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1 J

[Küsnacht, Zurich,] 11 September 1933

Dr. Erich Neumann,
Weimarischestrasse 17,
Berlin-Wilmersdorf¹⁴¹

Dear Doctor,

I have reserved an hour's appointment for you on Tuesday, 3rd October at 4 pm.

Yours respectfully,
C. G. Jung

¹⁴¹From 1928 to 1932 Erich and Julie Neumann lived in Hindenburgstraße 86 (Berlin Wilmersdorf; today's name: Am Volkspark). In 1932 they moved to Weimarische Straße 17 where they stayed until they left Germany in autumn 1933. (Information from Micha Neumann and Rali Loewenthal-Neumann.)

2 J

*CERTIFICATE*¹⁴²

I hereby confirm that Dr. Erich Neumann is engaged in psychological studies with me, and that my work will begin again on 15th January 1934.

Küsnacht, Zurich, 14th December
[C. G. Jung]

¹⁴² Presumably written for the Swiss Federal Department of Justice and Police in order for Neumann to obtain a temporary permit of residency.

3 J

29. I. 1934

To: Dr. Erich Neumann,
Zurich

Dear Colleague,

It is possible that a Dr. Ernst Harms¹⁴³ will make contact with you. He is desperate for therapy, and needs it too—as he basically consists of an intellectual halo wandering lonely and footless through the world. He would not be uninteresting, but there would be no money in it.

With best wishes,
Yours truly,
[C. G. Jung]

¹⁴³Ernest [Ernst] Harms (1895–1974): Jewish child psychotherapist. Studied with Freud and later with Jung; defended Jung against accusations of anti-Semitism (Harms, 1946). In 1934 he had already published articles on topics such as psychology of religion (Harms, 1931), pedagogy of psychology (Harms, 1931a), and German idealism (Harms, 1933a). Later works include *Psychologie und Psychiatrie der Conversion* (*Psychology and Psychiatry of Conversion*) (1939) and *Origins of Modern Psychiatry* (1967).

4 N

[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.

¹⁴⁷ Jung, “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.

¹⁴⁸ In 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).

¹⁴⁹ Jung (1934a), § 354.

¹⁵⁰ The 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).

¹⁵¹ Jung (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 rottenness 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 JJ]). 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 IAAAP 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.

5 N

[no date]¹⁶⁶

Dear Doctor Jung,

I had actually intended not to write to you from here¹⁶⁷ until I had really settled in and had begun to form at least the start of my own perspective. In the meantime I have realized that this is impossible, for my need to write to you grows rapidly while settling in takes longer. In the first part of my time here, although there were a lot of practicalities to sort out, I was more in Zurich than I was in Palestine. That was not such a bad thing, as only in that way could I get to grips with the not insubstantial surprises. I did not, by any means, come here with any illusions, but what I have found extraordinary was that I haven't found a "people" here with whom I fundamentally feel I belong. I might have known that before, of course, but it was not the case, and the fact that the Jews here as a people, as a not-yet-people, seemed so extremely needy was a shock at first. On the other hand, though, the landscape gripped me in such a compelling way that I couldn't ever have thought possible. Precisely from the place I hadn't expected it, a vantage point emerged. I haven't fully made sense of this. Anyhow, as you prophesied, the anima has gone to ground. She made an appearance all nice and brown, strikingly African, even more impenetrable in me, domineering—with a sisterly relationship to many animals—a boa constrictor, a panther, an elephant, a wild horse and a rhinoceros—thus speaks an image.¹⁶⁸ That this gives me strength, however, I feel strongly. Even dreams are confirming it.

¹⁶⁶Tel Aviv, written between 15 June 1934—the publication date of Neumann's rejoinder to Kirsch—and 19 July 1934.

¹⁶⁷Neumann immigrated to Palestine in May 1934. His first address in Tel Aviv was Sirkin-street 37.

¹⁶⁸On 11 October 1933, around the time of Neumann's arrival in Zurich, a panther escaped the local zoo and was on the run for ten weeks (see *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 17 January 1934). Perhaps the image of the panther in the dream was informed by this incident that caused

The situation here is exceedingly serious, as I see it. The original spiritual, idealistic forces who established the country, the core of the working class and of the land settlements are being repressed by a growing wave of undifferentiated, egotistic, short-sighted, entrepreneurial Jews, flooding here because of the economic opportunities.¹⁶⁹ Thanks to this, everything is escalating more and more, and a growing politicization of the best is obstructing all horizons. But this politicization is inevitable as the situation of the country is devoid of all state authority and gives power to the negative individual like nowhere else does. So everything points to fascism regardless of where it might originate. As a people, the Jews are infinitely more stupid than I expected, while only a concerted effort could overcome the difficult situation of being sandwiched between the Arabs and the English.¹⁷⁰ Please don't misunderstand me—I am not reproaching the Jew. How could it be any different? We come, as individuals, from who knows where and are then supposed to be one people. That all takes time, but I must state it as it is. So, I believe, the situation is rather muddled—but I'm not qualified politically and I haven't been here long—and herein lies my hope. I can well imagine that Palestine will get dangerously close to the abyss and I assume that the Jews, in a paradoxical situation, will then come to their senses—as ever. Everywhere the economy is booming, it's all hard work and speculation. There is little interest in intellectual things except among the workers and almost none in things Jewish. A newly prospering petit bourgeois middle class is evident everywhere, not only in Tel Aviv. All of this is quite natural. We find ourselves in a strongly extraverted phase—how else could Palestine be developed? The Jews are coming to a—terrible—civilization. It cannot be changed. The

widespread concern in Zurich at the time. Exotic animals feature also prominently in a number of unpublished poems Neumann had written in the years 1926–30, as well as in some of his drawings (NP).

