

The Roots of Jewish Consciousness

Volume Two: Hasidism



ERICH NEUMANN

Edited by Ann Conrad Lammers

Foreword by Moshe Idel

ROUTLEDGE

THE ROOTS OF JEWISH CONSCIOUSNESS, VOLUME TWO

The Roots of Jewish Consciousness, Volume Two: Hasidism is the second volume, fully annotated, of a major, previously unpublished, two-part work by Erich Neumann (1905–1960). It was written between 1940 and 1945, after Neumann, then a young philosopher and physician and freshly trained as a disciple of Jung, fled Berlin to settle in Tel Aviv. He finished this work at the end of World War II. Although he never published it, he kept it the rest of his life.

Volume Two, *Hasidism*, is devoted to the psychological and spiritual wisdom embodied in Jewish spiritual tradition. Relying on Jung's concepts and Buber's Hasidic interpretations, Neumann seeks alternatives to the legalism and anti-feminine bias that he says have dominated collective Judaism since the Second Temple. He argues that modern Jews can develop psychological wholeness through an appropriation of Hasidic legends, Talmudic texts, and Kabbalistic mysteries, including especially the Zohar. Exclusively, this volume includes a foreword by Moshe Idel. An appendix, Neumann's four-lecture series from the 1940s, gives a glimpse of his intended, unpublished Part Three.

These volumes anticipate Neumann's later works, including *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, and *The Great Mother*. In Volume Two, *Hasidism*, his concept of the ego–Self axis is developed in clearly psychological terms. Four previously unpublished essays, appended to Volume Two, illustrate Neumann's developmental psychology, including his theme of primary and secondary personalization. This unique work will appeal to Jungian analysts and psychotherapists in training and in practice, historians of psychology, Jewish scholars, biblical historians, and teachers of comparative religion, as well as academics and students.

Erich Neumann (1905–1960) was a student of C. G. Jung, a philosopher, psychologist, and writer. Born in Germany, he moved to Israel in 1934, where he became a practicing analytical psychologist. His previously published works, including *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, have never been out of print.

Ann Conrad Lammers, Ph.D., received her Master of Divinity from The General Theological Seminary in New York and her doctorate in theology and psychology from Yale University. A Jungian psychotherapist and marriage and family therapist, she retired from practice in 2015 to edit *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness*.

“Erich Neumann is cited more than any single psychoanalytic writer in the ever-growing exploration of Kabbalah and psychology. So it is gratifying that his work on Kabbalah and Hasidism can now enrich this vibrant discussion. Neumann’s especial contribution is the development of the theme of dual transformation, of the world and of the soul, for Jewish mystical psychology, and highlighting the Hasidic move away from moralism towards radical embracing of the full range of psychic manifestation. This exquisitely crafted project will be of profound interest to all who are concerned with the religious life as such.”

—**Professor Jonathan Garb, Gershom Scholem Chair in Kabbalah; Chair, Department of Jewish Thought, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel**

THE ROOTS OF JEWISH CONSCIOUSNESS

Volume Two: Hasidism

Erich Neumann

Edited by Ann Conrad Lammers

TRANSLATED BY MARK KYBURZ AND ANN CONRAD LAMMERS

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In memoriam Erel Shalit



Erich Neumann in Ascona, Switzerland: at Casa Eranos, c. 1955.

Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Erich Neumann Estate.

Erich Neumann (1905–1960) was born and raised in Berlin, the second son of a successful merchant family. At university in Erlangen, where he began his study of psychology, he wrote a dissertation on the “mystical linguistics” of Johann Arnold Kanne, a “forgotten Romantic.” Neumann entered medical school in 1928, intending to be a psychiatrist and psychotherapist. That year, too, he married Julie Blumenfeld. Their son, Micha, was born in June 1931.

Eighteen months later, as Neumann was finishing medical school, Hitler came to power. Jews were immediately barred from many positions, including medical internships. Recognizing the dire significance of the moment, Erich and Julie, Zionists since their teens, left for Palestine/Israel in the fall of 1933 with two-year-old Micha. On the way, however, they stopped in Zurich, where Erich underwent eight months of analytic training with C. G. Jung.

After settling in Tel Aviv in 1934, Neumann began to practice as a Jungian analyst and also to write the present work. A daughter, Rachel (Rali), was born in May 1938. In 1940 Neumann finished the first part of *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness*. In 1945, as the war was ending in Europe, he finished the second part. Then, for reasons that are imperfectly known, he laid the whole work aside.

Erich Neumann’s previously published writings are read worldwide, including *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, *The Great Mother*, *Amor and Psyche*, *Creative Man*, *The Fear of the Feminine*, *The Child* (published by Julie Neumann in 1963), and his many Eranos lectures, delivered from 1948 until his death in 1960. An important early essay, *Jacob and Esau*, edited by Erel Shalit and published in 2015, brings a missing piece of his thought to light. His correspondence with Jung, *Analytical Psychology in Exile*, also appeared in 2015. The two volumes of the present work represent not only the young author’s thorough integration of Jungian theory with Jewish religious symbolism, but also his early development of profound theoretical insights, now recognized as the hallmarks of his psychology.

Ann Conrad Lammers, Ph.D., received her Master of Divinity from The General Theological Seminary in New York and her doctorate in theology and psychology from Yale University. A Jungian psychotherapist and marriage and family therapist, she retired from practice in 2015 to edit *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness*. In addition to journal articles and book chapters, her published works include *The Jung–White Letters* (co-editor, Routledge, 2007) and *The Jung–Kirsch Letters* (editor and co-translator, Routledge, 2011/2016).



