 236 f.
71. *Ibid.*, 1: 242.
72. *Ibid.*, 1: 241.
73. *Ibid.*, 1: 238.
74. *Ibid.*, 1: 240.
75. *Ibid.*, 1: 241.
76. “Die Losung,” *Der Jude* 1, no. 1 (April 1916): 2; reprinted in Buber, *Jüdische Bewegung*, 2: 7–15.
77. Gustav Landauer to Buber, May 12, 1916, in *Letters*, 190.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*, 191.
80. “An die Prager Freunde,” in *Das Jüdische Prag. Eine Sammelschrift* (Prague: Selbstwehr Verlag, 1917); reprinted in Buber, *Jüdische Bewegung*, 2: 74.
81. *Ibid.*

## Chapter 6. Heir to Landauer’s Legacy

1. Buber to Moritz Goldstein, February 4, 1917, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 207.

2. Stefan Zweig to Buber, undated but presumably at the end of January 1918, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 524 f.
3. Buber to Stefan Zweig, February 4, 1918, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 525 f. (emphasis added).
4. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, February 3, 1918, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 526 f.
5. Ibid.
6. Shmuel Yosef Agnon, *Me'Atzmi el'Atzmi* (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1965), 271 (Hebrew).
7. Ibid., 272.
8. On the concept of the *Endziel* and its role in the ideological discourse of the pre-state Zionism, see Ben Halpern, *The Idea of the Jewish State*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).
9. Buber, "Begriffe und Wirklichkeit. Brief an Hermann Cohen," *Der Jude* 1, no. 5 (August 1916), reprinted in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 3: *Frühe jüdische Schriften, 1900–1922*, ed. Barbara Schäfer (Güterslohr: Güterslohrer Verlagshaus, 2007), 300 (emphasis in original).
10. Ibid., 303 (emphasis added).
11. Gustav Landauer, "Sind das Ketzergedanken?" in *Vom Judentum: Ein Sammelbuch* (Leipzig, 1913): 250–257.
12. Buber to Gustav Landauer, October 15, 1916, in *Letters*, 200.
13. Buber, "Unser Nationalismus," *Der Jude* 2, nos. 1–2 (April/May 1917): 3.
14. Cited in Hans Kohn, *Martin Buber: Sein Werk und seine Zeit, eine Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Mitteleuropas, 1880–1930*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Joseph Melzer Verlag, 1961), 46.
15. See Eleonore Lappin, *Der Jude, 1916–1928. Jüdische Moderne zwischen Universalismus und Partikularismus* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 22–30.
16. Personal communication by Rafael Buber, ca. 1985.
17. Gershom Scholem, "Jüdische Jugendbewegung," *Der Jude* 1, no. 20 (June 1916): 822–825.
18. Walter Benjamin to Buber, July 1916, in *Letters*, 197.

19. Cf. “Scholem remembers that ‘Buber made an angry remark about [Benjamin’s] letter . . . when we once met in the winter of 1916.” Cited in Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, *Walter Benjamin: A Critical Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), 689, n. 15.

20. Franz Kafka to Buber, November 29, 1915, in *Letters*, 182.

21. Franz Kafka to Buber, May 12, 1917, in *Letters*, 217. The two stories—“Jackals and Arabs” and “A Report to the Academy”—appeared respectively in the October and November 1917 issues of *Der Jude*.

22. “Kulturarbeit,” *Der Jude* 1, no. 12 (March 1917): 792–793 (emphasis added).

23. Buber, “Gustav Landauer,” *Die Zeit* (Vienna), June 11, 1904, 127 f.

24. Gustav Landauer to Buber, January 1917, Martin Buber Archive, file 184/1.

25. Lotte, as Landauer affectionately called her, was the offspring of his first marriage. See Buber, “Gedenkworte zu Charlotte Landauer-Kornstein,” August 16, 1927, Karlsruhe, and “16 August 1927,” Martin Buber Archive, both in file *bei* 70.

26. Julius Bab, *Gustav Landauer. Gedächtnis eines einsamen Revolutionäre* (Leipzig: Rütten & Loening, 1929), 10.

27. Gustav Landauer, “Die Legende des Baal-Schem,” *Das literarische Echo* 13, no. 2 (October 1, 1919): 148.

28. Gustav Landauer to Buber, May 10, 1918, in *Letters*, 231.

29. For the anthology, see Hedwig Lachmann, *Gesammelte Gedichte: Eigenes und Nachdichtungen* (Potsdam: Gustav Keipenheuer Verlag, 1919).

30. Gustav Landauer to Hans Franck, August 29, 1918, in *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, ed. Martin Buber (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1929), 2: 261.

31. Cf. Gustav Landauer to Auguste Hauschner, July 22, 1918, in *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, 2: 252.

32. Gustav Landauer to Fritz Mauthner, October 22, 1918, in *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, 2: 286.

33. Kurt Eisner to Landauer, November 11, 1918, in *Gustav Landauer. Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, 2: 296, fn. 1.
34. Gustav Landauer to Buber, November 15, 1918, in *Letters*, 232.
35. Gustav Landauer to Buber, November 22, 1918, in *Letters*, 234.
36. Buber, “Recollection of a Death,” in Buber, *Pointing the Way. Collected Essays*, trans. Maurice Friedman (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 119.
37. Buber to Ludwig Strauss, February 22, 1919, in *Letters*, 242.
38. Ibid.
39. Bab, *Gustav Landauer*, 15.
40. Else Eisner to Ina Britschigi-Schimmer, March 27, 1927, cited in Ulrich Linse, “‘Poetic Anarchism’ versus ‘Party Anarchism’: Gustav Landauer and the Anarchist Movement in Wilhelmian Germany,” in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Anya Mali, eds., in collaboration with Hanna Delf von Wolzogen, *Gustav Landauer: Anarchist and Jew* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), 58.
41. Buber, “Landauer und die Revolution,” *Masken: Halbmonatschrift des Düsseldorfer Schauspielhauses* 14, nos. 18–19 (1919): 291. The frontispiece of this edition of the journal reproduces a full-color photograph of the Brescia mural.
42. From an undated conversation between Grete Schaefer and Buber; introduction to *Letters*, 24.
43. Gustav Landauer’s unpublished testament, dated February 22, 1918, can be found in the Martin Buber Archive, file 432/169.
44. Ibid.
45. Gustav Landauer, *Der werdende Mensch: Aufsätze über Leben und Schriftum*, ed. M. Buber (Potsdam: Kiepenheuer, 1921); Gustav Landauer, *Beginnen: Aufsätze über Sozialismus* (Köln: Marcan-Block, 1924); Gustav Landauer, *Sein Lebensgang in Briefen*, ed. M. Buber in collaboration with Ina Britschigi-Schimmer, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1929).
46. See Martin Buber, *Der heilige Weg* (Frankfurt, 1919);

“Landauer und die Revolution,” *Masken* 16, nos. 28-29 (1919): 282-291; “Der heimliche Führer,” *Die Arbeit* 2, no. 6 (1920), 36-37; “Erinnerung an einen Tod,” *Neue Wege* 23, no. 2 (1929): 161-165; and the chapter on Landauer in Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (London: R. F. C. Hull, 1949). Buber also published several essays on Landauer in Hebrew. On Landauer’s philosophy, see also Ruth Link-Salinger (Hyman), *Gustav Landauer: Philosopher of Utopia* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1977), 52-54; and Eugene Lunn, *Prophet of Community: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 251-252, 271-273.

47. Martin Buber, *Der Heilige Weg. Ein Worter an die Juden und an die Völker* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1919).

48. Buber, “The Holy Way,” trans. in Buber, *On Judaism*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1967), 112.

49. *Ibid.*, 113.

50. *Ibid.*, 108 f.