¹⁶⁹ For Neumann's first impression of Palestine, see introduction, pp. xviii–xx.

¹⁷⁰ The British Empire occupied Palestine—then part of the Ottoman Empire—in 1917, the same year the British foreign secretary Arthur James Balfour (1848–1930) declared in a letter to Baron Walter Rothschild (1868–1937) that “His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object” (2 November 1917). On the Balfour declaration, see Schneer (2010). In 1922, the League of Nations granted Britain a mandate for Palestine, which it held until 14 May 1948, the day the state of Israel was proclaimed.

traditionlessness of this struggle that has no core gives everything a rather ghostly demeanor. It is a people of infinite opposites. What orthodoxy does exist here is so immeasurably foreign to me that I'm shaken by it. Alongside this are the unprincipled speculators and then the hordes of people who, by the investment of their substance, have constructed the prettiest villages and landscapes out of deserts and swamps. Overall, there are many individuals who are not yet visible, but who are there and whose time will eventually come, individuals for whom it will be worth it.

It is strange to recognize that my generation will only be an interim generation here—our children will be the first ones to form the basis of a nation. We are Germans, Russians, Poles, Americans etc. What an opportunity it will be when all the cultural wealth that we bring with us is really assimilated into Judaism. I don't share your opinion at all that there will be no Alexandrianism¹⁷¹ here, but rather, either nothing at all or something completely new, if, as I believe, despite everything, the Jews have retained their incredible ability to assimilate.

The way forward, as I see it, is certainly as hard as it is dangerous. I actually fear that all our repressed instincts, all our desires for power and revenge, all our mindlessness and hidden brutality will be realized here. Indeed, the ongoing development of the Jews failed precisely because, on the one hand, they were united in a collective-religious bond and, on the other, they were under pressure from other nations as individuals. After the emancipation they caught up unnaturally quickly and powerfully with the Western trend toward the individual (secularization, rationalization, extraversion, the break with the continuity of the past), and thereby the shadow was finally "liberated," and here in Palestine it can reveal itself for the first time as, here, there is no external pressure. That will not be pleasant—perhaps we will all be killed, but it's no use—it simply must be out in the open at last and worked through. (I wonder often if I am

¹⁷¹ German historian Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884) used the term *Hellenization* in order to describe the spreading of Greek culture and language in the former Persian Empire during the conquest and reign of Alexander III of Macedon (356–323 BCE), known as Alexander the Great (Droysen, 1833). Jung's usage of the term *Alexandrianism* might refer to this model of cultural insemination where the incoming culture is integrated and assimilated by the hitherto prevailing culture.

projecting all of this, but it does seem to me to be more than mere projection.) In the face of this apparently historic necessity, the chaos here becomes not only bearable to me but I also feel myself to be infinitely closely bound up with it; I emerge out of this to my own “people.” I must, though, confess that I am quite often afraid at the same time. I feel myself here to be quite accountable and I still know that my place is here, quite independently from whether the Jews will grant me this place one day or not.

Of course, I have very little to do, although there is still something, but I am not worried as I had reckoned with an extended lead-in time. I am preparing a great deal, am absolutely not unproductive, and now—and this is new—and for this, along with infinitely more, I thank the work with you—it is no longer work “for me”; on the contrary it wants to exist in reality.

This includes a response to an article by Dr. Kirsch¹⁷² in the *Jüdische Rundschau*¹⁷³ of which you will be aware. As it appeared in a very abridged version, the strongly critical Zionist aspect was deleted, so I’m sending you a copy. I have now made contact with Dr. Kirsch whom I only knew fleetingly. He gave me your reminder¹⁷⁴ about

¹⁷²James Isaac Kirsch (1901–1989): Psychotherapist of Jewish origin. Studied medicine at the University of Heidelberg; analysis with Toni Sussmann in Berlin from 1922 to 1926 and, from 1929 on, with Jung and Toni Wolff in Zurich; in later years he had also professional training with Liliane Frey-Rohn and C. A. Meier. In 1933 Kirsch immigrated with his wife Eva to Palestine where they settled down in Tel Aviv; in 1935, he, now together with his former patient and second wife-to-be Hilde (née Silber), left Palestine for London, where he continued to practice until 1940, the year they moved to California. Kirsch helped to found the Medical Society of Analytical Psychology in London in 1936 and was pivotal in building up the Jungian community in Los Angeles. Jung and Kirsch were in correspondence until Jung’s death in 1961 (Jung and Kirsch, 2011). Kirsch wrote two books: *Shakespeare’s Royal Self* (1966) and *The Reluctant Prophet* (1973). On Kirsch see Thomas B. Kirsch (2003; 2011) and Lammers (2011).

