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THE
FREUD/JUNG
LETTERS

The Correspondence between
Sigmund Freud and C.G. Jung

Edited by WILLIAM McGUIRE

Translated by RALPH MANHEIM and R.F.C. HULL

BOLLINGEN SERIES XCIV

PRINCETON



The
Freud
Jung
Letters



PRINCETON
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The Freud/Jung Letters

In April 1906, Sigmund Freud wrote a brief note to C. G. Jung, initiating a correspondence that was to record the rise and fall of the close relationship between the founder of psychoanalysis and his chosen heir. This correspondence is now available for the first time, complete except for a few missing letters apparently lost long ago. The letters, some 360 in number, span seven years and range in length from a postcard to a virtual essay of 1,500 words. In accordance with an agreement between the writers' sons, Ernst Freud and Franz Jung, the letters are published as documents, without interpretation but with a detailed annotation that identifies more than 400 persons, 500 publications, and many literary and topical allusions.

Anna Freud comments, "[The annotation] has turned the correspondence truly into a history of the beginnings of psychoanalysis, something that was very much needed and is not given anywhere else with the same attention to detail and inclusion of all the people in public life who either came to psychoanalysis for a while or turned violently against it from the beginning. . . . Every detail is necessary and enhances the value of the book."

"Both as it bears upon the personal lives of the men between whom the letters passed and upon the intellectual history of our epoch, it is a document of inestimable importance. . . . [William McGuire's] editorial apparatus, at once elegant and compendious, is of the greatest value."—Lionel Trilling, *New York Times Book Review*

"There is only one word for this correspondence: overwhelming. . . . It is the record of a friendship, a spiritual father-son relationship between two unique and ultimately irreconcilable talents, from the first meeting . . . to the last brief resignations and insults of their parting. It is as if Voltaire and Rousseau, or Lenin and Trotsky, or Churchill and Cripps had written to each other every day."

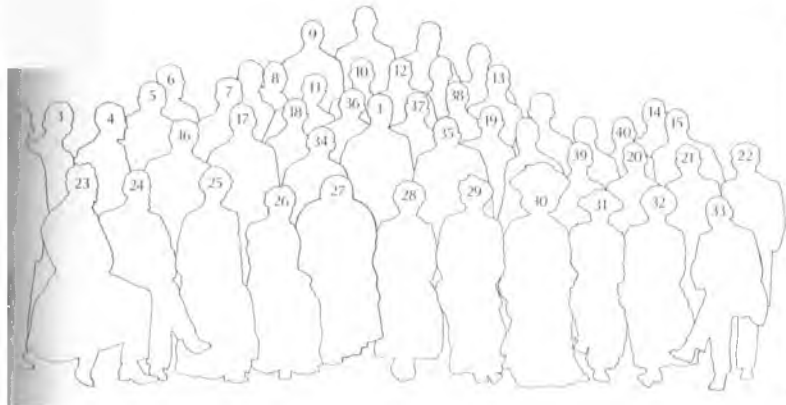
—Cyril Connolly, *London Sunday Times*

"Any reader can guess without hindsight that these two enormous egos are on a collision course from the start, and this gives the book its terrifying fascination."—*New Yorker*

Jung's letters are translated by R.F.C. Hull, official translator of the *Collected Works*. Freud's letters are translated by Ralph Manheim, a translator of wide experience who was approved for the task by Anna Freud. William McGuire is the executive editor of the *Collected Works* of C. G. Jung.

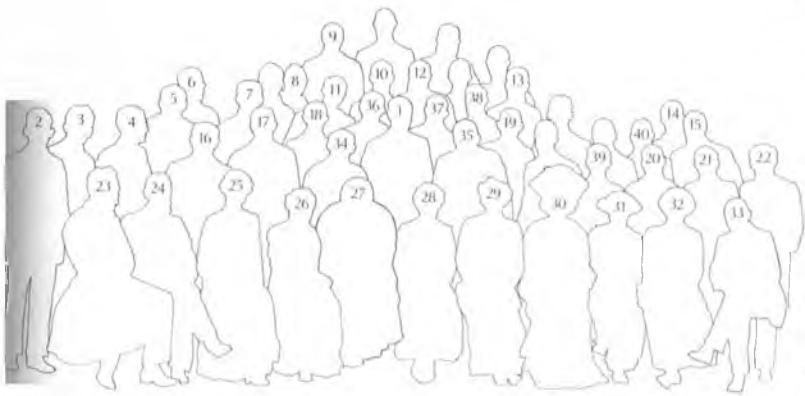
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VI The Weimar Congress, September 1911



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SIGMUND FREUD *and* C. G. JUNG

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ABBREVIATIONS

Principal Bibliographical References

- Abraham, *Sel. Papers* = *Selected Papers of Karl Abraham M.D.*
Translated by Douglas Bryan and Alix Strachey. London, 1927.
- Alexander and Selesnick = Franz Alexander and Seldon T. Selesnick,
"Freud-Bleuler Correspondence," *Archives of General Psychiatry*
(New York), XII:1 (Jan. 1965), 1ff.
- Bulletin* = *Correspondenzblatt der internationalen psychoanalytischen Vereinigung*. Edited by C. G. Jung and F. Riklin. Zürich, 1910-11 (6 nos.); thereafter published as a section in occasional issues of the *Zentralblatt* and *Zeitschrift*.
- CW = The Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Edited by Gerhard Adler, Michael Fordham, and Herbert Read; William McGuire, Executive Editor; translated by R. F. C. Hull. New York and Princeton (Bollingen Series XX) and London, 1953- . 19 vols. For list, see appendix 7.
- Ellenberger, Henri F. *The Discovery of the Unconscious; The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*. New York, 1970.
- Freud, Martin. *Sigmund Freud: Man and Father*. London and New York, 1958.
- Freud/Abraham Letters* = *A Psycho-Analytic Dialogue; The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Karl Abraham 1907-1926*. Edited by Hilda C. Abraham and Ernst L. Freud; translated by Bernard Marsh and Hilda C. Abraham. London and New York, 1965.
- Freud, *Letters* = *Letters of Sigmund Freud*. Selected and edited by Ernst L. Freud; translated by Tania and James Stern. London and New York, 1960.
- Freud, *The Origins of Psychoanalysis: Letters to Fliess* = *The Origins of Psycho-Analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1897-1902*, by Sigmund Freud, edited by Marie Bonaparte, Anna Freud, Ernst Kris; authorized translation by Eric Mosbacher and James Strachey. New York and London, 1954.