51. *Ibid.*, 110.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*, 134-135.

54. *Ibid.*, 136.

55. *Ibid.*, 141.

56. Buber to Siegmund Kaznelson, July 9, 1917, in *Briefwechsel*, 1: 502.

57. Buber to Robert Weltsch, June 14, 1920, in *Letters*, 254.

58. Buber to S. H. Bergmann, January 21, 1919, in *Letters*, 241 f.

#### Chapter 7. A Reverential *Apikoros*

*Epigraph*: Adele Rosenzweig to Martin Buber, February 2, 1928 (on the occasion of Buber’s fiftieth birthday), Martin Buber Archive, file 635.

1. Franz Rosenzweig, *Zeit ists. Gedanken über das jüdische Bildungsproblem des Augenblicks* (Berlin, 1917); Franz Rosenzweig, “It Is Time: Concerning the Study of Judaism,” in Rosenzweig,

*On Jewish Learning*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1965), 27–54; see Rosenzweig to Buber, undated, in *Letters*, 247.

2. Franz Rosenzweig, *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. Edith Rosenzweig (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937), 278–290.

3. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, undated, presumably at the end of August 1919, *Letters*, 247 f.

4. Ibid.

5. Ernst Simon to Buber, October 18, 1921, in *Letters*, 260 f.

6. Franz Rosenzweig to Rudolf Hallo, beginning of 1922, in Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 2: 864.

7. At the time, “conservative Judaism” referred to orthodox congregations in Germany that remained in the organized Jewish community and did not follow those that withdrew to establish a separate orthodox community, the so-called *Austrittsgemeinde*.

8. Rosenzweig to Hallo, beginning of 1922.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 865.

11. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, December 8, 1921, in *Letters*, 262.

12. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, January 25, 1922, in *Letters*, 264.

13. Ibid.

14. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, September 28, 1922, in *Letters*, 288; Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 830 f.

15. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, September 29, 1922, in Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 831.

16. As Rosenzweig put it, “Das Sprechen werde ich ihn in Frankfurt richtig lehren.” See Franz Rosenzweig to Edith Rosenzweig, January 1, 1922, in Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 737.

17. The comments by Simon here and in the next paragraph are from Ernst Simon to Buber, November 2, 1923, in *Letters*, 306–310.

18. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, November 14, 1923, in *Letters*, 310.



19. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, November 20, 1923, in Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 930 f.
20. Buber to Rosenzweig, September 14, 1922, in *Letters*, 280.
21. Rosenzweig to Buber, undated letter, in *Letters*, 280.
22. Buber, "Religion as Presence," trans. Esther Cameron, in Rivka Horwitz, *Buber's Way to "I and Thou": The Development of Martin Buber's Thought and His "Religion of Presence" Lectures* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988), 31.
23. *Ibid.*, 51, 33.
24. *Ibid.*, 31.
25. *Ibid.*, 32.
26. *Ibid.*, 131.
27. Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption*, trans. William Halloin (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 205. On the underlining of Buber's copy, see Horwitz, *Buber's Way to "I and Thou,"* 131, fn. 17.
28. Buber and Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (Berlin: Schocken, 1936), 64.
29. Buber to Gustav Landauer, August 9, 1913, *Letters*, 150.
30. Buber, "Religion und Gottesherrschaft," *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 27, 1923; "Religion in God's Rule," in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902-1965*, trans. M. Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 110 f.
31. "Preface to the 1923 Edition" of Buber's "Early Addresses on Judaism (1909-1918)," in Buber, *On Judaism*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer, trans. Eva Jospe (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 3-10.
32. As Buber explained it, the concept of meeting (or encounter) arose "on the road of my thinking out of criticism of the concept of *Erlebnis*, to which I adhered in my youth, hence out of radical self-correction. 'Erlebnis' belongs to the exclusive, individualized psychic sphere. . . . The psychological reduction of being, its psychologizing, had a destructive effect on me in my youth because it removed from me the foundation of human reality, the 'to-one-another.' Only much later . . . did I win a reality that cannot be lost." See Buber, "Replies to My Critics," in *The Philosophy of Martin Buber*, part of the *Library of Living Philosophers*,

- vol. 12, ed. Paul Arthur Schlipp and Maurice Friedman (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1967), 711 f.
33. Buber, “Religion as Presence,” 112.
  34. Buber, “Preface of 1923,” 6.
  35. Buber, “Religion as Presence,” 89.
  36. Buber, “Replies to My Critics,” 693.
  37. J. L. Borges, *This Craft of Verse: The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures, 1967–1968* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 31 f.
  38. Franz Rosenzweig, “The New Thinking” (1925), cited in *Franz Rosenzweig: His Life and Thought*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer, 3rd ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1998), 199 f.
  39. *Ibid.*, 197.
  40. Franz Rosenzweig, diary entry, December 9, 1906, cited in *ibid.*; Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 1: 67.
  41. Franz Rosenzweig to Gertrud Oppenheim, August 29, 1922, cited in *Franz Rosenzweig*, 116 f.
  42. Buber, “Rosenzweig und Existenz,” *Mitteilungsblatt des “Irgun Olej Merkaz Europa”* (Tel Aviv), December 28, 1956.
  43. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, August 19, 1922, in *Letters*, 271.
  44. Franz Rosenzweig to Eugen Mayer, January 23, 1923; Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 883.
  45. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, January 12, 1923, in Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, 2: 878–881 (partially translated in *Franz Rosenzweig*, 127 f.).
  46. *Ibid.*
  47. *Ibid.*
  48. Buber to Rosenzweig, undated, but before January 18, 1923, in *Letters*, 296.
  49. Buber, *Reden über das Judentum* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1923).
  50. Gershom Scholem, September 10, 1916, in Scholem, *Tagebücher, 1913–1917*, ed. K. Gründer and F. Niewöhner (Frankfurt a.M.: Jüdischer Verlag, 1995), 1: 397 f.
  51. Buber, “Jüdisches leben,” *Jerubaal* 1, nos. 1–2 (April 1918):

1-8, 45-49, reprinted in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 8: *Schriften zu Jugend, Erziehung und Bildung*, ed. Juliane Jacobi (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2005), 93-103.

52. Buber, "Herut: On Jewish Youth and Religion," trans. in Buber, *On Judaism*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1967), 149-174.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Babylonian Talmud, *Brakbot*, 64.

56. Franz Rosenzweig, "Die Bauleute," *Der Jude* (August 1924). The essay was actually written the previous summer. In the fall of 1925 it was published as a brochure.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. See Buber, "Offenbarung und Gesetz," *Almanach des Schocken Verlag auf das Jahr 5697* (1936/1937). The correspondence is translated in Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, 109-118.

60. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, October 1, 1922, in *Letters*, 290.

61. Ibid.

62. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, June 3, 1925, in *Letters*, 327.

63. Published in serial form in the Hebrew daily *Davar* from November 23, 1941, to January 10, 1942.

64. Buber, *For the Sake of Heaven: A Chronicle*, a translation of the German version of *Gog and Magog* by Ludwig Lewisohn (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1953), x.

65. Ibid., 101.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., 102.

68. Ibid., 103.

69. Ibid.

70. Lambert Schneider, "Meine erste Begegnung mit Martin Buber," in *75 Jahre Sachse & Heinzelmann. Ein kleiner Almanach zum 1. November 1955*, ed. Margarete Jockush (Hanover: Buchhandlung Sachse & Heinzelmann, 1955), 21-24.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Cited in *Franz Rosenzweig*, 149.

74. Ibid.

75. Nahum N. Glatzer (1903–1990) served as Rosenzweig’s and Buber’s research assistant in identifying and collecting the classical Jewish commentaries on given biblical passages. Personal communication, spring 1985.

76. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, September 21, 1925, in Glatzer, *Franz Rosenzweig*, 151.