¹⁷³James Kirsch, “Die Judenfrage in der Psychotherapie: Einige Bemerkungen zu einem Aufsatz von C. G. Jung” (“The Jewish Question in Psychotherapy: Some Remarks on an Article by C. G. Jung”) was published in the *Jüdische Rundschau* on 29 May 1934. Neumann’s rejoinder came out on 15 June 1934 (Neumann, 1934). In his letter to Gerhard Adler from 19 June 1934 Jung asks Adler to write to the *Jüdische Rundschau* on his behalf in order to clarify his position in regard to Jewish psychotherapy. Adler’s clarification, titled “Ist Jung Antisemit?” (“Is Jung an Anti-Semite?”) was published on 3 August 1934 (Adler, 1934). In his letter Jung also states that he had heard about Dr. Neumann’s rejoinder but had not been able to read it yet (Jung to Adler, 19 June 1934 [JA]). See introduction pp. xxi–xxvii and appendix I.

¹⁷⁴Jung to Kirsch, 26 May 1934: “Regarding your suggestion that I write a special piece about this question, this too has already been anticipated, in that I suggested an exchange of letters with Dr. Neumann, who has worked with me and now lives in Palestine, which would deal with all the contentious questions. Up to now, though, I’ve heard nothing from him”; “When

writing to you—I hope though, dear Dr. Jung, that you will understand that I needed a short break to settle in here. Now I’m ready. Dr. Kirsch is of the opinion that you shared his perception of the 2000-year-old collective neurosis of Judaism.¹⁷⁵ I explore this as well as the essay by Rosenthal¹⁷⁶—which is equally as interesting and important—in a longer elaboration that I do not wish to send you in my barely legible handwriting.¹⁷⁷ In the course of next week I will send you a typed version. Many questions are raised in it and only the typed piece will be the letter of “substance.” I’d like to add something else too. I’ve set myself the big challenge of getting you to write something fundamental about Judaism. I believe I can only do this by simply speaking to you about what is very important to me.

After all, my efforts around the Rosenthal essay have taken me much further as I can show you here—but these are just notes for you, perhaps they’ll develop into more.

you see Dr. Neumann, please greet him from me and remind him that I am waiting to hear from him” (Jung and Kirsch, 2011, pp. 45–46, 47). See introduction pp. xxiii–xxiv.

¹⁷⁵ Jung to Kirsch, 26 May 1934: “The Jewish Christ-complex is a very remarkable business. As you know, I completely agree with you in this respect. The existence of this complex predisposes to a somewhat hysterical general mental attitude, which has become especially clear to me in the course of the present anti-Christian agitation against me” (Jung and Kirsch, 2011, p. 46).

¹⁷⁶ Hugo Rosenthal (1887–1980): German-born pedagogue and Zionist, immigrated with his family to Palestine in 1924, but had to return to Germany after five years due to ill health. In autumn 1933 he became director of the Jewish School of Herrlingen, where he followed a liberal pedagogical concept that enabled students to create a positive Jewish identity. He published numerous articles during those years. When the school was closed in 1939, Rosenthal went to Palestine, changing his name to Josef Jashuvi. He founded and established the Ahawah home for children. On his biography, see Rosenthal (2000). Rosenthal contributed also an article to Jung’s *Wirklichkeit der Seele* (*Reality of the Soul*) titled “Der Typengegensatz in der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte” (“The Typological Contrast in Jewish History of Religion”) (Rosenthal, 1934). As Jung wrote in a letter to Kirsch, the article by a Jewish author on Old Testament psychology was intended to upset the National Socialists and his Jewish critics in the aftermath of the Bally affair (Jung and Kirsch, 2011, p. 47). Neumann wrote a review of this article, which was published in the *Jüdische Rundschau* on 27 July 1934 as “Zur jüdischen Religionsgeschichte” (“On Jewish History of Religion”). Neumann writes: “The application of analytical psychology to theology of which the Rosenthal piece is just a beginning, communicates not only new answers and questions, but it can make a decisive contribution to the re-rooting of the Jew into Judaism by making possible to modern man a personal entry point into the religious and general foundations of Jewish literature” (Neumann, 1934a).

¹⁷⁷ See attachment to the letter 5 N (A).

By the way—something else. Mrs. Kirsch¹⁷⁸ informed me at the end of a detailed conversation about my response, which confirmed my impressions of Dr. Kirsch's essay, that I had gone against the comment of the Jungian analysts by responding in public. I replied that I considered my response to be objectively necessary and important, and that I am not willing to retract factual material out of affiliations unknown to me. It had been unpleasantly gossiped about, apparently, and I hope it is now over with, but I'd like to ask you to tell me if I have behaved incorrectly. I do believe I can communicate with Dr. Kirsch within certain limits, but for me he is anything but authoritative, although, as Mrs. Kirsch informed me, in your opinion, he articulated the best thinking on the Jewish problem years ago, and has been authorized to educate Jungian analysts, and his opinion coincides with yours, for example, on the Yahweh complex, the Christ complex, and on collective neurosis. I very much strive for objectivity; I see much in these issues very differently from Dr. Kirsch, and would like to find out for myself whether your opinion deviates so much from mine. Until now I had formed a very different impression about this. It would not have occurred to me to write to you about this were it not for Mrs. Kirsch's intervention. I have considered myself (and still do) to be very attached to you and your work—does this oblige me to a public conformity with your students? I would be very concerned if that were the case, but I am convinced that it is not so. To the best of my knowledge my response to Kirsch is free of personal issues.

I hope you will be able to make sense of my handwriting; if not, let me know and I will write my letters on a typewriter.