ABBREVIATIONS

Freud/Pfister Letters = *Psychoanalysis and Faith; The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Oskar Pfister*. Edited by Heinrich Meng and Ernst L. Freud; translated by Eric Mosbacher. London and New York, 1963.

Grinstein = *The Index of Psychoanalytic Writings*, compiled and edited by Alexander Grinstein. Vols. I-IX. New York, 1952-59.

Hale, Nathan G., Jr., *Freud and the Americans: The Beginnings of Psychoanalysis in the United States, 1876-1917*. New York, 1971.

Jahrbuch = *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*. See appendix 2.

Jones, Ernest. *Free Associations; Memories of a Psycho-Analyst*. London and New York, 1959.

Jones = Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*. London and New York, 1953, 1955, 1957. 3 vols. (The editions are differently paginated, therefore double page references are given, first to the London edn.)

Jung, "Abstracts" = "Referate über psychologische Arbeiten schweizerischer Autoren (bis Ende 1909)," *Jahrbuch*, II:1 (1910); cf. "Abstracts of the Psychological Works of Swiss Authors (to the end of 1909)," CW 18 (containing only abstracts written by Jung).

Jung, *Letters* = C. G. Jung: *Letters*, selected and edited by Gerhard Adler in collaboration with Aniela Jaffé. 2 vols. Princeton (Bollingen Series XCV) and London, 1973, 1974.

Jung, *Memories* = *Memories, Dreams, Reflections by C. G. Jung*, recorded and edited by Aniela Jaffé; translated by Richard and Clara Winston. New York and London, 1963. (The editions are differently paginated, therefore double page references are given, first to the New York edn.)

Minutes = *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society*. Edited by Herman Nunberg and Ernst Federn; translated by M. Nunberg. New York, 1962-74. (I: 1906-8; II: 1908-10; III: 1910-15, consulted in ms.)

Papers = *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, edited by Sigmund Freud. No. 1 (1907)- . Vienna. ("Papers on Applied Psychology.") For list, see appendix 5.

Putnam and Psychoanalysis = *James Jackson Putnam and Psychoanalysis; Letters between Putnam and Sigmund Freud, Ernest Jones, William James, Sandor Ferenczi, and Morton Prince, 1877-1917*, edited by Nathan G. Hale, Jr. Cambridge, Mass., 1971.

Ross, Dorothy, G. Stanley Hall: *The Psychologist as Prophet*. Chicago, 1972.

Schreber, *Memoirs* = Daniel Paul Schreber, *Memoirs of My Nervous Illness*, translated, edited, with introduction, notes, and discussion, by Ida Macalpine and Richard A. Hunter. London, 1955.

SE = The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Translated under the general editorship of James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson. London and New York, 1953- . 24 vols. For list, see appendix 7.

Short Papers = *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre* [of Sigmund Freud]. Vol. I (1906)- . Vienna. ("Collected Short Papers on the Theory of the Neuroses.")

Zeitschrift = *Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse*. Vienna, 1913- .

Zentralblatt = *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse; Medizinische Monatsschrift für Seelenkunde*. Wiesbaden, 1911-13.

Textual Abbreviations

cs. = conscious(ness)

D. pr., Dem. pr. = dementia praecox

Ψ = psyche, psycho-

ΨA = psychoanalysis, psychoanaly-

ΨN = psychoneurosis

ucs. = unconscious

SIGMUND FREUD

<i>Freiberg (Příbor), Moravia</i>	<i>London</i>
6 May 1856	23 September 1939

CARL GUSTAV JUNG

<i>Kesswil, Thurgau</i>	<i>Küsnacht</i>
26 July 1875	6 June 1961

INTRODUCTION

These letters are the direct evidence of the intensely fruitful and finally tragic encounter of Freud and Jung. The quality of tragedy, however, resides only in the encounter, the drama of the letters themselves, moving forward in almost a classical way toward the foreshadowed catastrophe of conflict and dissension. It can scarcely be said that the career, the life, of either man was tragically altered, but rather that Freud and Jung each derived creative values from the inevitable break.

Unlike their courteous and appreciative references to one another's published work while they were collaborators, or anything that either one wrote about their relationship during the bitter aftermath, the letters bear the most acute witness to the complex interplay of these two unique personalities, so different yet so strongly attracted to one another. The dialogue inevitably tempts analytical and psychoanalytical interpretation, philosophical rumination over its beginnings and its effects and its "meaning," and the weighing up of its aggressions, projections, magnanimities, shafts of wisdom, seminal particles, and whatever else could be put into the balance. A consideration of the correspondence along such lines, however, has been ruled out by the sons of the two principals, who, in concluding an agreement to publish the letters, prudently stipulated that they were to be treated "like historical documents . . . in order to guarantee impartiality."