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FOREWORD

On Erich Neumann and Hasidism

Hasidism is a popular movement, inspired by earlier Kabbalistic views. Emerging in the second part of the eighteenth century, it was constituted of two major dimensions: the social one, as a movement, and the spiritual one, represented by the ideals it adopted, adapted, and sometimes transformed from earlier Jewish sources and other cultures. Socially speaking, it developed rapidly and was divided between an increasingly larger number of sects, each led by the Hasidic Holy Man, the *tzaddik*, or, to use Neumann's terminology, the Great Individual. These inner divisions within the movement were mainly the result of personal and family factors, including rivalry, because leadership soon became an inherited affair. Even in the same family, the different sons established their own "courts" and sometimes even their own spiritual variants. With the passage of time, these divergences became greater, and so also the polemics between different Hasidic rabbis. Developing over more than two centuries, the spiritual divergences also grew, and it became impossible to simply extract from many thousands of Hasidic documents one coherent doctrine, just as it is impossible to do this in the case of rabbinic Judaism or of Kabbalah.

The complexity of different schools and institutionalized courts invited different scholars to read Hasidism with different eyes: as a part of the history of Jewish mysticism, as part of eighteenth-century eastern Europe, under various sociological readings, or else as part of the more global phenomenon of mysticism. And now, in the present work, we have Neumann's fully fledged, original, psychological approach to Hasidism, using examples from its teaching that he employed only sporadically in his other published work.¹

The first attempts to present Hasidism to the European public, those of Martin Buber, oscillated between the need to account for the major differences between the various Hasidic schools, as evident in the organization of his various books, such as *Tales of the Hasidim*, and the effort toward a more unified vision, as seen

in his two other major treatments of Hasidism: *The Origin and Meaning of Hasidism* and *Hasidism and Modern Man*. The conceptual approach in the latter two books provoked a controversy between Buber and Gershom Scholem, which started in the very year of Erich Neumann's death.

Though he could not have been acquainted with the specific formulations used in the controversy, Neumann was certainly aware of the different stances toward Hasidism that had been adopted by the two giants in the study of Jewish mysticism. He knew them both from his readings, and also from his personal encounters with Scholem in Ascona, at the Eranos conferences, and possibly also in Israel. He was deeply affected by Buber's interpretation of Hasidism and was thus, at least implicitly, in tension with the opposite views of Scholem and his school.

Let me offer a more general characterization of these two great scholars' approaches to Hasidism, which were certainly available to Neumann. The differences between Buber's and Scholem's interpretations are quite significant, touching not only their more general attitudes to Hasidism but also the manner in which they thought it should be presented. First and foremost, they differ as to what they conceive to be the most representative literary documents, those that are most pertinent for the description of Hasidism. Buber preferred the Hasidic collections of legends, basically hagiographies, which he translated into German and also adapted according to his spiritual orientation; while Scholem preferred the more theoretical-exegetical literature, and the stricter philological-historical approaches to these texts. Not less important are their different phenomenological understandings of Hasidism. Buber was more concerned with the this-worldly elements of this literature, especially with the concept of worship-in-corporeality, *'avodah be-gashmiyyut*, a value that he understood in an existential manner. Scholem, in contrast, emphasized the other-worldly aspect of Hasidism. The central Hasidic values, for him, have more to do with the concept of the *devequt*, the union or communion with God, the lifting of the divine sparks from the demonic realm and their purification and elevation on high, and *hitpashetut ha-gashmiyyut*, namely the divestment of corporeality, as well as the central place of pantheism. Likewise, he was inclined to see Hasidism more as a contemplative than as a transformative path.

I would describe these two vectors, respectively, as Hermetic and Neoplatonic. The former deals with the attraction of supernal power, divinity, light, or spirituality within this world, by means of the religious acts of the *tzaddik*, who then distributes it to his disciples. The latter is concerned with the return of the soul and the divine sparks to their supernal source, as part of an ascent on high, or the elevation of sparks.

Needless to say, both approaches are found in Hasidism. The two scholars emphasized different elements that are indeed found in this literature, and each presented his selection as more representative. Thus, both scholars were right, although, at the same time, given the controversy that caused them to harden their positions, both were also wrong in not allowing a significant role to elements and literatures that the other camp chose to emphasize. In other words, if we look at East European Hasidism as a conceptually composite form of mystical thought,

constituted by a variety of spiritual trends—Kabbalistic, ethical, Neoplatonic, Hermetic, Shamanic, and others—the differences between the interpretations offered by these two scholars are much less a matter of diametrically different understandings, but rather of scholars who each referred, more or less emphatically, to existing elements in the rich and diversified composite.

Various attempts have been made to find a comprehensive, fully articulated, distinct message, to identify a “single” tendency, as proposed by an eminent scholar of Hasidism, Joseph Weiss, or to locate the one “spiritual message,” according to Rivka Schatz Uffenheimer, or the “ideal” type of “contemplative prayer,” according to both Schatz Uffenheimer and Louis Jacobs. All of these formulations, basically following Scholem, are monotonic pictures, even though they disagree with each other.

The quandary that should haunt the critical understanding of the founder of Hasidism, R. Israel ben Eliezer, the Master of the Divine Name (whose title provides the acronym “Besht”), as well as that of Hasidism as a religious movement, is how to explain, methodologically speaking, the diverse important interpretations that emerged at the beginning of the movement and reverberated in later stages of Hasidism, without harmonizing between them. The question is, in other words, how to avoid reducing this complexity to what I call a monotonic picture, such as now prevails in dominant scholarship in the field, even though each scholar writing on this figure has his or her peculiar image of the Besht.