Dear Dr. Jung, it still seems too crass simply to thank you for what I have received from you; I am ambitious enough to say that I hope to be able to give something to you in return too. I don't think it is

¹⁷⁸ Eva Kirsch (1901–1999): Physical trainer and psychotherapist; underwent a Freudian analysis first, followed by a Jungian training—also with Jung himself. She married James Kirsch in 1926. Together with their two children they left Berlin for Tel Aviv (Palestine) in 1933. They were accompanied by James's patient Hilde Silber, who would become his second wife in 1935, and her children. After her separation from James, Eva went back to Berlin and opened a private practice. In 1938, she fled to Wales and settled down as a physical therapist and psychotherapist. See Thomas B. Kirsch (2011, p. xiii) and Jung and Kirsch (2011, pp. 5–6, n. 8).

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that I cannot say thank you—that is just not enough. This is connected to the fact that I did not know what to do when you gave me the gift of *The Sermons*.¹⁷⁹

Forever yours,
E. Neumann

¹⁷⁹ *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos* (*Seven Sermons to the Dead*) (Jung, 1916), a text written by Jung but attributed to the semilegendary Gnostic teacher Basilides of Alexandria. The *Septem Sermones* originated from the visions that Jung had in the years from 1913 to 1917 and which would form the contents of *The Red Book*. Jung had the text privately printed in a limited edition in 1916. He gave copies to a selected few of his students and friends. Toward the end of his life Jung agreed that the text should be published as an addendum to *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Neumann's copy holds an inscription by Jung: "zur freundlichen Erinnerung. C. G. Jung" ("in fond memory. C. G. Jung") (NP).

5 N (A)¹⁸⁰

[HANDWRITTEN ADDENDUM:] LETTER I

The Rosenthal essay is, without question, exceptionally interesting and important, my remarks, observations and objections seek only to take further the problems under consideration in it. Firstly I wish to go into the Jacob-Esau problem, the Samuel-Saul story, which has occupied me for a long time, I see actually quite differently in a crucial way. It seems to me an addendum is much more necessary than for the Jacob-Esau section. Dear esteemed Doctor, I gladly take this opportunity to write you some of my thoughts on the Jewish problem at the same time as “Applications.” Please regard these things as questions, wherever they certainly occur, for this is what they are. Perhaps then something definitive will emerge through your response.

Principally, it seems to me to come down to an application of the whole of your psychology to religious-historical problems, the confinement to typology is not without risk despite its fruitfulness. The Rosenthal essay does not go far enough in some things, this is apparently due to some sort of perhaps moral restriction. Only in this way is it comprehensible why R. does not push forward to obvious consequences. A systematic basic objection concerns the fact that it seems impossible to me to treat the mythical-historical Jacob-story in exactly the same way as the historically individual books of Samuel.

Jacob cannot be analyzed as an individual human being without a psychological understanding of the basic religious concepts that shape the foundation of the events. One misses the point if one does not first understand what “blessing,” and what “first-born” mean. One might only speak of “hoodwinking the firstborn” if this were a report about a modern person, which R. almost seems to assume. Here

¹⁸⁰This is the separate content letter Neumann refers to in 5 N. It was probably attached to 5 N and titled “Letter I.” Subsequently, Jung and Neumann refer to this manuscript as “Anmerkungen.” See introduction, pp. xxix–xxx.

lurks another unanalytical prejudice that knows nothing of early psychology.

I do not mean a defense of Jacob, but one must pursue the inequality of the brothers much further into the deeper layers of the collective unconscious. R. does this only insofar as, in his opinion, the private individual Jacob is in touch with the collective unconscious. Thus, he himself emphasizes the myth as a dream of the people; but if a people dreams and particularly if it dreams such things as these, then this is always a matter of fundamental conflicts with the collective unconscious. For sure, the people—individual correlation is present, and for us, the starting point is the individual, because a “people” barely still exists. On the other hand, one must proceed in reverse in the analysis of texts such as the Bible. The events are a given fact in the collective unconscious and we can press forward from there, perhaps, to the “individual,” as far as that existed then. But the average biblical person is still fully unconscious, only a pure exponent of the collective unconscious, and it is precisely the patriarchs, prophets etc. who enter into dialogue with the collective unconscious and in this way they are “heroes” and individuals.

One has to proceed from the basic introversion of Judaism, which, according to the biblical account, was shaped by the patriarchs and prophets who were essentially introverted intuitives with thinking, so belonged to the “moral variety.” The decisive turn inward is common to them all, to a world whose center manifested itself to them as Y.H.W.H. in visions and prophecies. This radical bias toward internal demands explains substantial parts of Judaism. The emphasizing of the subject and fear of the object lead first to segregation, chosenness, holiness, to the tendency of not intermingling with the world, of privileging the inner voice and of changing the world according to this. The exponents of this inner tradition from the patriarchs until the Zaddikim must express what Y.H.W.H. has to say on every situation and make sure that He reigns, i.e., by creating institutions so that Y.H.W.H. becomes the center of the inner world as well as the Lord of the reluctant object world, that this latter submits itself and becomes holy.