In the years just before the beginning of this century, Freud was in a state of what he more than once called "splendid isolation."¹ His career had been wracked by frustrations; he had not become a research scientist as he had once hoped to, and he had not become a University professor.² His collaboration with Josef Breuer had re-

¹ For the details of this period of Freud's career, see Jones, I, ch. XIV-XVI, and II, ch. I-II; Freud, *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*; Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, ch. 7; and K. R. Eissler, *Sigmund Freud und die Wiener Universität* (Bern, 1966). (For explanation of abbreviated titles, see pp. ix-xi.)

² C. A. Schorske, "Politics and Patricide in Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*," *American Historical Review*, LXXVIII:2 (Apr. 1973), 330f.

INTRODUCTION

sulted in an important work, the *Studies on Hysteria* (1895; SE II), but afterward the two became estranged. Freud had first used the term "psychoanalysis" in an 1896 publication, and during the latter part of the decade he was elaborating the psychoanalytic technique. Entirely alone, he had embarked in 1897 on the self-analysis of his own unconscious, which led into the writing of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (published in late 1899 but dated 1900; SE IV-V). According to Ernest Jones's account, the book was inadequately reviewed and sold poorly. Nevertheless, it was a turning-point in Freud's life. "He regarded it both as his most significant scientific work, the foundation stone of his whole achievement, and as the work that brought him into the clear personally, giving him the strength to face a troubled life anew."³

The year 1902 was marked by three further events of major consequence in Freud's career. Since 1887 he had been carrying on a correspondence and a close friendship with Wilhelm Fliess, an otolaryngologist of Berlin; the letters to Fliess, which have almost miraculously survived,⁴ are a principal source of knowledge about the genesis of psychoanalysis. But in 1902 the correspondence and the friendship came to an end. Furthermore, very much through his own exertions, he was appointed to the equivalent of an associate professorship at Vienna University. Finally, in the autumn of that year, Freud inaugurated the "Psychological Wednesday Evenings," at Wilhelm Stekel's suggestion, by inviting four of his acquaintances who were interested in psychoanalysis to meet for discussions in Freud's waiting-room.⁵

Freud's reputation and his contacts were spreading slowly beyond the confines of Vienna. He next wrote *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901; SE VI) and "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria" (not published until 1905; SE VII); and then, also simultaneously, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905; SE VIII) and *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905; SE VII). It was the latter work, Jones has said, "that brought the maximum of odium on Freud's name,"⁶ because of Freud's findings concerning the sexual instinct in childhood.

³ Ibid., 330.

⁴ Published in *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*.

⁵ Jones, II, p. 8/8. The original four—Wilhelm Stekel, Alfred Adler, Rudolf Reitler, Max Kahane—gradually increased to more than twenty and in April 1908 became the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. The *Minutes* (see p. x) were recorded, beginning in 1906, by Otto Rank.

⁶ Jones, II, p. 321/286.

The first significant focus of interest in psychoanalysis outside Freud's immediate circle was at the Burghölzli Mental Hospital in Zürich (Pl. I). An austere block of buildings on heights overlooking the lake of Zürich, the Burghölzli had been established in 1860 as the cantonal asylum for the insane, and it served also as the psychiatric clinic of Zürich University. Under Auguste Forel, who became director in 1879, it acquired an international reputation for advanced treatment and research, which was carried forward by Eugen Bleuler, Forel's successor in 1898.

On 10 December 1900, Jung arrived at the Burghölzli to take up his first professional post, as an assistant physician. He had completed his medical studies at the University of Basel, his home town, and had received his diploma barely a fortnight before, on 27 November.⁷ Despite the hospital's avant-garde reputation, Jung later described his work at the Burghölzli as "a submission to the vow to believe only in what was probable, average, commonplace, barren of meaning, to renounce everything strange and significant, and reduce anything extraordinary to the banal. Henceforth there were only . . . oppressively narrow horizons, and the unending desert of routine."⁸ Against this background, Jung's first experience of Freud must have been exciting in double measure. "As early as 1900," he wrote, "I had read Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*. I had laid the book aside, at the time, because I did not yet grasp it. . . . In 1903 I once more took [it] up . . . and discovered how it all linked up with my own ideas."⁹ In an interview in 1957, Jung said that in 1900 Bleuler had asked him to give a report on *The Interpretation of Dreams* at a staff "report evening."¹⁰

Before Jung "laid the book aside" in 1900 (or 1901), he had digested enough of Freud's "dream investigations" to cite them for their relevance to his own experimental findings in his doctoral dis-

⁷ For Jung's years at the Burghölzli, see *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 111–13/113–15, and ch. IV; and Ellenberger, ch. 9. The dating of events in Jung's academic career has been confirmed by Mr. Franz Jung.

⁸ *Memories*, p. 111/113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146f./144f.

¹⁰ R. I. Evans, *Conversations with Carl Jung* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964); also, as a corrected transcript, in CW 18. In Jung's posthumous papers a typescript was discovered, dated 25 Jan. 1901, which constitutes a report not on *Die Traumdeutung* but on *Über den Traum* (= "On Dreams," SE V), a summary of the former which Freud published in *Grenzfragen des Nerven- und Seelenlebens*, ed. L. Löwenfeld and H. Kurella (Wiesbaden, 1901). For Jung's report, see *Spring*, 1973, pp. 171–79, and CW 18.

INTRODUCTION

sertation, published in 1902.¹¹ Most other publications of Jung's in the years 1902–1905¹² contain citations of Freud's work (though not of his sexual theories).

Jung spent the winter semester of 1902–1903 at the Salpêtrière, in Paris, attending Janet's lectures on theoretical psychopathology. On 14 February 1903, soon after returning to Zürich, he was married to Emma Rauschenbach, and they moved into a flat in the central building of the Burghölzli, upstairs from the flat in which the Bleuler family lived.¹³ The resident staff of the hospital in Jung's day also included Karl Abraham, Franz Riklin, Max Eitingon, and Hermann Nunberg, and there were visitors from abroad—notably, A. A. Brill—who came for periods of observation and study.