An awareness of the tensions between different emphases would contribute better to the understanding of the development of Hasidism. So, for example, the “this-worldly,” transformative tendencies evident in Hasidism, more than in Kabbalah, may be combined with what Neumann calls the introverted type of Judaism, which means that, in Hasidism, one can discern a propensity to interpret biblical and Kabbalistic topics, figures, and values as referring to inner human powers and processes. This tendency has drawn special attention in scholarship, and it is close to the manner in which Neumann reads Hasidism, as evincing an introversive aspect.²

In other words, the complex Hasidic literature has been interrogated by different thinkers in accord with their main concerns. Scholem was interested in Hasidism as the neutralization of the messianic impulses present in the earlier forms of Kabbalistic literature. Buber wrote basically as a phenomenologist of religion. In the present book, Neumann asks different questions, seeing Hasidic texts as a type of document reflecting the psychological development of the individual.

Neumann’s picture of Hasidism is filtered, in two senses. It heavily depends on inevitable choices made by Buber from the immense Hasidic literature. During the above-mentioned controversy, the aging Buber confessed that he was a “filter”—to use his term. That is to say, he offered his own, rather subjective, interpretation. His selection from the corpora of Hasidic writings is evident, because Buber drew incomparably more from the hagiographic writings than from the doctrinal literature. This is a major point in the critique addressed to him by Scholem and his school, which privileged the latter.

Neumann's second filter is the linguistic one, for Buber and Neumann both wrote in German, and this means a translation from one culture to another. To these two filters, Neumann added a third, his Jungian interpretation, which means that he selected passages from Buber's selection. Interestingly enough, Jung's fascination with Kabbalah, which he read in Latin translations or was informed about by Jewish scholars in his entourage, is paralleled by Neumann's much greater interest in Hasidism, which he read mainly in German. Below, I shall try to draw some few examples from the more doctrinal Hasidic treatises, in order to illustrate Neumann's insights.

1. To turn to Neumann's own view: His vision of Hasidism, as expressed in several instances, is definitely this-worldly, emphasizing the world-transforming dimension of Hasidism, and thus close to Buber's approach. This approach is also evident in the ongoing organization of the Hasidic sects in eastern Europe and in the expansion of Hasidism in a variety of centers in Central Europe, in the Land of Israel, and in the United States of America, not to speak of the more recent, well-known activities of the Lubavitch Hasidic emissaries, male and female, all over the world. In short, the imperative of the Messiah to the Besht, in the latter's famous *Epistle of the Ascent of the Soul*, "Let your wellsprings flow forth," actually inspired Hasidic missionary enterprises, forms of activity unparalleled in earlier forms of Judaism.
2. Another feature that Neumann attributes to Hasidism, also related to the this-worldly tendency, is its being "on the way," or changing all the time. Indeed, continuous change is a principle of the Besht. The need to renew in matters of religion is evident in discussions related of him: routine was conceived of as the great enemy of a true religious approach. This emphasis on the urgency of spiritual renewal reflects also the more general character of Hasidism as a movement. But we should focus here on the view of the founder of the movement. Let me introduce a discussion reported in the name of the Besht by his grandson, R. Moshe Hayyim Ephrayim of Sudylkov, who preserved many of his grandfather's teachings:

This is a great principle concerning the worship of God, that the quintessence is faith, and this is what my grandfather was warning, and this is the root of the entire Torah and worship. . . . Just as agedness causes weakness in all the limbs of man because the faculties, the humors and the circulation of blood that vivifies him are in decline, so, too, in the realm of spirituality, an old and aged one does not draw great delight, or vitality, or something new. This is the meaning of the saying "Every day they should be as new in your eyes," because [in Lamentations 3:23] "They are every morning new, [and] great is your faithfulness," which means that, because they are new every morning, namely that you innovate every day the work of creation, by the dint of it, "Your faithfulness is great." We find, therefore, that the quintessence of every prayer and commandment is faith. [*Degeḥ Maḥaneh 'Efrayim* (Jerusalem 1994), p. 214.]

3. What can hardly be found in either Buber or Scholem on Hasidism was Neumann's special interest in the archetype of the Feminine, which he shared with Jung, as both somehow believed in this as a form of supreme divine agency. Indeed, Neumann has been described as the theorist of the Great Mother. Following some earlier Kabbalistic views, the role of the Feminine, especially in its divine dimension, is found in a Hasidic master about whom late in his life Carl G. Jung wrote an often-quoted confession to the effect that: "the Hasidic Rabbi Baer from Meseritz, whom they called the Great Maggid" was the person who "anticipated my entire psychology in the eighteenth century."³ Indeed, Rabbi Dov Baer Friedmann, known as the Great Maggid of Meseritz, a key figure in the development of early Hasidism, was also a major source in Neumann's account of Hasidism, as shown below. The Hasidic master was reported by his disciples to have said:

In the case of Esther it has been written [Esther 5:3] "What is your request up to half of the kingdom": because the kingdom [*Malkhut*] is constituted by two aspects, since there is nothing which is not constituted by male and female. Despite the fact that on its manifest aspect it is male, it has also on its hidden aspect: female. And in the case of the manifest level of the king it is love, on the hidden aspect it is awe . . . which means that when man comes to God in awe then [His] love is aroused" [*Or ha-'Emmet*, (*Bnei Beraq*, 1967), fol. 37c].