77. Undated letter, cited in Buber, “Aus den Anfängen unserer Schriftübersetzung,” in Buber and Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936), 328.

78. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, September 29, 1925, in *Letters*, 334.

79. Cf. Buber’s translation of Psalm 40:8 (“zu deinen Willen, mein Gott, begehre ich, deine Weisung ist mir drinnen im Eingeweid”) to Luther’s: “Deinen Willen, mein Gott, thu ich gerne, und deinen Gesetz hab ich in meinem Herzen.”

80. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, “end of December 1926,” cited in *Franz Rosenzweig*, 155.

81. Wilhelm Michel, *Martin Buber. Sein Gang in der Wirklichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1925), 12.

#### Chapter 8. The Tragic Grace of Everyday Reality

1. Buber, “Drei Stationen,” *Judisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm) (June 27, 1929): 20; reprinted in Buber, *Kampf um Israel: Reden und Schriften, 1921–1932* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933), 223.

2. Ibid.

3. Wilhelm Michel, *Martin Buber: Sein Gang in die Wirklichkeit* (Frankfurt a.M.: Rütten & Loening, 1925), 12.

4. Registered November 26, 1935. Private archive of the Martin Buber Literary Estate.

5. Buber to Thomas Mann, September 30, 1941, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 47–49.

6. Thomas Mann to Buber, December 14, 1941, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 55.

7. It was subsequently published in German in 1953 by Lambert Schneider Verlag of Heidelberg.
8. Ernst Bloch, *Geist der Utopie*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Paul Cas-sirer, 1923), 330.
9. Martin Buber Archive, file *beb* 22.
10. Rosenzweig to Buber, March 19, 1924, in *Letters*, 311.
11. Rosenzweig, “Apologetisches Denken,” *Der Jude* 7 (1923): 460.
12. Of the ninety classes held at the Lehrhaus from 1920 to 1926, approximately one-third were on Christianity.
13. Buber, “Bericht und Berichtigung,” *Der Jude*, special edition: *Judentum und Deutschtum* (1926): 87.
14. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, July 27, 1925, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 232.
15. Buber, “Dis Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung,” in Buber, *Werke*, vol. 2: *Schriften zur Bibel* (Munich: Kösel, 1964), 1182.
16. Buber, “Die Mächtigkeit des Geistes,” lecture delivered at the Frankfurt Lehrhaus, available in English as “The Power of the Spirit,” in Buber, *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis*, trans. Olga Marx et al. (New York: Schocken, 1948), 180 ff.
17. Cf. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, *Walter Benjamin: A Critical Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2014), 155.
18. Florens Rang to Buber, March 14, 1924, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 187 (emphasis in original).
19. Lambert Schneider to Buber, June 19, 1925, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 223 f.
20. Viktor von Weizsäcker, “Begegnungen und Entscheidungen,” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. P. Achilles et al. (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1986), 1: 213.
21. “Vorwort,” *Die Kreatur* 1, no. 1 (1926). Although composed by Buber, the editorial preface was signed also by Wittig and Weizsäcker.
22. Buber, “Zwiesprache,” *Die Kreatur* 3, no. 3 (1929): 222.
23. Walter Benjamin to Buber, February 23, 1927, in *Letters*, 350.
24. Walter Benjamin to Buber, July 26, 1927, in *Letters*, 351 f.

The article was Walter Benjamin, “Moskau,” *Die Kreatur* 2 (1927–1928): 71 ff.

25. Buber, “The Spirit of Israel and the World of Today,” in Buber, *Israel and the World*, 192.

26. K. L. Schmidt and M. Buber, “Kirche, Staat, Volk, Judentum: Zwiegespräch im jüdischen Lehrhaus in Stuttgart am 14. Januar 1933,” *Theologische Blätter* 12, no. 9 (September 1933): 257–274.

27. The director of Stuttgart Lehrhaus, Leopold Marx, conducted a voluminous (unpublished) correspondence with Buber on the activities of the Lehrhaus. See Martin Buber Archive, file 478.

28. Ibid.

29. All quotations from this dialogue, here and in the following paragraphs, are from Schmidt and Buber, “Kirche, Staat, Volk, Judentum.”

30. “Der jüdische Mensch von heute,” *Almanach des Schocken Verlags auf das Jahr 5694* (1933–1934): 5.

31. Buber gave the following title to a collection of his speeches and articles from the first three years of the Third Reich: *Die Stunde und die Erkenntnis. Reden und Aufsätze, 1933–1935* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936).

32. Judith Buber Agassi, “Nachwort,” in Georg Munk (Paula Judith Buber), *Muckensturm. Ein Jahr im Leben einer kleinen Stadt* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008), 651–657.

33. “Die Kinder,” *Jüdische Rundschau* (May 30, 1933); “The Children,” trans. Harry Zohn, in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 225–228 (I have modified the translation).

34. Ibid., 227; Buber, *Schriften zu Jugend, Erziehung und Bildung. Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 8, ed. Juliane Jacobi (Güterslohr: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 235–237, translated in Rollins and Zohn, *Men of Dialogue*, 225–228. (I have modified the translation.)

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. These comments were made by Buber at a conference of Jewish educators in May 1934. Cited in Ernst Simon, *Aufbau im Untergang. Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland als geistiger Widerstand* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1959), 45.

39. Ibid., 42; Rosenzweig, "It Is Time: Concerning the Study of Judaism," in Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1955), 26-54.

40. Rosenzweig, "Bildung und kein Ende," in Rosenzweig, *Der Mensch und sein Werk. Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 3 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), 491. Translated under the title "Towards a Renaissance of Jewish Learning," the essay is included in Rosenzweig, *On Jewish Learning*, 55-71.

41. Buber, "Ein jüdisches Lehrhaus," an announcement of the forthcoming reopening of the Lehrhaus, published in *Frankfurter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (November 1933), reprinted in Buber, *Schriften zu Jugend*, 8: 249.

42. Buber, "Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung," *Rundbrief* 1 (June 13, 1934), reprinted in Buber, *Schriften zu Jugend*, 8: 256.

43. Buber, "Ein Hinweis für Bibelkurse," *Rundbrief* (January 1936), cited in Simon, *Aufbau im Untergang*, 67.

44. Buber, "Bildung und Weltanschauung," *Der Morgen* (February 1935), reprinted in Buber, *Schriften zu Jugend*, 8: 282.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., 283.

47. The quotation is from an unedited transcript of the lecture, apparently prepared by a stenographer, in the Martin Buber Archive. Juliane Jacobi discovered this document, and included an edited version in her volume of Buber's writings, *Martin Buber, Schriften zu Jugend*, 8: 265-278.

48. Ibid.

49. Buber, "Biblischer Humanismus" (delivered at the Frankfurt Lehrhaus in October 1933); translated in Buber, *On the Bible: Eighteen Studies*, ed. Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 211-216.

50. Ibid.

51. Buber, “Bildung und Weltanschauung,” 286–287; Buber, “Biblischer Humanismus,” in Buber, *Die Stunde und die Erkenntnis*, 103.

52. Buber, “Biblical Humanism,” in Buber, *On the Bible*, 216.

53. E. Simon, “Jewish Adult Education in Nazi Germany as Spiritual Resistance,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 1 (1956): 90.

54. Buber, “Die Mächtigkeit des Geistes,” in Buber, *Die Stunde und die Erkenntnis*, 74–87; Buber, “The Power of the Spirit,” in Buber, *Israel and the World*, 172–182.

55. See the unedited typescript of the lecture: *Martin Buber Werkausgabe, Schriften zum Christentum*, ed. Karl-Joseph Kuschel (Güterslohr: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2011), 397–410.