Freud's first direct contact with the Burghölzli had apparently been a correspondence that he and Bleuler had opened in September 1904, which continued more or less sporadically until at least 1925.¹⁴ In his autobiography Jung says that he himself "first took up the cudgels for Freud at a congress in Munich where a lecturer discussed obsessional neuroses but studiously forbore to mention the name of Freud."¹⁵ In any event, Freud's "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria" had appeared in 1905, and Jung lost no time in drawing on it in his paper "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments" (CW 2), prepared that year and published the next. Jung

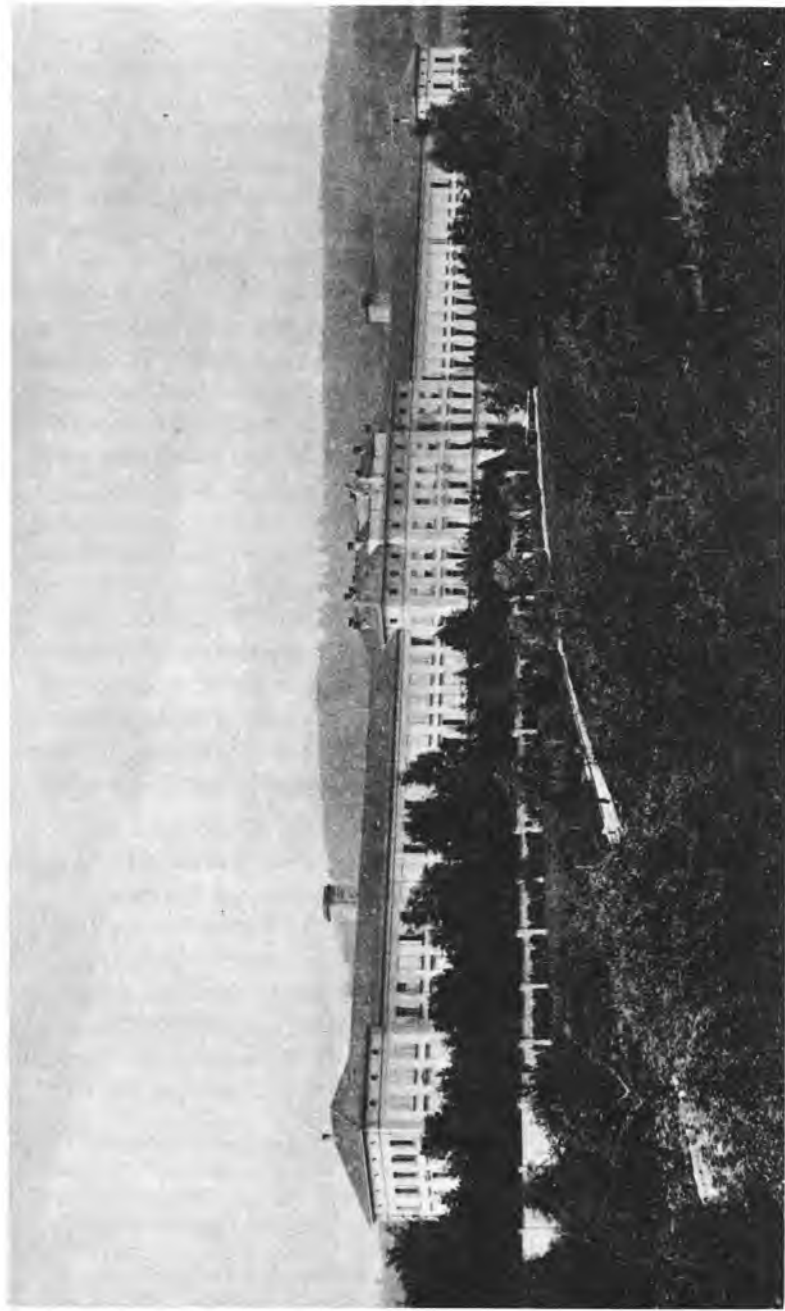
¹¹ *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena* (CW 1). The M.D. degree was awarded to Jung by Zürich University on 17 July 1902.

¹² "A Case of Hysterical Stupor in a Prisoner in Detention" (1902), "On Simulated Insanity" (1903), "On Hysterical Misreading" (1904), "Cryptomnesia" (1905)—all in CW 1; the first four studies in word association (1904–5) and "The Psychological Diagnosis of Evidence" (1905)—all in CW 2.

¹³ Here Freud visited the Jungs for four days in Sept. 1908 and was shown at least one of Jung's classic cases (*Memories*, pp. 125ff./126). In June 1909, when the Jung family moved to their new house at Küsnacht, Jung resigned from the Burghölzli staff.

¹⁴ Alexander and Selesnick, pp. 6, 8. Dr. Manfred Bleuler believes that there were contacts between his father and Freud even earlier, in the 1890's (personal communication). In fact, in 1896, E. Bleuler reviewed *Studien über Hysterie*; cf. Jones, I, p. 278/253. / The letters from Freud to Bleuler in M. Bleuler's possession are at present barred from publication.

¹⁵ *Memories*, p. 148/147. The congress has not been identified, and there may be a confusion here with the Congress of South-West German Neurologists and Psychiatrists at Baden-Baden, 27 May 1906, at which Aschaffenburg attacked Freud's "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria" and Jung took the floor to reply vigorously. Both Aschaffenburg's paper and Jung's reply (CW 4) were published in a Munich periodical—*Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*, LIII:37 and 47 (Sept. and Nov. 1906). (Cf. 2 J, 6 J.)