Now the essential thing is that the inferior function of the introverted intuitive is “an extraverted sensation type of a lower, more

primitive variety.”¹⁸¹ Hence, the correlate to the extreme introverted intuition of Judaism is the almost compulsive neurotic seeming exterior of Judaism, the “Law.” The negative side of the Jew, an object-addicted, voracious sexuality, an obsession with power, money and acquisitiveness, and a murderous intent constitute the Jewish shadow, which intuitive nations such as, for example, the Germans alone¹⁸² see. This explains, I believe, a part of anti-Semitism with its belief in the Elders of Zion, the ritual murder tale and the devilish image of the Jew. In an ingenious way—after all a symptom always has a teleological propensity—the Law tames the propensity of the inferior function to realize itself and thereby guarantees at the same time the introversion of the libido toward Y.H.W.H. Judaism’s hostility toward nature is only a projection of the fear of its own inferior extraversion.

So the Jacob-Esau conflict is, for sure, the mythological struggle of the patriarch as a representative of introversion with the natural inferior inherent extraversion. But this conflict is fundamental for Judaism; I would like to pursue it further as it seems to be one of its essential components.

(From: M. J. bin Gorion, “Jewish Legends and Myths,” Volume II, “The Patriarchs,” pp. 353ff. to be found in the appendix “Sources.”)¹⁸³

II.

“At the very creation of the world, the Lord determined that the sun would be the Kingdom of Esau, and the moon, the Kingdom of Jacob.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Jung, 1921, § 663.

¹⁸² Handwritten addendum.

¹⁸³ Bin-Gorion, 1919 (subsequent translations from Bin-Gorion by Heather McCartney).

¹⁸⁴ Bin-Gorion, 1919, p. 354.

I.

“It is said that when Jacob and Esau were still in their mother’s womb, Jacob spoke to Esau: ‘My brother Esau, here are the two of us and two worlds lie before us, a world on this side and a world on the other side. The one world is the world where one eats and drinks, the world of trade and change; but the other side has nothing of all those. If it is your will, you take this side and I will keep the other side for myself.’ In this moment, Esau took his portion in this world, but Jacob chose the next.”¹⁸⁵

III.

“Know that Isaac had two faces, one holy and one wicked; the face that was turned inward was holy, but the one turned outward was unholy. From the inner one, Jacob earned his support; but Esau cleaved to the external one; to him in turn do the rulers of the left-hand side of the world cling.”¹⁸⁶

(Note on Esau as ruler of the left-hand side of the world. The right is always—in kabbalah too—the masculine side of grace, blessing, Michael is its angel, the guardian Lord of the Jews. On the left, Gabriel often stands, the highest Lord above all courts of the world, also on the left in kabbalah is the feminine side, the court.

It seems to me that this can be deduced from the introverted intuitive structure of Judaism—at least of the Midrash¹⁸⁷ and the kabbalah. In general, the left is the unconscious, but that is initially the shadow that is experienced as a projection onto the world. It is extraverted: “courts of the world,” because at the same time the “court” considers this extraversion as a sin. That this is the feminine side is unquestionably associated with the anima, which is known to play

¹⁸⁵ Bin-Gorion, 1919, p. 353.

¹⁸⁶ Bin-Gorion, 1919, pp. 354–55.

¹⁸⁷ *Midrash*, pl. *Midrashim*, Hebrew for interpretation or exposition, is a homiletic methodology of biblical exegesis; it also refers to a compilation consisting of the Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament. In contrast to the Bible the Midrashim belong to the oral tradition.

a very negative role as Lilith. I think too that the visibility of the shadow that you stress is connected to this. It is exactly the intuitive who sees the world under the projection of his shadow. Likewise Judaism. C./f., hostility to nature and later the moral problem.)

That the Jews have a very particular relationship to the moon does not only originate in the places cited, but even more from the meaning of the new moon festival which in no way corresponds to the last vestiges of sun worship. It transcends by far the fact of the moon calendar, which is certainly symptomatic. The historical relationship of Abraham with the Babylonian moon-worshipping cities of Ur and Haran may also play a part here. Equally, I would like to mention that the first law given to Moses at the exodus from Egypt is the institution of the moon calendar and the instigation of the new moon festival. The Israel-Moon identity seems to find its beginnings here already. Later it is expressed clearly: "As the new moons are renewed and sanctified in this world, so will Israel maintain its regeneration and sanctification in the future."¹⁸⁸ The moon, not the sun is, for the Jews, renewal and rebirth; the ebb and flow of the moon's phases correspond, according to old tradition, to the image of the historical life of the Jews.

I would like to go into the moon problem more comprehensively because only in this way can the Jacob-Esau conflict become visible to its full extent.

The consecration of the new moon plays a decisive role in biblical Judaism; at the new moon and on the Sabbath one went to the prophets (IIK4:23),¹⁸⁹ in Isaiah it says of the messianic time: "From new moon to new moon and from Sabbath to Sabbath all flesh will come to bow down before me" (66:23) and again, from the second century, a saying has been handed down: "Had Israel inherited no other privilege than to greet the presence of their Heavenly Father once a month, it would be sufficient."¹⁹⁰ Characteristically, in the XVII century, through the influence of kabbalah, the day of the new

¹⁸⁸ According to the *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer* (chapter 51, p. 410) this saying is attributed to Rabbi Gamaliel: "Just as the New Moons are renewed and sanctified in this world, so will Israel be sanctified and renewed in the future world just like the New Moons."

¹⁸⁹ 2 Kings 4:23: "And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to day? it is neither new moon, nor sabbath. And she said, It shall be well" (KJB).

