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[no date]¹⁴⁴

Dear Dr. Jung,

When I spoke—in some dismay—with Miss Wolff¹⁴⁵ today about the partial validity of Dr. Bally's¹⁴⁶ article and she gave me your paper

¹⁴⁴The letter was written in Zurich between the publication of Gustav Bally's article on 27 February 1934 and Neumann's departure in May 1934.

¹⁴⁵Toni Anna Wolff (1888–1953): Born into a wealthy and distinguished Zurich family, Toni Wolff was sent to Jung for treatment in 1910 after the death of her father the previous year. She became the soul mate, mistress, and companion of Jung and was of particular importance for him during the time of his crises and subsequent exploration of the unconscious in the years after 1913. She played a pivotal role in the foundation of the Zurich Psychological Club in 1916 and presided over it from 1928 to 1945. Patients coming to see Jung for therapy would often see her as well. When Erich Neumann came to Zurich in 1933 he underwent therapy with both. Toni Wolff also became the therapist of Julie Neumann when Erich and Julie visited Zurich in May and June 1936 (see Neumann's letters to Jung from 30 January 1936 [19 N], and 15 April 1953 [95 N]). Neumann and Toni Wolff wrote to each other on a regular basis from 1934 until her death of a heart attack on 21 March 1953. Neumann wrote a letter of condolence to Jung (see letter from 15 April 1953 [95 N]). Toni Wolff is the author of *Structural Forms of the Feminine Psyche* (*Strukturformen der weiblichen Psyche*) (1951) and the collection of essays *Studies on the Psychology of C. G. Jung* (*Studien zur Psychologie C. G. Jungs*) (1959). On Toni Wolff see Molton and Sikes (2011).

¹⁴⁶Gustav Bally (1893–1966): German-born psychiatrist and psychotherapist. Studied medicine in Zurich and Heidelberg from 1913 to 1920 and had psychiatric training at the university clinic of Zurich with Eugen Bleuler and the Münsingen Sanatorium in Bern from 1921 to 1926. From 1924 on, he trained at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute among others with Hanns Sachs and Karen Horney. Professor at the commercial college of St. Gall from 1947 to 1956, thereafter he held the chair for psychotherapy at the University of Zurich. In 1948, he founded—together with Manfred Bleuler and Medard Boss—the Zurich Institute for Medical Psychotherapy. His published works include *On the Scope of Freedom* (*Vom Ursprung und den Grenzen der Freiheit*) (1945) and *Introduction to the Psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud* (*Einführung in die Psychoanalyse Sigmund Freuds*) (1961). When Jung was elected president of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy (*Allgemeine ärztliche Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie*) and demanded in his editorial to the society's journal *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete* (Jung, 1933) that the differences between the Germanic and Jewish psychology should no longer be blurred, Bally wrote a harsh critique of Jung's race-psychological arguments and his presidency of the AÄGP in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 27 February 1934 (Bally, 1934). Jung responded with a "Rejoinder to Dr. Bally" ("Zeitgenössisches") on 13/14 March 1934 (Jung, 1934). Despite their controversy in 1934, Bally and Jung remained in collegial contact and worked together on a

“The State of Psychotherapy Today,”¹⁴⁷ I could not have imagined what a controversy of such fateful personal significance was about to unfold! I know I don’t have to tell you what you mean to me, and how hard it is for me to disagree with you, but I feel I simply must take issue with you on a matter that goes far beyond any merely personal concerns. I will refrain from commenting on whether the reverberations that your words are bound to have were indeed what you intended, and I will be silent about whether it is truly a Goethe-inspired perspective¹⁴⁸ to view the emergence of National Socialism in all its human-lashing, bloodthirsty barbarianism as a “mighty presence”¹⁴⁹ in the Germanic unconscious. I will also ignore the fact that I am perplexed that—though you cited in your lecture “the more obscure reference” to the ecstatic “Allah il Allah”¹⁵⁰ wail and that you spoke out against the idea of the “Führer as idol,”—here you are asserting that “a movement that takes hold of an entire nation, already has each and every individual in its grip.”¹⁵¹ As a Jew, I do not feel I have any licence to intervene in a controversy that no German can avoid today when they encounter this Germanic unconscious,

regular basis as members of the Commission on Psychotherapy of the Swiss Society of Psychiatry. See introduction, pp. xxii–xxiii.

¹⁴⁷Jung, “The State of Psychotherapy Today” (1934a). In his text Jung reiterates and elaborates on his race psychological considerations raised in his editorial to the *Zentralblatt* (Jung, 1933), calling it a big psychological mistake of medical psychology to apply Jewish categories to the Christian Germans or Slavs (Jung, 1934a, § 354). See introduction, pp. xxii.