The Burghölzli Hospital, Zürich, ca. 1900. Jung's flat was on the next to top floor, to the right of the main doorway; Bleuler's flat was below it

presented a case of obsessional neurosis that he had treated in June 1905 by subjecting the patient first to the association test and then to psychoanalysis—interviews of one and a half to two hours every other day for three weeks. Jung discharged the patient rather inconclusively, but in November she came back and presented herself as cured. In summarizing the case, Jung stated that the association test might be useful “for facilitating and shortening Freud’s psychoanalysis.”

That paper closed, or climaxed, the volume of *Diagnostic Association Studies*¹⁶ that Jung sent to Freud in April 1906, thus setting in motion their correspondence. The book had the force of a direct message, for in the studies written by both Jung and Bleuler there were citations of Freud’s work that amply demonstrated the acceptance psychoanalysis had found at the Burghölzli. The first actual letter was Freud’s of 11 April 1906, a warm acknowledgment of the book, which, in his eagerness to read it, Freud had already bought. A reply from Jung was not required by courtesy, and there matters rested for nearly six months. In June Freud gave a lecture that contains his first published comments on Jung, the association experiments, and the theory of complexes.¹⁷ During the summer, Jung completed his monograph on *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, for which he had been amassing material since 1903. The book is interlarded with citations and extended discussions of Freud’s work, and in the foreword, which Jung dated July 1906, he made the following declarations:

Even a superficial glance at my work will show how much I am indebted to the brilliant discoveries of Freud. As Freud has not yet received the recognition and appreciation he deserves, but is still opposed even in the most authoritative circles, I hope I may be allowed to define my position towards him. My attention was drawn to Freud by the first book of his I happened to read, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, after which I also studied his other writings. I can assure you that in the beginning I naturally entertained all the objections that are customarily made against Freud in the

¹⁶ The studies had already appeared singly in the *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie* over the previous two years, but there is no evidence that Freud had seen them there.

¹⁷ “Psycho-Analysis and the Establishment of the Facts in Legal Proceedings,” SE IX, pp. 104, 106, where Freud refers to Jung’s paper on the same subject, “The Psychological Diagnosis of Evidence” (1905). Freud’s paper also contained his first reference to Alfred Adler (p. 105).

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literature. But, I told myself, Freud could be refuted only by one who has made repeated use of the psychoanalytic method and who really investigates as Freud does; that is, by one who has made a long and patient study of everyday life, hysteria, and dreams from Freud's point of view. He who does not or cannot do this should not pronounce judgment on Freud, else he acts like those notorious men of science who disdained to look through Galileo's telescope. Fairness to Freud, however, does not imply, as many fear, unqualified submission to a dogma; one can very well maintain an independent judgment. If I, for instance, acknowledge the complex mechanisms of dreams and hysteria, this does not mean that I attribute to the infantile sexual trauma the exclusive importance that Freud apparently does. Still less does it mean that I place sexuality so predominantly in the foreground, or that I grant it the psychological universality which Freud, it seems, postulates in view of the admittedly enormous role which sexuality plays in the psyche. As for Freud's therapy, it is at best but one of several possible methods, and perhaps does not always offer in practice what one expects from it in theory. Nevertheless, all these things are the merest trifles compared with the psychological principles whose discovery is Freud's greatest merit; and to them the critics pay far too little attention. He who wishes to be fair to Freud should take to heart the words of Erasmus: "Unumquemque move lapidem, omnia experire, nihil intentatum relinque."¹⁸

Over the summer, Freud finished assembling the first volume of his *Short Papers on the Theory of the Neuroses*, and he sent a copy to Jung in October 1906. With Jung's letter of reply, the correspondence was under way in earnest—"a most friendly and even intimate exchange of both personal thoughts as well as scientific reflections . . . for nearly seven years."¹⁹ When Jung's *Dementia Praecox* was published in December, he sent one of the first copies to Freud, who had expressed his eagerness to see it. Unfortunately, Freud's comments upon receiving that crucial book were made in a letter that is one of the few missing in this collection.²⁰

In his subsequent writings Freud unreservedly acknowledged the services rendered to the spread of psychoanalysis by the Zürich

¹⁸ CW 3, pp. 3f. / "Move every stone, try everything, leave nothing unattempted."—Erasmus, *Adagia*, I.IV.xxx. The tr. here is by Margaret Mann Phillips, to whom acknowledgment is gratefully made. See also 142 J n. 1.

¹⁹ Jones, II, p. 35/3of.

²⁰ For a list of the missing items, see appendix 1, p. 562.

School, "particularly by Bleuler and Jung." Recounting the history of the psychoanalytic movement in 1914, immediately after the break with Jung, Freud stated, "According to the evidence of a colleague²¹ who witnessed developments at the Burghölzli, it appears that psycho-analysis awakened interest there very early. In Jung's work on occult phenomena, published in 1902, there was already an allusion to my book on dream-interpretation. From 1903 or 1904, says my informant, psycho-analysis was in the forefront of interest."²² After describing his period of isolation and the gradual development in Vienna from 1902 onwards, Freud told how "in 1907 the situation changed all at once and contrary to all expectations. . . . A communication from Bleuler had informed me before this that my works had been studied and made use of in the Burghölzli. In January 1907, the first member of the Zürich clinic came to Vienna—Dr. Eitingon. Other visits followed, which led to an animated exchange of ideas. Finally, on the invitation of C. G. Jung . . . a first meeting took place at Salzburg in the spring of 1908 . . ."²³

The account of the relationship of Freud and Jung from 1906 forward is, of course, contained in the letters in this volume—the gradual warming of mutual regard, confidence, and affection, the continual interchange of professional information and opinions, the rapidly elaborating business of the psychoanalytical movement, the intimate give-and-take of family news, the often acerb and witty observations on colleagues and adversaries, and at length the emergence of differences, disagreements, misunderstandings, injured feelings, and finally disruption and separation.