¹⁹⁰ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Sanhedrin* (Folio 42a): "In the school of Rabbi Ishmael it was taught: Had Israel inherited no other privilege than to greet the presence of their Heavenly Father once a month, it were sufficient."

moon gained a new significance as a minor “Day of Atonement” and with this we are getting close to its real content.

You will be familiar with the central place of the day of atonement in Jewish life. At its heart is the following ritual: the High Priest had sacrificed one of two rams, on the other one, which had been chosen by lots, he laid the confession of sins of the entire people, where, on one single occasion in the year, while people and priests fall to the floor, the name of Y.H.W.H. is proclaimed aloud and he cries “you shall be clean.” Then the goat, the scapegoat, is sent into the desert to Azazel. According to Goldberg, *El ha-es* means Goat-god.¹⁹¹ At the new moon consecration also, the sacrifice for sin is a goat. The sanctification declares: You have given your people new moons, a time of atonement for all descendants, as they offered sacrifices to please you and scapegoats to create atonement for themselves, they should be a reminder for all and *a redemption of their soul from the hand of the enemy*.¹⁹²

Here a small digression on the “goat” should be interpolated. The goat is, in contrast to the “smooth moon,” (Jacob see also [unreadable]) also the hairy, radial sun. Among the Germans he is clearly a sun symbol. Esau-goat-hairy-ruddy sun stands in contrast to Jacob-flat-white-moon. This goat-sun means negative extraversion, c./f. the lasciviousness of the goat is its own impurity and—projected—the impurity of the world. This is why the goat later becomes the devil. (I don’t know whether all this was familiar to you; it was new to me.)

The further development of the problem can now follow the rite of the new moon celebration. Pleas for the restoration of Zion, of the ministries, etc., are connected to the cited sanctification, and it is stated in the worship for the consecration of the moon: “and he spoke to the moon, that it would be renewed, as a crown of radiance for those blessed from their mother’s womb, which shall be renewed in

¹⁹¹ Goldberg, 1925, p. 281.

¹⁹² The musaf recited on Rosh Chodesh (New Moon): “New Moons have You given to Your people, a time of atonement for all their generations; that they should sacrifice before You sacrifices for favor and goats of sin-offering for their atonement. It shall be a remembrance for all, their souls’ deliverance from the hand of the enemy.”

the same way.”¹⁹³ (Those blessed from their mothers’ wombs refers to Isaiah 46:3 where it is written that Y.H.W.H. carries the Jews from their mother’s womb onward.) Then follows, as a new important motif, a request to abolish forever the darkening of the moon and its diminution. “And the light of the moon shall be like the light of the sun.”¹⁹⁴

At the creation, moon and sun were in fact equally large. Some texts on this problem: (Gorion, *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 15–16).

“Sun and moon were both equally large, as it is written: God made two great lights. And they remained equal in greatness until the moon came and complained. It spoke before the Lord: Lord of the world, why did you create your world with Bet, the second letter? (Start of the Torah: Bereshit).¹⁹⁵ Thus spoke the Lord: So that it will be manifest to all my creatures that I placed the letter two at the beginning (Hebrew Beth = 2),¹⁹⁶ in the beginning I placed the letter two because I also created two worlds, and so shall the word of only two witnesses be heard. The moon spoke: but which of the worlds is greater than the other? Is it this one here or the world beyond? The Lord spoke: The other world is greater than this one. The moon said: Behold, you created two worlds, a world beyond and this world. The world beyond is great, this world is small; you created a heaven and an earth; the heaven is greater than the earth; you created the fire and water; water extinguishes fire. Now you created the sun and the moon; must not the one be greater than the other? Thus spoke the Lord: It is evident and clear to me that you think I will make you great and the sun small. But because you wished evil to the sun, you shall become the smaller and your light will be sixty times less than that of the sun. The moon said to the Lord: O Lord of the world! It was just one word that I said and because of this I must be so harshly punished? The Lord said: One day you will be as great as the sun once again and the light of the moon will be like that of the sun.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ *Babylonian Talmud: Tractate Sanhedrin* (Folio 42a): “The moon He ordered that she should renew herself as a crown of beauty for those whom He sustains from the womb, and who will, like it, be renewed in the future, and magnify their Maker in the name of the glory of His kingdom.”

¹⁹⁴ Isaiah 30:26: “Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun” (KJB).

¹⁹⁵ Insertion by Neumann.

¹⁹⁶ Insertion by Neumann.

¹⁹⁷ Bin-Gorion, 1913, pp. 15–16.

Unquestionably the moon here is the representative of introversion, the inner world, it knows itself to be a symbol of the other side. Characteristically enough, its claim to power demands that it should become the greater. Thus it is made smaller. The inadequacy of the inner moon world is achieved along with the awesome, greater, more powerful object-sun world. This motif of making the moon smaller contains, however, very much deeper things. A problem arises here which is the problem of the introvert, of the Jew: Is Y.H.W.H. not the center of the inner world? Why does he allow the powerlessness of his—the inner—world? The psychic problem that is concealed in this symbolism leads directly to an indictment against God. (We shall soon see that yet another basic problem is lurking behind this subjectively determined indictment.) In any case the indictment against God is clearly expressed in the following story: (Gorion, Vol. 1, pp. 6–7).