56. “Drei Briefe der Geheimen Staatspolizei,” in *Martin Buber: 1878–1978. Ausstellung*, exhibition catalog, Jüdische National- und Universitätsbibliothek, April 1978, 39.

57. *Königtum Gottes* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1932); 2nd exp. ed. (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1936). This was the first volume of what was to be a trilogy, under the general title *Das Kommende. Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des messianischen Glaubens*. According to Buber’s note in the preface to the English translation of *Kingship of God*, trans. Richard Scheinman (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 13: “The second volume entitled *Der Gesalbte* was half finished in 1938 and had already been set in type when the Schocken Press, Berlin, was officially dissolved [by the Nazis].”

58. Buber, *Die Frage an den Einzelnen* (Berlin: Schocken, 1936); Buber, “The Question of the Single One,” in Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 40–82.

59. Ibid., 51.

60. Ibid., 52.

61. Buber, “The Children,” 227.

62. Cited in Lambert Schneider, *Rechenschaft, 1925–1965: Ein Almanach* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1965), 38.

63. The letters of Paula Buber to her granddaughter Barbara are in the private archive of the Martin Buber Literary Estate.



64. Leo Baeck to Martin Buber, May 21, 1935, in *Letters*, 432.  
 65. Buber to Hans Trüb, October 9, 1936, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 596.  
 66. This book was published in 1936 in Berlin by Schocken Verlag.  
 67. Buber, “Teaching and Deed,” in Buber, *Israel and the World*, 140.  
 68. Ibid.  
 69. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, April 16, 1936, in *Letters*, 442.  
 70. Gershom Scholem to Buber, February 2, 1934, in *Letters*, 415.  
 71. Gershom Scholem to Buber, July 16, 1936, in *Letters*, 445.  
 72. D. W. Senator to Buber, January 29, 1938, in *Letters*, 463 f.  
 73. Hannah Arendt, “A Guide for Youth: Martin Buber” (1935), in Hannah Arendt, *Jewish Writings*, ed. Jerome Kohn and Ron Feldman (New York: Schocken, 2007), 31–33.  
 74. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, November 13, 1935, in *Letters*, 436.

#### Chapter 9. Professor and Political Activist

1. Buber to Ernst Simon, November 11, 1938, in *Letters*, 463 f.  
 2. Buber to Hermann Gerson, September 7, 1934, in *Letters*, 424.  
 3. Hugo Bergmann to Buber, February 4, 1938, in *Letters*, 464.  
 4. Ibid.  
 5. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, September 11, 1927, in *Letters*, 354.  
 6. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, August 18, 1929, in *Letters*, 368.  
 7. Paula Buber to Martin Buber, August 17, 1929, in *Letters*, 367.  
 8. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, undated letter, but presumably August 15, 1929, in *Letters*, 366.

9. Judah Magnes to Buber, February 21, 1934, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 525 f.
10. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, September 10, 1935, in *Letters*, 433.
11. Buber to Gershom Scholem, October 10, 1935, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 574–575.
12. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, November 13, 1935, in *Letters*, 436.
13. *Ibid.* (translation modified).
14. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, April 16, 1936, in *Letters*, 441.
15. Nahum N. Glatzer to Willy Schottroff, May 20, 1985, cited in Schottroff, “Martin Buber ad der Universität Frankfurt (1923–1933),” in W. Licharz and H. Schmidt, eds., *Martin Buber: Internationales Symposium zum 20. Todestag* (Frankfurt a.M.: Arnoldshainer Texte, 1989), 1: 52.
16. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, April 16, 1936, in *Letters*, 441 f.
17. *Ibid.*, 442.
18. *Ibid.*, 443 (emphasis added).
19. On the 1902 program, see Buber, Berthold Feiwel, and Chaim Weizmann, *Eine Juedische Hochschule* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902).
20. Buber to Hugo Bergmann, January 6, 1920, in *Letters*, 252.
21. For the description of “Dr. Magnes,” see Robert Weltsch to Buber, June 1924, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 194.
22. Judah Magnes to Ahad Ha’am, July 7, 1924 (Hebrew). Cited in English in *Judah Leib Magnes: On the Century of His Birth*, exhibition catalog, ed. Margot Cohn (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 1977), 104 f.
23. Judah Magnes, “On Mt. Scopus,” *Der Jude*, special edition: *Judentum und Deutschtum* (1928): 50.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Buber to Hans Kohn, January 26, 1929, Martin Buber Archive, file *vav* 376:1.
26. Unpublished document, Judah Leib Magnes Papers,

Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, file 2273 (Ha-'Ol).

27. Buber, "Truth and Deliverance," *Be'ayot* (July 1947): 189 (Hebrew).

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, 490.

30. Buber to Judah Magnes, July 5, 1947, Martin Buber Archives, file *chet* 2/46, 467a.

31. Buber, "Man's Duty as Man," in "A Centenary Gathering for Henry David Thoreau," a symposium led by John H. Hicks, *Massachusetts Review* (March 1962): 55. Also see Buber's response to the question addressed to twenty-three philosophers, writers, and politicians concerning "the principle of 'civil disobedience' in light of the threat of nuclear war," in Clara Urquhart, ed., *A Matter of Life* (London: Little, Brown, 1963), 51–52.

32. Buber's response in *A Matter of Life*, 51.

33. Buber, "Man's Duty as Man," 55.

34. Buber, *The Demand of the Spirit and Historical Reality* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1938), Hebrew pamphlet of 19 pages. English translation in Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays*, trans. and ed. Maurice S. Friedman (New York: Schocken, 1957), 177–191.

35. Buber, *Demand of the Spirit and Historical Reality*, 177 (emphasis added).

36. *Ibid.*, 178.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, 180 (emphasis added).

39. *Ibid.*, 181.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, 182.

43. *Ibid.*, 187.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, 190.

46. *Nasz Przegląd* (March 12, 1939): 13, cited in Kzazimierz

Kryzkalski, “Martin Bubers Reise nach Poland,” *Judaica* 51, no. 2 (1995): 70.

47. Ibid.

48. Jerzy Turowicz, “Martin Buber: A Philosopher of Dialogue,” *Tygodnik Powszechny* 27 (1965): 3, cited in Kryzkalski, “Martin Bubers Reise nach Poland,” 78.

49. Buber to Eduard Strauss, May 7, 1939, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 24.

50. Kryzkalski, “Martin Bubers Reise nach Poland,” 78.

51. Estimated according to Harold Marcuse, “Historical Dollar-to-Marks Currency Conversion Calculus,” available online at <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/projects/currency.htm> (accessed June 28, 2018).

52. The details of this subterfuge were related to me by Rafael Buber, ca. 1985.

53. Joseph Bentwich conducted a study circle on Judaism in Jerusalem, in which Buber participated. Buber, he said, “was in many respects only a half-Jew. After all, he married a Catholic and his entire way of life was not Jewish.” See Bentwich’s interview in Haim Gordon, ed., *The Other Martin Buber: Recollections of His Contemporaries* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988), 164.

54. The equivalent today of \$2,260.

55. The quotations by Senator in the next paragraphs are from a letter archived among the papers of Hans Kohn housed at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. I wish to thank Dr. Sam H. Brody for bringing this letter to my attention.

56. Max Warburg’s letter of April 9, 1943, can also be found among the archival holdings of Hans Kohn at the Hebrew Union College.

57. This letter from Buber to Kohn from the archives of Hebrew Union College as well as Warburg’s reply to Kohn were kindly brought to my attention by Professor Sam H. Brody. By “Palestinian friends,” Buber, of course, meant in this context Jewish friends residing in Palestine.

58. Ibid.

59. It was published in *Haaretz* on November 15, 1939. An

English translation is in “They and We,” in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 236–243.