The Hasidic master conceives of the *sefirah* of *Malkhut*, the feminine divine power that corresponds to the *Shekhinah*, as containing two aspects, a masculine and a feminine, but he immediately applies this principle to everything else, not just to the divine Female. This is a case of what I call "dual ontology," which assumes the male–female divide as constituting a basic structure of reality as such. If I am allowed a strictly literal reading of the text, "half" can be understood as referring to a relationship of equality between the two aspects of *Malkhut*, the Male and the Female. The polarity that was earlier either cosmic or theosophical in several schools of Kabbalah, and also even in some earlier forms of Judaism, has been applied now to two modes of worship, referred to as "out of love" and "out of awe"—a leitmotif in Hasidic literature, construed here in gender terms. It should be mentioned that, in the present book, Neumann refers many times to Buber's volume that deals with this Hasidic master. A similar approach is found in a well-known Hasidic master who was a disciple of the Great Maggid's disciple, Rabbi Abraham Yehoshu'a Heschel of Apta:

[E]verything in the world necessarily possesses aspects of male and female. This is especially true in the case of the worshiper of God, who has to possess the aspect of male and that of female. . . . namely that of the emanator and of the recipient. The aspect of maleness means, for example, that which is always emanating. By dint of his holiness, and great adhering, and purity of

thought, he emanates a spiritual delight into the supernal lights, worlds, and attributes. And he has also a female aspect, namely that which is the recipient and draws down to the lower worlds the influx from the supernal worlds and to all [the members of] the community of Israel whatever they need and all kinds of good graces, “like sons, life, and sustenance, healing etc.” The aspect of maleness causes influx on high and this influx becomes semen and becomes an aspect of maleness in the female . . . and the female aspect of the *tzaddik* is his faculty of receiving the supernal influx and to draw from above downward all kinds of good things and material issues.

[Ohev Israel (*Zhitomir*, 1863), fol. 81cd]

When taken together, these two passages, stemming from the same Hasidic school, show that there are feminine aspects in the masculine and masculine dimensions in the feminine, in a manner reminiscent the famous Jungian theory of *animus/anima*. The end of the last quotation deals with the more concrete aspects of the results of worship, which are intended to supply the needs of the Hasidic community, not just to inspire the spiritual attainments of individuals. The active aspect of worship, as drawing down divine influxes, has magical sources, an activity that has been combined with mystical worship out of love. The induction of divine delight—another leitmotiv of Hasidism—assumes an extension of responsibility not just to the human collective and to the individual’s soul, but also for the well-being of the divinity. Worship is not a matter of obedience, but a much broader type of effect is related to it, achieved by the spiritual efforts initiated by the Hasidim; it is a path to higher attainments.

These few examples validate the psychological analyses of Hasidic texts, and thus they also support the claims made by Neumann. The fact that Neumann’s claims are actually reflected in Hasidic texts illuminates Jung’s recognition, late in life, that his approach had been anticipated by the insights of the Great Maggid.

Moshe Idel

Notes

- 1 More recently, there are additional efforts to apply a Jungian approach, including sometimes Neumann’s, to Hasidism, as we can see in the writings of Micha Ankori, Erel Shalit, Sanford L. Drob, Haviva Pedaya, Jonathan Garb, or Ruth Netzer—most of whom had no access to the present monograph—or, in some few cases, also in my studies.
- 2 See Siegmund Hurwitz, “Psychological Aspects in Early Hasidic Literature,” in *Timeless Documents of the Soul*, H. Jakobsohn et al., eds, H. Nagel, trans. (Northwestern University Press, Evanston, IL, 1968), pp. 149–240; Gershom Scholem, “The Unconscious and the Concept *Qadmut ha-Sekhel* in Hasidic Literature,” in *The Latest Phase: Essays on Hasidism*, D. Assaf and E. Liebes, eds (Jerusalem 2008), pp. 271, 273–6 (Hebrew).
- 3 “An Eightieth Birthday Interview,” in *C. G. Jung Speaking*, W. McGuire and R. F. C. Hull, eds (Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, 1977), pp. 271–2.

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Warmest thanks are also due to the following individuals. First, to Erel Shalit, for planning and overseeing this project, to which he gave caring attention until his untimely death in January 2018. He gave me his learned advice concerning Hebrew and German and guidance in English translation. During the editorial process, he organized two conferences and a webinar on Neumann's work. His rich introduction to *Jacob and Esau* is an ongoing source of inspiration. As his final act in support of the present work, he shared his electronic files of Neumann's "Torah" paintings, from which the two volume covers were chosen.

Erel Shalit also wisely invited Dr. Moshe Idel to write the foreword to *Hasidism*. Professor Idel generously accepted the invitation and, after Erel's death, prepared the brilliant writing that opens this volume.

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xx Acknowledgments

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Before Mark and I could begin translating, however, we needed faithful transcriptions. For these, I trusted Ursula Egli's patient and exacting reading. We puzzled together over the author's textual obscurities and proofread each other's work. Apart from the third chapter of *Hasidism*, which I reconstructed and transcribed, Ursula wrestled first and hardest with Neumann's faded typescripts and difficult handwriting. Her work is the textual foundation for this edition.

In his wide-ranging thought, Neumann draws on areas of study well beyond those that this editor can claim. I have therefore been fortunate to turn to a circle of scholars who helped me to understand the implications of the text, refine parts of the translations, and write many of the annotations. In what follows, I try to remember every one of these generous people. If I have nevertheless omitted someone, I ask to be reminded, so that I can amend this list at the first opportunity.

When the project began, I had just a few official consultants. In addition to those already named, I am especially thankful to Richard Corney for his consultation on innumerable subjects relating to Hebrew language, biblical translations, ancient Jewish source material, and the history of interpretation.

Everett Fox, whose biblical translations are very frequently quoted in the first volume of this work, advised me at an early stage about Buber's work and thought and the history of Jewish biblical scholarship. In Neumann's *Hasidism*, readers will again note occasional passages from Fox's translations, *The Schocken Bible*, Volume I: *The Five Books of Moses*, and *The Schocken Bible*, Volume II: *The Early Prophets*. These limited excerpts are permitted by the publisher, Penguin Random House LLC, as falling under "fair use" and are gratefully acknowledged.