“God seeks two great lights, the sun and the moon. The moon spoke before the Lord: O Lord of the world: Is it proper that two kings have only one crown? The Lord replied: Go forth and become the smaller light. Then spoke the moon before the Lord: Because I have spoken a true word, am I now to become smaller? And the Lord replied: For this, you shall rule by day and by night. But the Lord saw that moon did not become quieter and he regretted doing this thing and he commanded Israel after this and said: You shall bring a sin offering for me because I have made the moon smaller. And this is the new moon goat that was sacrificed when the temple of God still stood there.”¹⁹⁸

Here God’s guilt is very clear, it is in order to absolve him that the sacrifice is brought. Before we attempt the interpretation of this problem, we must draw on a third text that seems to stand in contrast to both of the others and in which making the moon smaller is attributed to evil powers, as is common amongst many peoples. (Gorion, *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 356–57.)

“In the writings of the Gaonim we read: Seven days before the rising of the moon, the multitude of the meek prepare themselves for battle with Semaël and his legions because of the diminution of the moon; but the hairy one got into an argument with the smooth one

¹⁹⁸ Bin-Gorion, 1913, pp. 6–7.

out of envy of the beauty of the moon, and Michael and Gabriel made war with the accusers. But at the end of the seventh day, Gabriel weakens her strength and the High Priest Michael takes the Semasael that stands by the side of the hairy one and that looks like a ram and brings it as a type of sacrifice onto the altar that is built at the start of every month for atonement. Then the will of the Most High is appeased, the moon becomes great and full and the power of the ram is consumed by the fire of the Almighty. At the time of the waning of the moon, the ram rejuvenates itself and grows all over again, and this is how it has been until doomsday shall come of which it is said: the light of the moon will be like that of the sun.”¹⁹⁹

Therefore we must take two facts into consideration. The moon is made small by God and by the evil one. But beside this, the smallness of the moon is closely connected with its opacity (both have been simultaneously reversed messianically). What does this mean, which facts of the matter are intended?

Obviously it is a matter here of a double division of the world. On the one hand, of a division into a sun and a moon world, into an inner and outer, for which, from the introverted perspective, the inner world is smaller and weaker. But at the same time, this weakening is due to the repetition of this split world in the interior. The moon is also split, subject to changing opacity, the “evil one” lies in the interior; the inferior function, which is coupled with the external world, lies behind the double nature of the collective unconscious. On the one hand, the opacity of the moon, the fact of the inferior function, is the source of the moral problem. But on the other hand, ultimately the moral problem and its source, i.e., evil itself, seem to be inherent in God’s division into an inner and an outer world. This means, in the end, the demand of the moon that does not desire this twoness but rather unity, the supremacy of the inner world, if one disregards its undoubted will to power. As far as there is a will to power, it is the inferior function, opacity, which leads to diminishment, as far as the objection refers to the split, God has done the moon an injustice. (Text 2) In this context belongs something that has already been brought to our attention—that, on the second day

¹⁹⁹ Bin-Gorion, 1919, pp. 356–57.

of creation, at the separation of the water above and below the firmament, the exclamation “And he saw that it was good” is absent.

First, we wish to further pursue only the moral side of this problem. The inadequacy of the internal world for the external one is due to the fact that there is an inferior part within it. Only when this disappears does the opacity disappear, the light of the moon becomes like that of the sun, and Self and the world become appropriate sizes. This opacity is removed in Judaism and in Christianity, which succeeds it, by the *sacrifice of the inferior function*, i.e., the sacrifice of the inferior object relationship, which atones, i.e., the outwardly projected libido is reinstated to the inner side, to Y.H.W.H. Thus, by the sacrifice of the goat, the moon becomes “large and full.” This moral process is, however, unavoidably eternal, only in the messianic time is the opacity and smallness of the moon redeemed.

The Jacob-Esau problem is situated with this background of the polarity of the collective unconscious with its moon-sun symbolism. The cited points prove that the problem is such that it almost came to the conscious formulation of the world’s polarity, the following location proves this: (Gorion, see Vol. II, p. 354).

“On the fifth day God created the great whales, which are Jacob and Esau, and all creatures that live and weave—these are the levels that lie between the two.”²⁰⁰

After this comprehensive excursion, I think I can still bring another contribution that, it seems to me, illuminates the whole profundity of Jacob’s wrestling with an angel.

I am fully aware that I am, in part, saying the same as R. and where my perception differs from that of R. will hopefully have become clear. A basic error seems to me to be that R. apparently considers Jacob to be an extraverted sensation type in whom intuitive introversion thus resides as an inferior function in his unconscious, and that he assumes a fundamental character transformation in Jacob in order to square things. There is absolutely no such transformation of character in the sense of a conversion. If you look more closely, R. is prevented by a remnant from rationalism from seeing things correctly. One must start with the text, otherwise there is nothing to be done

²⁰⁰ Bin-Gorion, 1919, p. 354.

with such an analysis that must proceed like a dream analysis. According to this text, however, Jacob's consciousness is completely occupied by the internal reality of Y.H.W.H., only in this way does he achieve his role as father of his tribe and his visions.

From his earliest youth, Jacob has full consciousness of being the carrier of God's blessing. This begins with the fact his mother Rebecca—whose superior significance both he and his father Isaac defer to—attributes this function to his attaining the firstborn privilege from Esau, the achievement of the blessing from Isaac. The great vision at his exodus makes that absolutely and undoubtedly unequivocally clear. His inferior extraversion, which lies in his unconscious, finds expression precisely in the place he lives unconsciously, i.e., this means for these early people as far as he lives every day. For sure, through the fight with the angel, something new happens in Jacob, a transformation, but, to my mind, not at all in the way R. means. (In this way, one can also avoid the contradictions that are present for R., as on the one hand the appearance of Esau requires the enlivening of what is living in Esau's unconscious, on the other hand, according to R., Jacob's consciousness is negative, and the positive of the promise of the fathers lives in his unconscious. I think my interpretation simplifies not only the fact, but allows the text's meaning to emerge.)