*

After Jung's letter of 20 April 1914 resigning from the presidency of the International Association, there is a long silence in the history of these letters.²⁴ Freud himself did not again engage in a holo-

²¹ Karl Abraham. See *Freud/Abraham Letters*, 15 Jan. 14, in which Abraham supplied information that Freud had requested.

²² SE XIV, p. 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 26. Writing 11 years later, Freud gave a more succinct but slightly less exact account: ". . . my isolation gradually came to an end. To begin with, a small circle of pupils gathered round me in Vienna; and then, after 1906, came the news that the psychiatrists at Zürich, E. Bleuler, his assistant C. G. Jung, and others, were taking a lively interest in psycho-analysis. We got into personal touch with one another, and at Easter 1908 the friends of the young science met at Salzburg . . ." ("An Autobiographical Study," SE XX, p. 48).

²⁴ Jung's letter of 1923 (359 J) is the sole exception.

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caust of unwanted papers, as he had done in March 1908, when he took over an adjoining flat and rearranged his study (occurrences which, incidentally, are not mentioned in his letters to Jung). Into the file of Jung's letters to him he also placed some of the programmes of the Congresses and Jung's circular letters to the presidents of the branch societies, as well as several letters from Jung to Ferenczi, which apparently Ferenczi had turned over to Freud.²⁵ The letters Freud received from Emma Jung were kept separately. There is no evidence that he ever consulted the Jung file again, though he himself must have placed Jung's referral letter of 1923 in it. Freud's correspondence was filed chronologically in cabinets in his study at Berggasse 19. When the time approached for the Freuds to leave Vienna in 1938, Anna Freud and Marie Bonaparte went through Freud's papers and correspondence and burned some items that would have been dangerous if they had fallen into Nazi hands.²⁶ Then the remaining files of papers and letters—from Jones, Abraham, Eitingon, Pfister, Ferenczi, Lou Andreas-Salomé, Jung, Martha Bernays Freud—were labeled and shipped along with the family's other effects.²⁷ Professor and Mrs. Freud and Anna boarded the departing train on 4 June 1938 and after a stop in Paris arrived at Dover on 6 June; they had been accorded diplomatic privileges, and none of the luggage was examined there or in London. The files of papers were stored away in the house at 20 Maresfield Gardens, which became the family's permanent home in the autumn of 1938, and where Freud died on 23 September 1939. There the letters rested, surviving another kind of holocaust—the air raids of the Second World War—and afterward, amidst the concerns of the Freud family with the immediacies of life and profession, were seemingly forgotten.

Jung's letters from Freud lay undisturbed for nearly forty years. For a time he kept them in what he called his "cache," a narrow safe set into the wall of an alcove adjoining his large study-library upstairs.²⁸ The

²⁵ Three of them are published in *Jung: Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 1.

²⁶ Private communication from Miss Freud, who added, "Otherwise what we performed were really works of rescue. There was too much accumulated material to take with us to London, and my father was all for throwing away much of it, whereas Princess Bonaparte . . . was all for preservation. Therefore she rescued things from waste-baskets which my father had thrown there." The account given by Jones (III, p. 238/233), of burning everything considered not worth preserving, is not quite exact.

²⁷ Private communication from Mrs. E. L. Freud.

²⁸ Private communication from Aniela Jaffé.

"cache," which was locked with a key that Jung carried in his pocket, also contained, among other valuables, the four fragments of a bread-knife that had shattered when he was experimenting with occultism as a student.²⁹

In all of his later writings, including his autobiography, Jung never referred to his correspondence with Freud.³⁰ Nor did Freud ever mention the correspondence in his writings afterward, other than to allude in "The History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement" (1914) to Jung's letter of 11 November 1912 (323 J). The existence of this valuable *Briefwechsel* was not generally known until the publication of volume II of Ernest Jones's *Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* in 1955. Around 1950 Jones had begun work on the biography, the first volume of which (1953) comes up to 1900. By 1952 he had started to prepare the second volume, and in February he wrote to Jung asking if he might see Freud's letters to him. Aniela Jaffé, who was at that time the secretary of the C. G. Jung Institute,³¹ had been in analysis with Jung for several years. During an analytical interview in February, Jung asked her if she would read the Freud letters. She agreed, and Jung's secretary, Marie-Jeanne Schmid, brought the bundle of letters from the "cache." As Mrs. Jaffé remembers it, "I was more than excited; but then, after having read all the night, rather disappointed, because I had expected sentences of the deepest wisdom and psychological insight and met with a lot of politics and such, besides the most personal remarks. When I told this to Jung he was pleased, and I suppose his answer to Jones reflects it."³² Jung replied to Jones:

They are not particularly important. They chiefly contain remarks about publishers or the organization of the Psychoanalytical Society. And some others are too personal. As a matter of fact I don't care for their publication. On the whole they wouldn't be an important contribution to Freud's biography.³³

A month later Jung entrusted the bundle of letters to Mrs. Jaffé, and she carried it to the director of the Jung Institute, C. A.

²⁹ Aniela Jaffé, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, tr. R.F.C. Hull (1971), p. 123. See also *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 1, 27 Nov. 34, to J. B. Rhine.

³⁰ He mentioned the letters in private correspondence late in life.

³¹ Established in 1948 in Zürich for training and research in analytical psychology. Courses are given in both English and German.

³² Private communication.

³³ *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 2, 22 Feb. 52, to Jones.