At an early point, due to the arduous treatment he was undergoing, Erel Shalit realized that I would need auxiliary consultants in some of the areas where he had hoped to guide my work. With his support, in 2016 I turned to Steven Joseph for advice about a challenging theme in Neumann's *Hasidism*. I was also grateful, later

on, for Dr. Joseph's reading of my two introductions. Murray Stein helped with fine points in Jungian diction. Thomas Kirsch, while he lived, advised me about Neumann's relationship with James Kirsch. Andreas Jung helped me to locate an obscure reference in Jung's *Über die Energetik der Seele*. Sanford Drob advised me on Kabbalah and Jewish tradition, shedding light on several passages in *Hasidism*. Nomi Kluger-Nash wrote to me about the symbolism of Jonah and the meanings of *t'shuvah*. Lance Owens opened my thinking about Neumann's Eranos lectures and his concept of the "great individual." Robert Segal gave learned advice about the writings of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl; he also wisely directed me to his student, Nico Fehlbaum, whose doctoral work at the University of Aberdeen is on Cassirer and myth, and who gave expert consultation on the writings of Ernst Cassirer. Peter Kingsley kindly advised me about Neoplatonism. Steve Zimmelman referred me to Rabbi Jonathan Omer-Man and Rabbi Dr. Zvi Leshem, and later devoted deep and critical reading to my two introductions. Jonathan Omer-Man gently advised me on the unwisdom of publishing Neumann's unfinished short story, "David and Saul." Zvi Leshem read an early draft of my introduction to Volume One and led me to pertinent readings on the history of the Buber-Scholem debate.

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As further explained in my Editorial note (*Roots II*, pp. 277f.), in translating this volume we made frequent use of Olga Marx's previously published translation of one of Martin Buber's collections of Hasidic stories, *Die chassidischen Bücher*. The publisher's copyright permission reads:

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xxii Acknowledgments

party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Penguin Random House LLC for permission.

Frequently in *Hasidism*, and to a lesser extent in *Revelation and Apocalypse*, Neumann quotes from the Zohar, using sources inconsistent with recent research. In Appendix A, we provide parallel passages (when they could be found) from an excellent English version of the Zohar. Deep respect is owed to Daniel C. Matt, editor and translator, to Marion Pritzker and the Pritzker Foundation for supporting his work, and to Stanford University Press for publishing the Pritzker Edition. I am especially thankful for the following permissions:

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Bab Tlm</i>	<i>Babylonian Talmud</i> . In English: <i>The Hebrew–English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud</i> , Soncino Press (1967–88).
“Besht”	Samuel A. Horodezky, “Baal-Schem-Tob (ט"ש"ב), Israel ben Elieser,” <i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> , v. 3 (1929), cols 835–42.
<i>Beziehungen</i>	C. G. Jung, <i>Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Bewusstsein und dem Unbewussten</i> (1921). (CW 7,2)
Bischoff	Erich Bischoff, <i>Die Elemente der Kabbalah</i> . Teil I: <i>Theoretische Kabbalah</i> (1913).
B&R	Martin Buber & Franz Rosenzweig. German translations of the Five Books of Moses (Pentateuch), six books of history, and the major and minor prophets (1929/1934).
<i>Chassid Büch</i> CW	Martin Buber, <i>Die chassidischen Bücher</i> (1928). <i>The Collected Works of C. G. Jung</i> . Bollingen Series XX, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press (1956–79). Twenty volumes.
<i>EJ</i>	<i>Eranos-Jahrbuch, -bücher</i> (annual collections of Eranos lectures), Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, ed. (1933–).
<i>Enc Jud</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jüdische Enzyklopädie)</i> (1928–34). Ten volumes, A–Lyra.
<i>Energetik</i>	C. G. Jung, <i>Über die Energetik der Seele</i> (1928).
Franck	Adolf Franck, <i>Die Kabbala, oder die Religions-Philosophie der Hebräer</i> . Aus dem Französischen übersetzt, verbessert und vermehrt von Adolf Gelinek (1844/1913).
<i>Geheimnis</i>	C. G. Jung and Richard Wilhelm, <i>Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte</i> (1929).
<i>Gnosis</i>	Hans Jonas, <i>Gnosis und spätantiker Geist</i> . Teil I: <i>Die mythologische Gnosis</i> (1934).

xxiv Abbreviations

- Great Maggid* Samuel A. Horodezky, מזוריטש ושיחיתיו "מגיד" תורת ה' *Torat ha-magid mi-Mezerits ve-sihotav*. (*The Teachings of the Maggid of Meseritz and his conversations*) (1923).
- Integration* C. G. Jung, *The Integration of the Personality* (1939).
- Jacob & Esau* Erich Neumann, "Jakob und Esau" (unpublished typescript, 1934); *Jacob and Esau: On the Collective Symbolism of the Brother Motif*, Erel Shalit, ed., Mark Kyburz, trans. (2015).
- Jer Tlm* *Jerusalem Talmud*. In English: *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Jacob Neusner, ed. and trans. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press (1984–90).
- J-N Corresp* *Analytical Psychology in Exile: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and Erich Neumann*, M. Liebscher, ed. (2015).
- Jonas* Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. Teil I: *Die mythologische Gnosis* (1934).
- Major Trends* Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (first published in English), New York: Schocken, 1941.
- Müller* Ernst Müller, *Der Sohar: Das heilige Buch der Kabbala, nach dem Urtext herausgegeben* (*The Zohar: The sacred book of the Kabbalah*, published according to the original text), 1932.
- New Ethic* Erich Neumann, *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic* (German edn 1949; English edn 1969/1990).
- Origins and History* Erich Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness* (German edn 1949; English edn 1954).
- Pritzker* *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, Daniel C. Matt, ed. and trans. (2004–2016). Twelve volumes.
- Probleme der Mystik* Herbert Silberer, *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik*, 1914.
- Psych & Rel* C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion*. The Terry Lectures, Yale (1938). (CW 11,1).
- R. Nachman* Samuel Horodezky, תורת רבי נחמן מברצל'ב ושיחיתיו *Torat Rabi Nahman mi-Bratslav ve-sihotav* (*The teaching of Rabbi Nachman of Brezlav and his conversations*) (1923).
- Roots I, II* Erich Neumann, *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness*, Ann Conrad Lammers, ed., Mark Kyburz and Ann Conrad Lammers, trans. (2019). Two volumes.
- Seelenprobleme* C. G. Jung, *Seelenprobleme der Gegenwart* (1931).
- Soncino* *The Zohar, Soncino Edition*, J. Abelson, ed., H. Sperling and M. Simon, trans., London: Soncino Press (1933). Five volumes.
- Tales I, II* M. Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, Olga Marx, trans. Vol. I: *The Early Masters* (1947); Vol. II: *The Later Masters* (1948).
- Typen, Types* C. G. Jung, *Psychologische Typen* (1921); *Psychological Types* (CW 6)
- Unterweisung* M. Buber, *Des Baal-Schem-Tow Unterweisung im Umgang mit Gott* (1927).