60. *Ibid.*

61. Buber, “What Is Man?,” in Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. R. G. Smith, introduction by Maurice Friedman (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2002), 140–244. Under the title “The Problem of Man” (ba’ayat ha-adam), the Hebrew version of the lectures was published in 1943, although excerpts were published periodically before that in the daily press.

62. Buber, “What Is Man?,” 238.

63. *Ibid.*, 239.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Buber, *Nitivot be-Utopia* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1946), 8 (Hebrew).

66. *Ibid.*, 17.

67. *Ibid.*, 121.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Buber, Preface to *Torat ha-Neve'im* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1942), 1–2 (Hebrew). Buber dedicated the volume to the “memory of my grandfather.”

70. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith*, trans. Carlyle Witton-Davies (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 2.

71. *Ibid.*, 135.

72. Cf. Buber, *Königtum Gottes* (Berlin: Schocken, 1932).

73. Buber, *Prophetic Faith*, 135.

74. Buber, epilogue to his *Gog und Magog. Eine Chronik*, ed. Ran HaCohen, in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe* (Güterslohr: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009), 19: 273.

75. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, January 10, 1923, in *Letters*, 300.

76. Buber to Franz Rosenzweig, March 22, 1923, in *Letters*, 303.

77. Buber, “Replies to My Critics,” in *The Philosophy of Martin Buber*, part of the *Library of Living Philosophers*, vol. 12, ed.

Paul Arthur Schlipp and Maurice Friedman (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1967), 739.

78. Buber, *Gog und Magog*, 82.

79. Buber, “Images of Good and Evil,” trans. Michael Bullock, in Buber, *Good and Evil: Two Interpretations* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997), 65.

80. Buber, epilogue to *Gog und Magog*, 271–275.

81. Helit Yeshurun Raviv, “A Conversation with Dr. Moshe Spitzer,” *Chadarim: A Poetry Journey* 3 (1982): 52–54 (Hebrew).

82. *Ibid.*

83. Shmuel Yosef Agnon, “My Memories of Buber,” in Agnon, *Me’Atzmi el’Atzmi* (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1976), 270–271 (Hebrew).

84. Franz Rosenzweig to Buber, June 17, 1924, in *Letters*, 314.

85. Buber to Shmuel Yosef Agnon, January 1941, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 41. The letter, originally written in Hebrew, does not give a specific date in January.

86. The dedication appears in “Pleasant Stories of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov,” *Molad* 18 (August–September 1980): 357 (Hebrew), cited in Dan Laor, “Agnon and Buber: A Story of a Friendship,” in *Martin Buber: A Contemporary Perspective*, ed. Paul Mendes-Flohr (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2002): 78.

87. Shmuel Yosef Agnon, *Sippurei haBesht*, ed. Emuna Yaron and Haim Yaron (Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1987) (Hebrew).

88. Dan Laor, “Agnon and Buber,” 78.

89. Buber’s contribution to a volume in honor of Agnon’s seventieth birthday is cited in *ibid.*, 81.

90. Buber, epilogue to *Gog und Magog*, 275.

91. Baruch Litvin to Buber, May 2, 1951, in *Letters*, 560.

92. Buber to Baruch Litvin, May 3, 1951, in *Letters*, 561.

93. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, March 25, 1926, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 248 f.

94. Buber’s son Rafael had a bar mitzvah.

95. Related to me by Buber’s granddaughter Judith Buber Agassi.

96. M. K. Gandhi, "The Jews," *Harijan* (November 26, 1938): 352-362, reprinted in Paul Mendes-Flohr, ed., *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jew and Arabs*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 108.

97. Buber, "A Letter to Gandhi"; reprinted in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 125.

98. *Ibid.*, 111.

99. While Buber, of course, was not so prescient as to be referring here to "the Final Solution" and its death camps, there were already concentration camps in Germany in 1939, and what was happening in them was bad enough.

100. Buber, "A Letter to Gandhi," 114-116.

101. *Ibid.*, 119.

102. *Ibid.*, 120.

103. *Ibid.*

104. *Ibid.*; Joshua 2:27.

105. Dina Porat, "Al-domi: Palestinian [Jewish] Intellectuals and the Holocaust, 1943-1945," *Studies in Zionism* 5, no. 1 (1984): 101.

106. Buber, "Silence and Outcry," *Be'ayot* 1, no. 1 (April 1944): 21-23.

107. *Ibid.*

108. *Ibid.*

109. Buber, "A Majority or Many? A Postscript to a Speech," *Be'ayot* 2, no. 3 (April 1945): 110-113 (Hebrew), a translation appears in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 164-168.

110. The lectures were published in 1944 in a volume entitled "Between the People and Its Land." They were then translated from Hebrew into English under the title *Israel and Palestine: The History of an Idea* (1952), and reissued as *Zion: The History of an Idea*, with a foreword by Nahum N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken, 1973).

111. *Ibid.*, 182.

112. *Ibid.*, 183.

113. Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, *Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the*

*United Kingdom* (Lausanne, Switz., 1946), chapter 1, available online at [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/angchor.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/angchor.asp) (accessed July 24, 2018).

114. “A Tragic Conflict?” was an unpublished lecture given at a conference of the Ichud, convened in May 1946. It was translated from the Hebrew in Mendes-Flohr, *A Land of Two Peoples*, 185–189.

115. Buber, “Zionism and ‘Zionism,” *Be’ayot ha-Zman* 7, no. 8 (May 27, 1948): 3–5 (Hebrew); Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 220–223.

116. Martin Buber, J. L. Magnes, and E. Simon, eds., *Towards Union in Palestine: Essays on Zionism and Jewish-Arab Cooperation* (Jerusalem: Ihud, 1947), Buber’s contribution, 7–11, 32–36 (emphasis in original).

117. *Ibid.*

#### Chapter 10. Despite Everything

1. Heinz Politizer, “The Social Buber,” *Commentary Magazine* 22, no. 6 (December 1, 1956): 589.

2. Samuel Hugo Bergmann, *Tagebücher und Briefe*, vol. 1: 1901–1948 (Königstein: Jüdischer Verlag, Athenäum, 1985), 1: 582 f.; Martin Buber to Heinz Politzer, March 17, 1948, in *Letters*, 533.

3. *Ibid.*

4. The reference is to the Mishnah, according to which old age begins at the age of seventy (*Sayings of the Fathers*, 5:24). Magnes’s Hebrew essay is translated in *Letters*, 529–532.

5. Hans Kohn to Berthold Feiwel, November 21, 1929, in Paul Mendes-Flohr, ed., *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jew and Arabs*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 97–100.

6. Martin Buber to Paula Buber, October 3, 1929, in *Briefwechsel*, 2: 353.

7. Buber, “Gandhi, Politics and Us” (1930), in Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays*, trans. and ed. Maurice S. Friedman (New York: Schocken, 1957), 137.



8. Shalom Ben-Chorin, *Zwiesprache mit Martin Buber. Ein Erinnerungsbuch* (Munich: List Verlag, 1966), 102.
9. Buber, “Israel and the Command of the Spirit” (1958), in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 292–293.
10. Excerpts of Ben-Gurion and Buber’s exchange are translated in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 239–244.
11. Buber, “Facts and Demands” (January 1949), translated from the Hebrew in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 238 f.
12. Buber, “Instead of Polemics” (1956), translated from the Hebrew in Mendes-Flohr, *Land of Two Peoples*, 270.
13. *Ibid.*, 270 f.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Buber, “The Polis of God,” in Buber, *Pointing the Way*, 137.
16. Translated in Michael Keren, *Ben-Gurion and the Intellectuals: Power, Knowledge, and Charisma* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 78. (I have revised the translation slightly.)
17. David Ben-Gurion to Buber, February 5, 1963, in *Letters*, 654.
18. Buber to David Ben-Gurion, February 19, 1963, in *Letters*, 656.
19. Buber, “Transcript of Testimony at the Trial of A. Cohen,” Martin Buber Archive, file *zejan/22*. Excerpts translated in Aubrey Hodes, *Martin Buber: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Viking, 1971), 64.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Buber to Ernst Simon, November 11, 1937, in *Letters*, 462.
22. Buber, foreword to *Between Man and Man*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (London: Routledge, 1947), x.
23. This is the very first line of *I and Thou*. See Buber, *I and Thou*, trans. W. Kaufmann (New York: Scribner’s, 1986).
24. *Ibid.*, 144.
25. Buber, “On the Situation of Philosophy,” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902–1965*, trans. Maurice Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 136–137.
26. Buber, “Zur Situation der Philosophie,” in Buber, *Nach-*

*lese* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1966), 138 (emphasis in original). The conference, which was to take place in August 1948, was canceled.