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Meier, M.D.,³⁴ with a covering letter (22 March 1952) in which Jung stated that he was handing over the letters to the Institute for safekeeping, his wish being that the collection be considered a possession that was not for sale. "The letters have a certain historical value, after all," he wrote, "though their contents are unimportant."

Meier replied to Jung, thanking him for the gift on behalf of the Curatorium of the Institute, and he added: "It will interest you to learn that we have been asked by the Sigmund Freud Archives, Inc.,³⁵ of New York, whether we could prepare photocopies of these letters, and we intend to ask them whether they would be in a position to reciprocate by providing photocopies of your letters to Freud. I'll be glad to keep you informed of this."

The information that Meier received from K. R. Eissler, M.D., the Secretary of the Archives, was abruptly disappointing: "Unfortunately the letters which Professor Jung wrote to Professor Freud have not been preserved. As far as I know, Professor Freud destroyed his whole correspondence before leaving Vienna in 1938, and I assume that Professor Jung's letters were among those documents which were destroyed during those hectic days."³⁶ Eissler told Meier that he would, with his permission, inquire of the Freud family in London. By the end of the year the Jung letters had not come to light, but the photostats of the Freud letters had been made and sent to New York, with the Jung Institute's proviso that they be kept confidential for one hundred years.

In September 1953, Jung received Eissler at Küsnacht and granted him an interview for the Freud Archives. The transcript of the interview is under standard restriction until the year 2010. Jung also, on the occasion of Eissler's visit, donated various pieces of memorabilia to the Archives.³⁷ Soon afterward, with the permission of the Jung

³⁴ Later, professor of psychology at the Federal Polytechnic ("E.T.H."), Zürich.

³⁵ The Sigmund Freud Archives was incorporated in New York in 1951 as a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, its goal being the collection of all documents directly or indirectly related to the life and work of Freud; the Archives entered into a formal agreement with the Library of Congress whereby the Library becomes owner of the materials, which, if designated as restricted, are kept confidential for as long as the donor or Archives and the Library consider proper. The Library's Freud collection, which includes the materials donated by the Archives, comprises letters to and from Freud and his family, original manuscripts, official documents, photographs, and interviews with persons who had been in contact with Freud.

³⁶ Eissler to Meier, 4 June 52. This and other letters written by Dr. Eissler are quoted with his kind permission.

³⁷ See appendixes 3 and 4 of the present volume.

Institute, the Freud Archives arranged to have Freud's letters transcribed. In November, Jung was again asked if Jones could read the Freud letters, this time by Eissler on Jones's behalf. Jung replied directly to Jones:

Of course you have my permission to read Freud's letters, copies of which are in the Freud Archives in New York.

Your biographical material [in volume I] is very interesting, although it would have been advisable to consult me for certain facts. For instance you got the story of Freud's fainting attack quite wrong. Also it was by no means the first one; he had such an attack before in 1909 previous to our departure for America in Bremen, and very much under the same psychological circumstances.³⁸

Hoping you are going on to continue enjoying old age, I remain, etc.³⁹

Jones thus was able to read Freud's letters to Jung, but the other side of the dialogue was assumed to have been lost. On 22 March 1954, however, Eissler wrote again to Meier: "To my very great joy I can tell you that I have just been informed by Miss Anna Freud that the letters from Professor Jung to Professor Freud have been found. I am sure that Miss Freud will have no objection to sending copies, as she had originally agreed to this in case they should be found. I shall probably see her in London this summer and will discuss the matter." Miss Freud has recalled, more recently, that during the war years all the various parcels of correspondence that had been brought from Vienna were safely stored in every possible place in both her house and her brother Ernst's house. It took some time to bring all the material together and catalogue it, and while this work was going on, the Jung letters were securely put away and in due course came to light.^{39a}

In the same letter, Eissler broached the question of whether the Jung Institute might be interested in a joint publication of the correspondence. Meier replied that the Institute indeed would.

³⁸ Jones had written of the 1912 fainting attack in volume I (p. 348/317), a copy of which Jung had received from his friend E. A. Bennet, of London, the month before. See *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 2, 21 Nov. 53, to Bennet, for Jung's version of the event; also *Memories*, p. 157/153. Jones referred briefly to the 1909 attack in volume II (pp. 61/55, 165/146); Jung gives a fuller account in *Memories*, pp. 156/152f.

³⁹ *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 2, 19 Dec. 53.

^{39a} Private communication from Anna Freud.

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During a visit to New York in November 1954, Meier met Eissler, who gave him the photostats of Jung's letters, and the two talked over the idea of publication. Meier arranged to borrow the uncorrected transcript of the Freud letters, and when he got back to Zürich he read the entire exchange. Surely the first person to read all the letters on both sides, Meier wrote Eissler:

The first impression is really that of a shattering tragedy. And just for that reason I am completely in favour of publishing the whole thing. It is true that recently Jung thought it should wait until after his death; he didn't want to look at the letters at all, however. I'm therefore of the opinion that he could be persuaded to change his mind. I think not only that the world should learn something from this tragedy, but also that from this publication a great deal of nonsense that is current will finally be laid to rest, which can only be a good thing for clearing the atmosphere. More difficult than consideration for Freud and Jung, it seems to me, is consideration for other colleagues, who turn up frequently in the letters and to some extent are labeled with rather unflattering, spirited expressions. . . . Personally, I think we should give the world a brave piece of scientific objectivity for the common good.⁴⁰

Eissler felt that as much as possible should be published, "with out causing any annoyance or detriment to the individuals mentioned."⁴¹ Transcripts of the entire correspondence should be prepared, he thought, and be read by the persons on whose decision the publication would depend. The work of transcribing the Jung letters went ahead, and the Institute in Zürich, dissatisfied with the New York transcript of the Freud letters, began to make its own transcript of them. Meier hoped that Miss Freud would then examine the authoritative texts and permit their publication.