- Wandlungen* C. G. Jung, *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido: Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens* (1912/1925). Revised and expanded: *Symbols of Transformation*. (CW 5)
- Wirklichkeit* C. G. Jung et al., *Wirklichkeit der Seele* (1934).

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME TWO

This introduction supplements my Introduction to Volume One of Neumann's *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness*.¹ The first introduction gives a more complete overview of both volumes, including their genesis and historical setting, and their place among Erich Neumann's publications. It also explores the author's many-sided dialogue with C. G. Jung, his intellectual relationships with Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem, and the reasons he later gave for withholding this work of his youth from publication. Rather than repeat that material here, I refer to it only as occasion arises, while encouraging readers to engage with both volumes.

Erich Neumann finished his first part, *Revelation and Apocalypse*, in 1940, and continued working on Part Two, *Hasidism*.² Statements in his "Introduction to the work" (*Roots I*, pp. 7f.) show that he originally thought of the two parts, as well as his planned but never completed third part, as belonging to a single book.³ By the time he completed Part Two, however, he had come to think of them as separable and had abandoned his plan to publish Part One.

Neumann worked on Part Two, *Hasidism*, through World War II, completing it early in 1945.⁴ On the first of October 1945 he wrote to Jung:

After I had completed a rather large work on Jewish antiquity—On the Psychological History of the Jewish Person—(it is now out of date and only useable as source material), I wrote a book on the psychological meaning of Hasidism for the modern Jew, by which I still stand.⁵

At this point, it seems, Neumann still intended to publish his work on Hasidism. Why, then, did he lay it aside? The reasons are not clear from his letters to Jung, but we can piece them together.

In 1959, he told his friend, Dr. Gustav Dreifuss, that his "scholarly conscience" had stopped him from publishing his two-volume Jewish work.⁶ As he had been

raised in the German cultural context, he said, he did not truly understand his ancestors' form of life. Also, he now believed that, in writing *Hasidism*, he had relied too heavily on Martin Buber's interpretation of the material, which was so strongly shaped by the general European heritage. He could not rewrite the book, Neumann explained, because he felt that an understanding of the archetypal images in Judaism must grow from a full knowledge of the authentic writings and history of the Jewish people—a knowledge that he just did not possess.⁷

The truth is, it would have been difficult for Neumann to think about Hasidism independent of Buber's influence. He had shaped both volumes of *Roots* around his conviction that, in their highest form, the Hasidic teachings represented the most promising way forward for modern Jews. Moshe Idel's summary observation about Buber could have been said equally of the young Neumann: "Guided by his phenomenological approach, Buber ultimately reached the view that hasidism expressed the quintessence of Judaism."⁸ For Neumann, as he contemplated the extremity of Jewish existence in the Hitler years, Hasidic mysticism seemed to offer the truest path toward spiritual and psychological wholeness.

Neumann's explanation to Dreifuss was given in 1959, almost 15 years after the present work was completed. If we bring our attention to the years closer to the book's writing, however, an additional hypothesis arises. For the text of *Hasidism* contains a mystery. While transcribing from Neumann's original typescript, I discovered that someone (presumably the author) had removed a 36-page section from two carbon copies of Part Two. Neumann was systematic in preserving all the copies of his work, so it was a shock to discover a large lacuna in two otherwise intact, identical texts.

The removal could not have been accidental.⁹ The section in question, "Das Leben in dieser Welt" ("Life in this world"), is integral to the work. The second chapter in *Hasidism* was originally titled, "The transformation of souls, and Life in this world."¹⁰ Now, for some reason, "Life in this world" was missing. This major gap not only posed practical problems but also raised the question, why? If the author had borrowed a piece of his text for use in another piece of writing, why borrow it twice? In Neumann's table of contents for *Hasidism*, "Life in this world" still stands, with all its subheadings. The author's footnotes, in various chapters, still contain cross-references to this section.

The absence of so large a section, and one that was necessary to the volume, posed a serious problem for the publication of *Hasidism*. Even if "Life in this world" could be reconstructed—which, fortunately, it could, because Neumann had saved an "inferior" carbon copy, intact, as well as an earlier version of Part Two—still, what did the author intend to do with this part of his book? Would he publish it today? Should we?

We need to recall that Neumann probably completed his volume on Hasidism just as the war in Europe was coming to an end. That is the implication, it seems to me, of his statement in the letter of 1 October 1945:

But then . . . the Jewish problem and my work on it ended for me precisely at a time when it became conspicuous in the world in an indescribably ghastly way.¹¹

This wording may be interpreted differently, but I cannot read it without thinking of the ghastly visual evidence that became “conspicuous in the world” with the liberation of the death camps in the spring of 1945. I believe that, against this existential background, Neumann may have reread his book, or at least one section of it, with new eyes, for the “missing” section is devoted to Neumann’s discussion of the Hasidic response to the problem of evil.