27. Buber to Joseph Minn, September 23, 1946, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 123.

28. Buber to Alfred Döblin, April 26, 1950, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 246.

29. Buber, “Das Ende der deutsch-jüdischen Symbiose.” This article was published in the inaugural issue (March 10, 1939) of the *Jüdische Welt-Rundschau*, the reconstituted version of the Berlin Jewish weekly *Jüdische Rundschau*, which had been banned by the Nazi authorities after Kristallnacht. It was edited in Jerusalem, and printed in Paris, where it was distributed to the exiled German-Jewish community in sixty countries. See Buber, “End of the German-Jewish Symbiosis,” in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 232–235.

30. Lambert Schneider to Buber, July 21, 1947, in *Letters*, 140.

31. Lambert Schneider, *Rechenschaft, 1925–1965: Ein Almanach* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1965), 90.

32. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf to Buber, December 10, 1949, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 229 f.

33. Buber to Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, December 21, 1949, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 232.

34. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf to Buber, May 20, 1950, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 252.

35. Schmuuel Hugo Bergmann, *Tagebücher und Briefe*, vol. 2: 1948–1975, ed. Miriam Sambursky (Königstein: Jüdischer Berlag bein Athenäm, 1985), 79 (entries from February 6 and 10, 1951).

36. *Ibid.*, 105.

37. Karl Thime to Buber, January 20, 1950, in *Letters*, 558.

38. Günter Schulz, “Begegnungen mit Martin Buber,” in *Kritische Solidarität. Betrachtungen zum Deutsch-jüdischen Selbstverständnis. Für Max Plaut zum 70. Geburtstag 17. Oktober 1971*, ed. Günter Schulz (Bremen: F. Röver, 1971), 377–378.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Bergmann, *Tagebücher und Briefe*, 1: 588 (entry for July 1942). Bergmann ascribed Buber's failure to attract students to the themes of his classes, which were not of "contemporary" intellectual interest.

41. See Bergmann's diary entry from July 20, 1949; *ibid.*, 2: 23.

42. Personal communication by Nahum N. Glatzer, ca. 1980.

43. Buber, "End of the German-Jewish Symbiosis," 235.

44. Buber, "Goethe's Concept of Humanity," in Arnold Bergstrasseer, ed., *Goethe and the Modern Age: The International Convocation at Aspen, Colorado 1949* (Chicago: Henry Regner Company, 1950), 233; Buber, "Das Reimenschliche," in Buber, *Hinweise. Gesammelte Essays* (Zurich: Mansesse Verlag, 1953), 212–219.

45. Buber to Bruno Snell, December 22, 1951, in *Letters*, 565.

46. Ernst Simon to Buber, December 22, 1951, in Simon, *Sechzig Jahre gegen den Strom*, ed. Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 141 f.

47. Ernst Simon to Buber, January 1, 1952, in Simon, *Sechzig Jahre gegen den Strom*, 142.

48. "Martin Buber Explains His Reasons for Accepting the Goethe Prize of the University of Hamburg," *Haaretz*, December 31, 1951, 1 (Hebrew).

49. Buber to Bruno Snell, January 25, 1952, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 309 f.

50. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf to Buber, May 20, 1950, in *Letters*, 552 f. (The date is incorrectly given as May 5.) See also *Briefwechsel*, 3: 252.

51. Karl Heinrich Rengstorf to Buber, July 10, 1950, in *Letters*, 553.

52. Buber to Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, August 20, 1950, in *Letters*, 556 f.

53. Romano Guardini, *Verantwortung. Gedanken zur jüdischen Frage. Eine Universitätsrede* (Munich: Hochland-Bücherei im Kösel-Verlag, 1952); "Reflexions on the Jewish Question," *Dublin Review* 227, no. 459 (1953): 1–14.

54. Buber to Romano Guardini, December 12, 1952, *Briefwechsel*, 3: 232.

55. Romano Guardini, *Vom Geist der Liturgie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1918); Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (New York: Crossroad Publishing, 1998).

56. See Robert A. Krieg, “To Nostra Aetate: Martin Buber and Romano Guardini,” in Larry V. Thompson, ed., *Lessons and Legacies IV* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 81–97. My thanks to Professor Krieg for providing me with a copy of his instructive essay.

57. Guardini, *Verantwortung*, 21.

58. The receipt of this letter, dated to January 30, 1953, is acknowledged by Bruno Snell in a letter to Buber dated February 13, 1953 (in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 326).

59. Buber, “Geltung und Grenzen des politischen Prinzips,” in *Gedenkschrift zur Verleihung des Hansischen Goethe-Preises 1951 der Gemeinnützigen Stiftung F.V.S. zu Hamburg an Martin Buber* (Hamburg: Stiftung, 1953); Buber, “Validity and Limitations of the Political Principle,” in Buber, *Pointing the Way*, 208–219.

60. Buber to Ludwig Strauß, June 26, 1953, in *Briefwechsel Martin Buber–Ludwig Strauß: 1913–1953*, ed. Tuvia Rübner and Dafna Mach (Frankfurt a.M.: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1990), 274.

61. Buber, “The Validity and Limitations of the Political Principle,” in Buber, *Pointing the Way*, 215.

62. *Ibid.*, 217.

63. Arthur Georgi to Buber, June 17, 1953, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 346 f.

64. Albert Goes, “Martin Buber, Our Support,” in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 18 f.

65. Buber, “Genuine Dialogue and the Possibilities of Peace,” in Rollins and Zohn, *Men of Dialogue*, 20–27. I have revised the translation slightly.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

68. Ibid.

69. See Buber to Emil Preetorius, April 10, 1954, Martin Buber Archive, file 591 a:1. In this letter to Preetorius, the president of the academy, Buber acknowledges Preetorius's letter, which is not extant.

70. Count Podewils to Martin Buber, correspondence dated February 22, 1957, and May 13, 1957, Martin Buber Archive, file 588b:1. The meeting took place over two and a half days, from May 29 to May 30, 1957.

71. Ibid.

72. Hans A. Fischer-Barnicol, "Spielgelungen—Vermittlungen," in Günther Neske, ed., *Erinnerung zu Martin Heidegger* (Pfullingen: Verlag Günther Neske, 1977), 71.

73. Ibid., 91. On mentioning various philosophers in the "same breath," see Buber, "What Is Man?" in Buber, *Between Man and Man*, ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 199–220.

74. Hans Fischer-Barnicol first met Buber at a colloquium sponsored by the Evangelische Akademie, Berlin, in June 1956, and corresponded with him from then on. The interview was conducted in the summer of 1963. When asked years later by Emil Fackenheim about the controversy in Jerusalem engendered by Buber's reputedly reconciliatory meeting with Heidegger, Gershom Scholem questioned the authenticity of Barnicol-Fischer's "dreary report." He assured Fackenheim that neither he nor Buber's close friend Ernst Simon—"who privately sought fervidly to dissuade Buber from conducting such a discussion with Heidegger"—"knew anything that such a meeting actually took place." Scholem to Fackenheim, January 24, 1979, Gershom Scholem Archives, Jewish National Library, Jerusalem, ms. varia 1599.