¹⁴⁸In Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s (1749–1832) tragedy *Stella* (1806), Fernando exclaims at the end: “Great God!—you who sends angels to us in our extremities, grant us strength to support their *mighty presence*” (editor’s translation) (“Gott im Himmel, der du uns Engel sendest in der Not, schenk uns die Kraft, diese *gewaltigen Erscheinungen* zu ertragen!” [Goethe, 1806, p. 346–47]); The phrase “Goethesche Blick” might also refer to Goethe’s holistic view of natural phenomena, which he opposed to the analytical method. In his discussions with Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) Goethe expressed his high esteem for the *Gestalt* (morphé), which can only be perceived by immediate sensual perception (Goethe and Schiller, 1794–1805).

¹⁴⁹Jung (1934a), § 354.

¹⁵⁰The first *Kalima* (testification) of Islam, “La ilaha ill Allah,” means “There is no God only Allah.” Jung uses the term in his lecture at the ETH on 23 February 1934: “The fanatic ‘il Allah’ clamour is an ecstatic cry that pulls out the human being from its instinctive animal side” (Sidler, 1933–41); “as the collective consciousness may move to the Right or the Left. With the rise of certain religious movements, when general consciousness soars, the curve will reach Right V. To give an historical example I will mention the wave of ecstasy which swept over the ancient world with the rise of Islam. In our present time there is a appreciable movement of the consciousness towards the Left side, the interest shown in psychology, for instance, illustrates this” (Hannah, 1934–41, vol. 1, p. 73).

¹⁵¹Jung (1934a), § 354.

but as it is certainly correct that we Jews are accustomed to recognizing the shadow-side,¹⁵² then I cannot comprehend why a person like you cannot see what is all too cruelly obvious to everyone these days—that it is also in the Germanic psyche (and in the Slavic one) that a mind-numbing cloud¹⁵³ of filth, blood and rotteness is brewing.

It may well be that the immemorial history of my people with its long recurrence of prophets, judges, Zaddikim¹⁵⁴ and elders fills me with implausible and completely ungermanic ideas (ungermanic for sure), but, where I come from, great men have always been called upon to exercise discernment and to stand against the crowd—and it is precisely my conviction about the uniqueness of your own nature that causes me now—(not only in my own interest)—to ask you if this easy affirmation, this throwing yourself into the frenzy of Germanic exuberance—is this your true position or do I misunderstand you on this point?

More importantly though, I would wish to disabuse you of the conviction that Jews are as you imagine them to be. I do not know the Jews you have treated, but I know you consider even my friend Gerhard Adler¹⁵⁵ to be exceptionally Jewish. I believe myself to be

¹⁵²Jung (1934a), § 353.

¹⁵³Neumann's handwriting could not be deciphered here. The transcription "Qualmsee" is not definite.

¹⁵⁴Zaddikim, plural of Zaddik (also spelled Tsaddiq or Tsaddik), in the bible (Genesis 6:9) the term is used to describe a man of a particularly just and righteous character; in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Eastern European Chasidism the Zaddik occupies a central role as the mediator between the believer and God. In his 1939/40 seminar on Hasidism, Neumann writes about the Zaddik: "And when you look at the Zaddik, he actually stands beyond the law and all limitations. Everywhere in everything that we will come to hear of the teachings of the Zaddik it can be said that this is the prototype of the doctrine of the individual. He is the only one who is able to be an authentic human being. This is the precursor of that which appears in the process of individuation as finding one's own way to the law" (Neumann 1939–40, p. 79).

¹⁵⁵Gerhard Adler (1904–1988): Psychotherapist, born in Berlin to German-Jewish parents; in analysis with James Kirsch in Berlin in 1929 and with Jung in Zurich from 1931 to 1934. Adler left Germany with his wife-to-be Hella in 1935 for London (see Jung's letter to Neumann from 22 December 1935 [18 J]). He collaborated with Aniela Jaffé on her German edition of Jung's published letters, edited the English edition, and was a member of the editorial board of Jung's *Collected Works* in English. He was president of the IAAP from 1971 to 1977 and, after the split of the Society of Analytical Psychology (SAP), founder of the Association of Jungian Analysts (AJA). His best-known works are *Studies in Analytical Psychology* (1948) and *The Living Symbol* (1961). Adler was a lifelong friend of Erich Neumann going back to their youth in the 1920s (see Adler, 1980). When Erich and Julie Neumann visited Switzerland for the first time after the war in 1947, Adler introduced Neumann to Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, who invited Neumann to speak at the Eranos conference. On Neumann and Eranos see introduction, pp. xv–xvi, xxxvii–xli.

completely certain of his agreement when I say to you that, even among our own people, things are not so unfortunate as for either of us to be considered typical representatives.