In any doctrinal tradition, theology is almost impossible to write in the face of the Holocaust. Painful internal contradictions immediately arise in any discussion that begins by declaring the goodness of creation and the ongoing involvement of God in human life, and then tries to account for the crushing reality of evil in the world. Hasidic mysticism, in its nonlinear, unitive vision, is perhaps the truest response to the dualistic problem of evil. But there are times when the paradoxical unity of good and evil cannot be spoken of, or, if spoken, cannot be heard.¹² Neumann’s “life in this world” contains many passages boldly declaring a teaching that, I believe, he could not bring himself to publish after the war.¹³

Under the subheading, “Evil as a level of good,” we find such powerful and difficult sayings as this, from Horodezky’s work on the Great Maggid:

So it is said not only that repentance resides in sin like oil in the olive; that “there is good in all evil”; that “the holiest sparks exist on the lowest level”; and that “goodness is hidden in darkness”; but finally it comes to the saying of the Baal Shem: “Evil is also good, it is only the lower level of perfect goodness.”¹⁴

Then Neumann quotes this meditation by Buber:

The indwelling glory (*Shekhinah*) encompasses all worlds, all creatures, good and evil, and she is the true unity. How can she carry the opposites of good and evil within herself? But in truth there is no opposition, for evil is the throne of goodness.¹⁵

Another passage occurs under the subheading, “Accepting the world”:

The task of connecting above and below is based on the principle of *accepting the world*, because “In this day and age, . . . the greatest devotion, greater than learning and praying, consists in accepting the world exactly as it happens to be.”¹⁶

The pages that were removed from Part Two have never been found. My intuition is that Neumann sent them to colleagues, who—he hoped—might help him reframe them for publication. If he did, perhaps he was advised to let them go. It was simply the wrong time to publish a paradoxical, unitive vision of God and the world. In the immediate tremendum of the Holocaust, to speak of a God whose glory unites good

and evil, to call evil the lowest level of good, and to say that it is the soul's duty to find the sacred meaning in every event may appear meaningless, or insulting, or pathetically unaware. At some point, I believe, Neumann may have taken Job for his model, and laid his hand over his mouth.

But now, having put his two-volume work aside, he turned to publishing the more directly psychological writings that had been occupying him since the early 1940s: *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*¹⁷ and *The Origins and History of Consciousness*.¹⁸ Readers familiar with his *New Ethic*, which he completed in 1943, will recognize one of the central themes in *Hasidism*, the paradoxical union of good and evil, folded into it.¹⁹ Several passages in *Hasidism* show Neumann's emerging theory of the ego–Self axis, which he stated publicly in 1952.²⁰ In his lectures of the early 1940s, four of which are published here for the first time, he deepened his discussion of “secondary personalization,” a concept that he had first articulated in *Jacob and Esau* and would develop further in *Origins and History*.²¹

It will be exciting to see what connections scholars and analysts find between the whole of Neumann's “Jewish work” and his famous writings that superseded it.

Ann Conrad Lammers
June 2018

Notes

- 1 The title, *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness* (hereafter: *Roots I, II*), emerged for me early in the editorial process and gained approval from Erel Shalit, Nancy Furlotti, Mark Kyburz, and Tamar Kron in January 2016. Neumann's own working titles for the book included, at various times, the following: “Ursprungsgeschichte des jüdischen Bewusstseins” (“The origins and history of Jewish consciousness”); “Zur Wiederentdeckung des Judentums” (“The rediscovery of Judaism”); “Zur Tiefenpsychologie des modernen Juden” (“On the depth psychology of the modern Jew”); and “Zur Seelengeschichte des jüdischen Menschen” (“The psychological history of the Jewish person”). *The Roots of Jewish Consciousness* echoes, without repeating verbatim, Neumann's word *Ursprungsgeschichte* (origins and history). That word—or phrase, in English—is firmly associated with his title, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (*Origins and History of Consciousness*) (1949) (hereafter: *Origins and History*), which properly stands as an independent volume.
- 2 Neumann to Jung, 11 May 1940, *Analytical Psychology in Exile: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and Erich Neumann* (hereafter *J-N Corresp*), p. 156.
- 3 For a glimpse of Neumann's intended Part Three, we have his series of lectures written in 1942–43, which appear here for the first time (Appendix B, *Roots II*, pp. 190ff.). The starting point for that series was Neumann's lecture of April 1940, which he described to Jung at the time as belonging to the third part of his Jewish work (11 May 1940, *J-N Corresp*, p. 156). Revised and expanded in 1942, the transformed April 1940 lecture became, in 1943, the conclusion to his four-lecture series. (Cf. introductory comment, Appendix B.IV, *Roots II*, p. 256.)
- 4 These dates rest on evidence in the Jung–Neumann correspondence, as discussed in the Introduction to Volume One (cf. *Roots I*, pp. xxviif.).
- 5 Neumann to Jung, 1 October 1945, *J-N Corresp*, p. 160. Translation slightly altered, based on the original text of Neumann's letter in *C. G. Jung/Erich Neumann: Die Briefe, 1933–1959* (hereafter: *Briefe J-N*), p. 206.