For clarity's sake, I would like to assemble the text which has been rather abbreviated by R.

1) Before Jacob approaches the Esau problem, angels of God meet him, and Jacob mysteriously names the place: Double encampment, with the justification: This is an encampment of God ([Gen.] 32:2–30), then he sends messengers (= angels) to his brother Esau.

2) The renaming of Jacob as Israel is interpreted: "Fighter of God, for you have struggled with God and man and overcome."²⁰¹

3) Jacob names the place of the struggle Peniel, the face of God, for "I have seen God face to face and my soul was spared." ([Gen.] 32:31 c./f. Hallowing of Moon)

4) Jacob says at the meeting with Esau: For I have now seen your face as one sees the face of God and you have shown me kindness. ([Gen.] 32:10)

²⁰¹ Genesis 32:28.

Before and during the struggle, Jacob does not know whom he is fighting with, this can be seen clearly enough from the question about the name of the “he.” In contrast comes the naming of the place “Peniel” and the later remark to Esau that shows that the opponent was “God” in Esau’s form. What does this paradox mean? Here, too, R. is centrally correct in his holding to the idea that Esau becomes the divine principle, the evil one moreover, but also with this formulation R. does not penetrate to the root of the event.

The apparition, being the inferior part within Jacob and, at the same time, the representative of the “negative” world, is engaged in the battle with Jacob. The same formulation that Jacob speaks at the end of the battle—“and my soul was spared”—occurred, as we saw, in the hallowing of the moon: “brought the scapegoat to atone for . . . to save your soul from the hand of the enemy,”—and yet it is a matter here of a fundamental opposition. The collective solves the problem of evil in a moral way, through the sacrifice of the inferior function. In Jacob, something takes place that is evidently diametrically oppositional. The inferior function is compelled to bless Jacob and with this, its structure is changed. In or after the fight, Jacob recognizes that evil, the negative world, is likewise God. Esau, as the face of God, that is the terrible expansion of the issue, the assimilation of the inferior part of one’s own structure and thereby also of the structure of the world is thus achieved. Only this realization makes Jacob capable of coming out of the “half world” of introversion, by experiencing the “other side” of the world as divine. With this experience, he has “fought with man and God and overcome.” This struggle is a process of individuation, being an assimilation of the shadow and of the adversarial figure from the collective unconscious that is identical to him. In him, humanity—his own inferior function, and “Godhood”—the negative world-side of God, is overcome, which was already implied in the Midrash in the problem of splitting. But Jacob fights as a fighter of God, it is a matter of a face-to-face fight, the God-side of Jacob fights with the God-side of Esau. Both are God. But, while Jacob’s realization is the exterior, even the evil one. [...]²⁰²

²⁰² The end of the letter is missing.

6 N

[19. VII. 1934]

Dear Doctor Jung,

As I'm sending you the anticipated "Applications and Questions,"²⁰³ I am myself equally surprised at how many typewritten pages it has turned into, and I fear that you will be surprised by this "flood." I know well that this is a certain imposition, but I don't know what else to do. I've been agonizing about what position you will take in response to my remarks, but gradually I've been coming to the conclusion that it would be more sensible for me not to worry on your behalf. I am fully aware that you may not be in a position to respond as comprehensively as my letters seem to "demand," but you will understand that these things matter to me a great deal, and it seems better in this case to "demand" too much rather than too little, as the planned letter exchange has come to nothing anyway and I am only "demanding" for myself. It is up to you, dear Doctor Jung, to respond with as much or as little as your time and work allow, but I have firmly resolved not to let up, so I must warn you against me once again in good time. I have the firm intention not to give you any peace about the Jewish problem and, if necessary, I will earn again the lost tenacity and stubbornness of my race in order to be taken into the depths of these problems by you so that I no longer see them from a blinkered standpoint. I think I must also make a confession, although it is not pleasant to do so. Before I came to you, I was rather sad that I was not able to go to a Jewish authority because I wanted to go to a "teacher" and I found it typified precisely the decline of Judaism that it had no such authoritative personality in its ranks. With you, I became aware of what was prototypical in my situation. According to Jewish tradition, there are Zaddikim of the nations,

²⁰³ Attachment 6 N (A).

and that is why the Jews have to go to the Zaddikim of the nations—perhaps that is why they do not have any of their own left. This Jewish situation, the beginning of an exchange, of an understanding *sub specie dei*²⁰⁴—this is what makes this “letter exchange” so important to me. Please do not misunderstand me. This is not supposed to be a presumption on my part, I am really no “legitimate” representative of Judaism, although you are absolutely a legitimate representative of the Occidental world; I know therefore how unevenly the weights are distributed. But I am only writing to you about my perceptions and, if I can see the symbolic character behind it, then this should simply point you to my situation and explain to you why I am not afraid to start with Adam when it would be easier to speak only of “now.”

Yours,
Erich Neumann
19. VII.

²⁰⁴“under the sight of God”

(continued...)

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