The rather sad Jewish remnants that have wound their way to you are those that remain, the most diasporic, assimilated and nationalized Jews, individuals and stragglers, but from where, dear Dr. Jung, do you know the Jewish race, the Jewish people? May your error of judgment perhaps be conditioned (in part) by the general ignorance of things Jewish and the secret and medieval abhorrence of them that thus leads to knowing everything about the India of 2000 years ago and nothing about the Hasidism¹⁵⁶ of 150 years ago? Furthermore, is there not the remnant of a misunderstanding in a sentence such as: “The Aryan unconscious has a higher potential than the Jewish (one)”¹⁵⁷ which allows a primitive race to claim that “they are the ones who are.”¹⁵⁸ The Hasidism movement as well as that of Zionism¹⁵⁹ demonstrate the inexhaustible liveliness of the Jewish people, as only a deficient interest can overlook the outrageousness of a phenomenon such as, for example, the renaissance of the Hebrew¹⁶⁰ language that was dead for 2,000 years and the settlement in Pales-

¹⁵⁶ Chasidism, also Hasidism (from Hebrew *Hasid* “the pious one”), originally a twelfth- and thirteenth-century Jewish religious movement in Germany that combined austerity with overtones of mysticism. But Neumann refers to the Hasidic pietistic tradition that arose in Eastern Europe in the eighteenth century following the kabbalistic teachings of charismatic leaders such as Rabbi Israel Ba’al Schem Tow (1700–1760), known under the acronym Bescht, and Dow Baer of Mezhirich (1704–1772), also known as the Great Maggid. Hasidism teaches a panentheistic world, according to which God is in everything. Its emphases on the role of the *zaddik*, the spiritual leader of a Jewish congregation, as the god-sent envoy who mediates between God and man, splits the orthodox Jewry into Hasidim and Mitnaggedim (“opponents”). In 1927, Martin Buber (1878–1965) published a collection of Hasidic stories under the title *Die chassidischen Bücher*. This collection formed the textual basis for a seminar on Hasidism, which Neumann held in Tel Aviv from 9 November 1939 to 30 May 1940 titled *Analytische Psychologie und Judentum: Der Chasidismus* (Neumann 1939–40). Between 1934 and 1940 Neumann wrote a two-volume manuscript on the *Ursprungsgeschichte des jüdischen Bewusstseins* (*On the Origins and History of Jewish Consciousness*) (Neumann 1934–40; see n. 273) that has not been published. On Hasidism see Scholem (1941) and Dan (1999).

¹⁵⁷ Jung (1934a), § 354.

¹⁵⁸ Allusion to Exodus 3:14: “And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you” (KJB).

¹⁵⁹ Jewish nationalist movement that aimed at the creation and subsequent support of a Jewish national state in Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jews (Hebrew: *Eretz Yisra’el*, “the Land of Israel”). The political goals of Zionism have been formulated by the Austro-Hungarian journalist Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) in his influential book *The Jewish State* (1896).

¹⁶⁰ Neumann replaces “living” (“lebend”) with “Hebrew” (“hebräische”) language.

tine that you, albeit tentatively and skeptically, consider to be romantic, while, as a Germanic person, you seem to wish to have a monopoly on all romanticism and illusion and value them highly. Of course I have to laugh at this exaggerated formulation, but there is much truth in what I am saying. This Jewish renaissance seems to me to be more embryonic, youthful and full of energy than the Nazi-rigid, brutally organized and stolid, extreme submissiveness of the Aryan revivals.¹⁶¹ Believe me, as a Jew, I quite love the Germanic potential as far as I am able to see it and get a sense of it, but to equate National Socialism with the Aryan-Germanic is perhaps ominously incorrect and I cannot understand how you reach this conclusion and whether you must reach it. Is Bolshevism also a feature of the Aryan unconscious? Or what does it imply that there, as you told me, all bad instincts have been called upon—which is apparently completely different in Germany.

I believe, even, that in both there are seeds of things to come, but I believe and know I have learned from you, and had it confirmed by you, that the most precious secret of every human being—not only of the Germanic race—is, in essence, the purely creative prescient depths of one's soul. Far beyond the fact that your Jewish diagnosis is not right, I simply cannot see that it is possible that the collective unconscious, in its deeper layers, can have greater or fewer tensions within it among the different races. It seems to me that, as is the case for the individual, it is contingent on the consciousness of the race that changes through history and that, expressly in the case of the Jewish people, has changed repeatedly and will change again, and this engenders new developments over and over again. I fear you are confusing Freud—whom you have classified sociologically as European¹⁶² by the way—with the Jew, and therefore the use of Nazi terminology—simply to identify Freud's categories as "Jewish categories"¹⁶³—is doubly puzzling coming from your pen, especially

¹⁶¹ Jung (1934a), § 353.

¹⁶² Jung (1934a), § 352.

¹⁶³ Jung (1934a), § 354.

when previously—before the rise of Hitler—Freud’s extraverted theory was contrasted with Adler’s introverted theory.¹⁶⁴

I do not wish to change anything in this letter. It will remain as it is written. Hopefully you will appreciate how it is intended. It seems to me that it is precisely my gratitude toward you that obliges me to be candid. I hope there is not too much “Mars”¹⁶⁵ in this, but that there is some “Mars” here, I know, and I stand by it.

Yours,
Erich Neumann

¹⁶⁴In *Psychological Types* (1921), Jung writes: “Freud would like to ensure the undisturbed flow of instinct toward its object; Adler would like to break the baleful spell of the object in order to save the ego from suffocating in its own defensive armor. Freud’s view is essentially extraverted, Adler’s introverted” (Jung, 1921, § 91).

¹⁶⁵Roman god of war.