- 6 Gustav Dreifuss, "Erich Neumanns jüdisches Bewusstsein" ("Erich Neumann's Jewish consciousness"), *Kreativität des Unbewussten (Creativity of the unconscious), Analytische Psychologie*, Vol. 11, 1980, pp. 239–47. (Cf. also Introduction to Volume One, *Roots I*, p. xxxvi.)
- 7 Dreifuss, 1980, op. cit., p. 240.
- 8 Moshe Idel, "Martin Buber and Gershom Scholem on Hasidism: A Critical Appraisal," in *Hasidism Reappraised* (1997), p. 390.
- 9 Neumann's surviving papers show that, when he typed his work, he created several identical copies, using (as a rule) three sheets of carbon paper. This gave him two clear carbon copies for handwritten revisions, although the lowest carbon copy remained uncorrected, for reference. The fair copy (the top sheet when typing) seems to have held his final, most careful corrections, suitable to send to a publisher. Thanks to the author's care in preserving all his copies, and his family's faithful preservation of his unpublished papers, we can now compare earlier and later revisions, and even see which version of a text the author intended to be final.
- 10 Although we cannot be certain of Neumann's intentions, it has seemed important to respect his action in removing "Life in this world" from two of his typescripts. That section is now visually set apart and has been made a separate chapter.
- 11 *J-N Corresp*, p. 160, alternate translation from Neumann's original text: "Dann aber, . . . war für mich das jüdische Problem und die Arbeit an ihm gerade in einer Zeit beendet, in der es in der Welt in unbeschreiblich grauenhafter Art augenfällig wurde" (*Briefe J-N*, p. 206). (Cf. Introduction to Volume One, *Roots I*, pp. xxviif.)
- 12 The accuracy of this statement depends, of course, on the spiritual disposition of any given hearer. Israel was predominantly a secular society in the post-war years.
- 13 This suggestion received early support from Steven Joseph, who supports my hypothesis that Neumann could not find a way to publish his work about Oneness at a time when the dualistic vision of evil was so strongly in the ascendant (Steven Joseph, personal correspondence, 2016).
- 14 Samuel Horodezky, ממזריטש ושיחיתיו "מגיד" תורת ה' *Torat ha-magid mi-Mezerits ve-sihotav (The teachings of [Dov Baer] the Maggid of Meseritz and his conversations)* (hereafter: *Great Maggid*), 1923, pp. 15 and 39. (Cf. *Roots II*, p. 105.)
- 15 Martin Buber, *Des Baal-Schem-Tow Unterweisung im Umgang mit Gott (The teaching of the Baal Shem-Tov in conversation with God)* (hereafter: *Unterweisung*), 1927, p. 86. (Cf. *Roots II*, p. 106.)
- 16 Martin Buber, *Die chassidischen Bücher (Hasidic tales)* (hereafter: *Chassid Büch*), 1928, p. 638. (Trans. by Olga Marx, *Hasidic Tales II*, p. 166. Cf. *Roots II*, p. 111 and note.)
- 17 Erich Neumann, *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik*, 1949. *Depth Psychology and a New Ethic*, with a Foreword by C. G. Jung. Trans. by Eugene Rolfe, 1969. (Hereafter: *New Ethic*.)
- 18 Erich Neumann, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins*, 1949. *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, with a Foreword by C. G. Jung, trans. by R. F. C. Hull, 1954. (Hereafter: *Origins and History*.)
- 19 A key passage in *New Ethic* is the paragraph beginning, "The acknowledgment of one's own evil is 'good'" (p. 114). Jung objected to this whole paragraph, insisting that it made the words "good" and "evil" meaningless (*J-N Corresp*, p. 366). Neumann, who accepted many of Jung's other criticisms, declined to change this passage. (Cf. also Introduction to Volume One, *Roots I*, pp. xxxiif.)
- 20 Neumann's concept of "the ego-Self axis" was fully articulated in his 1952 Eranos lecture, published in spring 1956 (trans. by H. Nagel), as "The Psyche and the Transformation of the Reality Planes: A Metapsychological Essay." Cf. *The Place of Creation*, edited by W. McGuire, 1989, pp. 3–62 (especially p. 20).
- 21 In the present work, Neumann discusses secondary personalization in his three lectures of 1943: Appendix B.I (*Roots II*, pp. 205f.); Appendix B.II (*Roots II*, pp. 210–15 *et passim*); and Appendix B.III (*Roots II*, pp. 239f.). In *Jacob and Esau*, the concept is explored in a central passage, pp. 84–98, and by Erel Shalit in his Introduction, pp. xlvii *et passim*. In *Origins and History*, cf. pp. 335ff.

Hasidism

Its psychological meaning for Judaism

“I have come to show people a new way to come to themselves.”

*Baal Shem Tov*¹



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1

THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORLD AS INWARDNESS

1. Form and the individual

The essential task of this work is not only to describe Hasidism² or to make it understandable, but also to show the intellectual and historical meaning of this movement with relation to the history of the Jewish person. From the outset, this interpretation makes no effort to agree with previous interpretations of Hasidism, even though it owes a great deal to many of them. Its distinguishing feature is not in adding new material, which might extend the field of study, but rather in seeing the field from a different perspective.

Any inquiry into the contents of a text depends on the inquirer's standpoint, but the richness of the answer lets us judge whether the quality of the question is adequate to the text. Even religious texts may be queried as to the economic conditions or repressed instinctual forces that helped to shape them. Questions of this kind are justified and important, but they are not adequate, that is, they are not aimed at the true nature of the subject. The problem now arises whether the depth-psychological inquiry into a religious text is adequate in this sense. This problem cannot be discussed here to its full extent, but some remarks may be offered, at least with regard to Hasidic texts.

We are investigating these texts for their psychological, not their metaphysical, reality. Using a depth-psychological point of departure, we can focus our interpretation on the phenomena to which the texts testify. Meanwhile the real aim of our interpretation is to reveal the psychic structure of the Jewish person, as expressed in Hasidism. This psychological turn of mind, which says nothing about a deity's existence independent of the human structure, is guided by all the forms and modes of expression that this deity assumes in the psychic structure of the Jew. As the present work will show, the psychological turn is unrelated to any arbitrary, contemporary approach; rather, it results from the Jewish person's own development, stretching from antiquity to modernity, a development that entered a crucial stage in Hasidism.