75. Fischer-Barnicol, "Spiegelungen-Vermittlungen," 91.

76. Ibid., 92.

77. Buber to Maurice Friedman, August 8, 1957, cited in Friedman, *The Life and the Work* (New York: Dutton, 1983), 3: 116.

78. Fischer-Barnicol, "Spiegelungen-Vermittlungen," 90.

79. Ibid., 89 f.

80. *Ibid.*, 93.

81. Otto Poeggeler, *The Paths of Heidegger's Life and Thought*, trans. John Bailiff (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1997), 67.

82. It was published in 1957 in Pfullingen by Günther Neske. A copy, with Heidegger's dedication, is in the Gershom Scholem Collection, Jewish National Library, Jerusalem, call no. 14632.

83. Günther Neske to Martin Buber, April 9, 1959. Buber declined, curtly explaining that due to a prolonged illness he was unable to undertake any "substantial literary obligations. . . . I cannot therefore to my great regret accede to your request" (Buber to Neske, April 16, 1959). Both letters are in the Martin Buber Archive, file 539a 1:1.

84. Martin Heidegger to Wilhelm Hoffmann, July 8, 1959. Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach am Neckar, Martin Heidegger Collection. A copy of this letter is also in the Martin Buber Archive, file 267c:1.

85. Hans Fischer-Barnicol to Buber, November 3, 1964, Martin Buber Archive, file 206b:4.

86. *Ibid.*

87. For a fuller discussion of Buber and Heidegger's relationship, see Paul Mendes-Flohr, "Martin Buber and Martin Heidegger in Dialogue," *Journal of Religion* 94, no. 1 (January 2014): 2–25.

88. Martin Heidegger, "The Way to Language," in *On the Way to Language*, trans. Peter D. Hertz (San Francisco: Harper, 1979), 112.

89. Cited in *ibid.*, 123.

90. Martin Buber, "Hoffnung für diese Stunde," *Merkur* 6, no. 6 (August 1952): 711–718.

91. Martin Heidegger to Elfride Heidegger, August 12, 1952, in Martin Heidegger, *Letters to His Wife, 1915–1970*, selected, edited, and annotated by Gertrud Heidegger and trans. R. D. V. Glasgow (London: Polity, 2010), 225–226, and "Mein liebes Seelchen": *Briefe Martin Heideggers an seine Frau Elfride, 1915–1970*, ed.

Gertrud Heidegger (Munich: Deutsch Verlags-Anstalt, 2005), 279. Emphasis in original.

92. James K. Lyon, *Paul Celan and Martin Heidegger: An Unresolved Conversation, 1951–1970* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 165.

93. Martin Heidegger to Elfride Heidegger, August 12, 1952, in Martin Heidegger, *Letters to His Wife, 1915–1970*, 226.

94. *Ibid.*

95. Unpublished poem; an earlier version of the poem served as the dedication to the first printing of Buber, *Zwiesprache* (Berlin: Schocken, 1932).

96. Buber to Maurice Friedman, September 9, 1958, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 463.

97. Buber to Erwald Wasmuth, October 4, 1958, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 466.

98. The citation is from a printed text—marked Jerusalem, February 1959—addressed to all who expressed condolences on Paula’s death, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 475.

99. Hans Jonas to Buber, October 13, 1958, in *Letters*, 622.

100. Printed text marked Jerusalem, February 1959, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 475.

101. Schalom Ben-Chorin, *Zweigsprache mit Martin Buber. Ein Erinnerungsbuch* (Munich: List Verlag, 1966), 127.

102. Buber, “The Word That Is Spoken,” in Buber, *The Knowledge of Man: Selected Essays*, trans. Maurice Friedman and Ronald Gregor Smith (London: Allen and Unwin, 1965), 110.

103. *Ibid.*, 113.

104. *Ibid.*, 120.

105. *Ibid.*

106. Buber, “Believing Humanism,” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902–1965*, trans. and ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 118.

107. *Ibid.*; “Gläubiger Humanismus,” in Buber, *Nachlese* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965), 114.

108. Buber, “Believing Humanism,” 119.

109. *Ibid.*, 117. Per Buber’s request, two-thirds of the mone-

tary prize was donated to the Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem. See G. Sluizer, director of Stichting Praemium Erasmianum to Buber, July 3, 1963, archives of the Leo Baeck Institute, Jerusalem.

110. Gershom Scholem to Hannah Arendt, February 17, 1952, in Hannah Arendt and Gershom Scholem, *Der Briefwechsel*, ed. Marie Luise Knott in collaboration with David Heredia (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 2010), 362 f.

111. Buber, *At the Turning: Three Addresses on Judaism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952), n.p.

112. Buber, "Judaism and Civilization," in *ibid.*, 16.

113. *Ibid.*, 17 f.

114. *Ibid.*, 19.

115. *Ibid.*, 23.

116. *Ibid.*, 25.

117. *Ibid.*

118. Buber, "The Silent Question," in Buber, *At the Turning*, 52.

119. *Ibid.*, 58.

120. Cf. Buber, "Guilt and Guilt Feelings," in Buber, *The Knowledge of Man: Selected Essays*, ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1965), 145, fn. 1.

121. *Ibid.*, 61.

122. *Ibid.*, 62.

123. Buber to Kurt Singer, February 1, 1953, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 331.

124. Rudolf Kayser to Buber, February 15, 1956, in *Letters*, 594.

125. Written under the supervision of Joachim Wach, the dissertation is entitled, "Martin Buber: Mystic, Existentialist, Social Prophet: A Study in the Redemption of Evil."

126. Maurice Friedman to Buber, March 19, 1950, in *Letters*, 550-552.

127. Buber to Maurice Friedman, April 6, 1950, in *Letters*, 553.

128. Buber to Maurice Friedman, January 30, 1956, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 405 f.

129. *Ibid.*, 406.



130. Buber, *Knowledge of Man*.
131. The recording of the conversation was transcribed in Rob Anderson and Kenneth N. Cissna, *The Martin Buber–Carl Rogers Dialogue: A New Transcript with Commentary* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997). For the quotation, see 17 f.
132. *Ibid.*, 20–25.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. Alfred Wiener to Buber, February 2, 1958, in *Letters*, 615.
137. Theodor Heuss to Buber, January 4, 1958, in *Letters*, 613 f.
138. Hermann Hesse to Buber, n.d., in *Letters*, 616.
139. Albert Schweitzer to Buber, March 3, 1958, in *Letters*, 616 f.
140. Buber, “Expression of Thanks,” in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament, 1902–1965*, trans. M. Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 225 (I have amended the translation slightly; emphasis in original). Cf. Buber, “Danksagung, 1958,” in Buber, *Nachlese* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, 1965), 254.
141. Buber, “Prelude: Report of Two Talks,” in Buber, *Eclipse of God: Studies in the Relation between Religion and Philosophy*, trans. Maurice Friedman et al. (London: Gollancz, 1953), 6.
142. Buber to Maurice Friedman, December 8, 1957, Martin Buber Archive, file 227b.
143. Buber, “On Zionism and Modern Israel,” *Jewish Newsletter* (New York) 4, no. 11 (June 2, 1958).
144. Buber to Maurice Friedman, July 11, 1958, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 460.
145. *Ibid.*, 3: 461 f.
146. Buber, “The Spirit of Israel in Face of Present Reality,” *Haaretz*, December 30, 1958, 3–4; Buber, “Israel and the Command of the Spirit,” *Congress Weekly* 25, no. 4 (September 1958): 10–12.

147. Buber to Maurice Friedman, July 16, 1958, in *Briefwechsel*, 3: 462.

Chapter 11. Not to Belong

1. Buber to Ewalt Wasmuth and Sophie Wasmuth, November 1, 1961, in *Letters*, 642.

2. Buber, “Books and Men,” in William Rollins and Harry Zohn, eds., *Men of Dialogue: Martin Buber and Albrecht Goes* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1969), 29.

3. Schalom Ben-Chorin, Shmuel Hugo Bergmann, Gershom Scholem, Ernst A. Simon, and his son, Uriel Simon (born 1929 in Jerusalem).

4. Gershom Scholem, “At the Completion of Buber’s Translation of the Bible,” trans. Michael A. Meyer, in Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism, and Other Essays on Jewish Spirituality* (New York: Schocken, 1971), 314–319.

5. *Ibid.* (emphasis added).

6. Reported to me by Uriel Simon, who accompanied his father, Ernst Akiva Simon, to the event. As he put it, his father’s “mouth dropped” on hearing what he found to be Scholem’s untimely, indeed impertinent, criticism.

7. Gershom Scholem, “Martin Buber’s Hasidism: A Critique,” *Commentary* 32, no. 4 (October 1961): 304–316.

8. Buber to Maurice Friedman, July 7, 1961, Martin Buber Archive, file 227b.

9. Buber, “Interpreting Hasidism,” *Commentary* 36, no. 3 (September 1963): 218.

10. Gershom Scholem, “Buber’s Conception of Judaism,” in Scholem, *On Judaism and Jews in Crisis. Selected Essays*, ed. Werner J. Dannhauser (New York: Schocken, 1976), 166 f.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidism: The Early Masters* (New York: Schocken, 1947); Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim: The Later Masters* (New York: Schocken, 1948); Buber, *Die Erzählungen der Chassidim* (Zurich: Manesse, 1949).

13. Buber to Maurice Friedman, September 25, 1956, Martin Buber Archive, file 227b. For an example of this earlier approach, see Buber, *Or ha-Ganuz* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1946), 13.

14. Buber, “Der Chassidismus und die Krise der abendländischen Menschen,” *Merkur* (October 1956): 83–94; Buber, “Hasidism and Modern Man,” part 1, in Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, ed. Maurice Friedman (New York: Harper, 1958), 21–28.

15. Scholem, “Buber’s Conception of Judaism,” 127.

16. In 1919 Scholem translated into German the Hebrew poet Chaim Nachman Bialik’s essay of 1916, “Halakhah and Aggadah,” which contends that “a Judaism all of Aggadah is like iron that has been heated but not cooled.”

17. “Candidate of the Presidency Professor Mordecai Buber, ‘Here I am, Here I am/To a Nation That Did Not Invoke My name’ (Isaiah 65:1),” *Etgar*, May 2, 1963, 1 (Hebrew).

18. Yael Dayan and Joel Hoffmann to Buber, May 5, 1956, in *Letters*, 599 f.

19. Yael Dayan to Gabriel Stern, December 31, 1971, in *Letters*, 600, fn. 2.

20. Avraham Shapira, “Meetings with Buber,” *Midstream* (November 1978): 48–54.

21. *Ibid.*, 51.

22. Rivka Gurfine, “A Literary Circle in a Kibbutz Reading Buber” (Hebrew), *Dvar Ha-Poelet* (January 1966).

23. Buber, “State and Culture” (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, April 30, 1953.

24. Cf. the Hebrew articles: “At the Age of 80 Buber Conducted a Stormy Love Affair with the Daughter of the Poet Richard Beer-Hofmann” (Hebrew), *Dvar*, September 18, 1988; and “Buber Had a Lover Aged 51 When He Was 81” (Hebrew), *Yediot Achronot*, September 19, 1988.

25. Naemah’s letters to Buber are in the private archives of the Buber Literary Estate.

26. Buber, “Über Richard Beer-Hofmann,” in Richard Beer-Hofmann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Verlag, 1962), translated in Buber, *A Believing Humanism: My Testament*,

1902–1965, trans. M. Friedman (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 61–69.

27. Franz Rosenzweig, *The Star of Redemption*, trans. William Hallo (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 199.

28. See Jokl's recollections of her relationship with Buber in her autobiography *Die Reise nach London. Wiederbegegnungen* (Frankfurt a.M.: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp, 1999), 92–97.

29. That there was an implicit motive of penance is suggested by the dedication that she gave to the volume published after Buber's death: "For Ernst Simon, Martin Buber's friend, who accompanied him on the road to the reconciliation (Völkerersöhnung) between peoples."

30. Buber, *A Believing Humanism*, 228–229.

31. Grete Schaeder to Maurice Friedman, February 1983, cited in Maurice Friedman, *Martin Buber's Life and Work*, vol. 3: *The Later Years, 1945–1965* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1983), 470 f.

32. Ibid.

33. Buber would have a phrase—"I am always with you"—from this "death psalm" inscribed on his tombstone. Cf. "The Heart Determines: Psalm 73," in Buber, *Good and Evil: Two Interpretations* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1997).

34. Ibid.

35. In 1962 on his way to Hotel Sonnmatt, he paid a visit to his old friend Margarete Sussman in Zurich. In her memoirs, she recalls their open, candid exchange about life, death, and evil: "In our conversation, he also commented on his own life, so surrounded with fame; he simply stripped the fame off like a golden cloak that did not belong to him." Margarete von Bendemann-Sussman, *Ich habe vielen Leben gelebt. Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1964), 79.

36. Now in *Martin Buber Werkausgabe*, vol. 7: *Schriften zu Literatur, Theater und Kunst. Lyrik, Autobiographie und Drama*, ed. Emily Bilski, Heike Breitenbach, Freddie Rokem, and Bernd Witte (Güterslohr: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 191.

37. Aubrey Hodes, *Martin Buber: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Viking, 1971), 113.

38. Ibid., 113. On Buber's publicly objecting to the death penalty in 1928, see Buber, "Über die Todesstrafe," in F. M. Mungenast, ed., *Der Mörder und der Staat* (Stuttgart: W. Häderke, 1928), 65.

39. Hodes, *Martin Buber*, 114.

40. Jokl, *Die Reise nach London*, 94. The phrase "not to belong" is cited in English in the otherwise German text.

41. Martin Buber, Chaim Weizmann, and Berthold Feiwel, *Eine jüdische Hochschule* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902). Reprint with Hebrew translation by Shaul Ash and preface by S. H. Bermann (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1964).

42. Cf. Hodes, *Martin Buber*, 211 f. I have supplemented Hodes's account of this tribute with recollections of Buber's great-granddaughter Tamar and of Professor Yaron Ezrahi, who as a student at the Hebrew University participated in the birthday celebration in front of Buber's home.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Werner Kraft, *Gespräche mit Martin Buber* (Munich: Kösel, 1966), 124–125; Hodes, *Martin Buber*, 215.

46. Cf. Buber to Walter Kaufmann, April 8, 1962, in *Letters*, 646.

47. In the selection of his shorter essays and largely unpublished poetry that he prepared in the last months before his death, Buber included this poem. Cf. Buber, *Nachlese* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965); Buber, *A Believing Humanism* (the poem is translated on 227).

48. Cited in Friedman, *Martin Buber's Life and Work*, 3: 415 f.

49. The account that follows of Buber's last year, his illness, and his funeral is drawn from a number of sources: personal recollections shared with me, newspaper reports, and especially the chronicle of the event in Ben-Horin, *Zwiesprache mit Martin Buber*, 237–245; and Hodes, *Martin Buber*, 213–229.

50. Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays*, trans. and ed. Maurice S. Friedman (New York: Schocken, 1957), 4.

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