In 1955, Jones published volume II of his life of Freud, dealing with the "Years of Maturity," 1901-1919. He had had access to some five thousand letters from Freud's correspondence, the most valuable being those between Freud and Abraham, Ferenczi, Jung, and himself. It is not certain at what point he was able to read Jung's letters to Freud; in volume II there are only three direct citations of them, as against some fifty citations of Freud's letters to Jung, in addition to sixteen extended quotations in an appendix (though

⁴⁰ Meier to Eissler, 14 Jan. 55, quoted with Dr. Meier's kind permission.

⁴¹ Eissler to Meier, 18 Jan. 55.

Jones refrained from quoting entire letters from this correspondence).⁴² Upon the publication of the second volume, with its copious references to himself, Jung made no further comment on Jones's *Freud*, so far as it is known, in his published writings or letters.

During the summer of 1955, the painstaking work of transcribing both sides of the correspondence proceeded at the Jung Institute in Zürich. Then, on 1 October, Meier notified Eissler that he had had a discussion with Professor and Mrs. Jung and that they did not yet agree to the publication of the letters. Jung wanted to see the letters first. Perhaps the letters could be edited by contemporaries of the two correspondents and published in the distant future, for the grandchildren's generation. But for the present nothing was definite until Jung saw the letters.⁴³

Eissler replied sympathetically; he also had doubts about an unabridged publication. Many passages, he supposed, might need comments or they would not be understandable to future generations. But would people be willing to devote time to the work without seeing it realized during their lifetime?⁴⁴ Meier was wholeheartedly for obtaining commentaries by contemporaries; Mrs. Jaffé stood ready to help on the Zürich side; and Jung had indeed given his approval to the publication, but only after his death. However, Meier expected to discuss this further with Mrs. Jung.⁴⁵ There was no doubt that the Institute was truly authorized to publish the correspondence, in view of the statement Jung had made when he turned over the letters.⁴⁶ At the end of October, the Institute sent Eissler the Zürich transcripts of both the Jung and the Freud letters, as well as the uncorrected New York transcript of the Freud letters.

Not until March 1956 was a working plan agreed upon among the Freud Archives, Anna Freud, and the Jung Institute: "The transcript . . . should be submitted for evaluation to the following five persons: Dr. Anna Freud, and Drs. Heinz Hartmann, Ernst Kris, Ernest Jones, and Hermann Nunberg. The plan is to obtain and preserve available information from informants who have particular knowledge about events and people who played a prominent role at the time when Professor Freud worked with Professor Jung. Since

⁴² Volume III contains five citations of Freud's letters and one of Jung's. Volume II also contains several citations of Jung's letters to Jones, which have now disappeared.

⁴³ A. Jaffé, on behalf of Meier, to Eissler, 1 Oct. 55.

⁴⁴ Eissler to Meier, 4 Oct. 55.

⁴⁵ Meier to Eissler, 7 Oct. 55.

⁴⁶ Meier to Eissler, 21 Oct. 55. / Mrs. Jung died 27 Nov. 55.

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most of this information is probably of a personal nature, it is not intended to publish it. The idea is to have each of the informants provide the manuscript with footnotes, or a longer commentary, as the case may be. These additions to the manuscript would be kept strictly confidential at the Library of Congress for as many years as each of the informants may wish."⁴⁷

In August 1956, Meier notified Eissler that Jung had stipulated that his letters to Freud could be published, at the earliest, twenty years after his death, though Meier hoped that work on the commentaries could proceed anyway.⁴⁸ But no commentary or footnotes were ever produced. Kris died in 1957, Jones in 1958, and Nunberg and Hartmann in 1970. The photostats of the original letters and of the Zürich transcripts were deposited in the Library of Congress in 1958, labeled as follows: "Confidential, not to be opened until 20 years after the death of Carl Jung with permission of the Jung Archives, Küsnacht, Zürich."

*

In 1956, Dr. Gerhard Adler put to Jung the idea of publishing a general selection of his entire correspondence. Adler, originally of Berlin and after 1936 in England, was one of Jung's most prominent pupils. As he wrote, some years later, "Originally the idea of such publication had come not from [Jung] himself but from friends who were aware of the unique literary and psychological value of Jung's correspondence. At first Jung had reacted against the whole notion, since he felt that the spontaneity and immediacy of his letters were not for the general public; but in his later years he changed his attitude. . . ." ⁴⁹ Responding to Adler's proposal, Jung immediately ruled out the inclusion of the Freud/Jung correspondence. In a letter of 24 May 1956 he wrote: "Separate treatment of this correspondence is justified, because it touches in parts upon very personal problems, whereas the planned publication refers to scientific subjects. I consider it inopportune to expose the personal material so long as the waves of animosity are still running so high. At the date suggested by me Freud and I will be 'historical personalities,' and the necessary detachment from events will prevail by then."⁵⁰

In August 1957, Jung confirmed his agreement to the publication of a selection of his letters. In January 1958 he recommended that

⁴⁷ Memorandum by Eissler, 20 Mar. 56.

⁴⁸ Meier to Eissler, 3 Aug. 56.

⁴⁹ Adler, introduction to *Letters*, vol. 1 (1973), p. ix.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xi-xii.

the work be entrusted to a committee composed of Mrs. Jaffé, now his secretary, his daughter Marianne Niehus-Jung (an editor of the Swiss edition of the collected works), and Dr. Adler, who was to act as the chairman and as the editor of the letters; and at the same time Jung stated that the Freud/Jung correspondence was to be published "only after 1980."⁵¹

The idea of publication of the Freud/Jung correspondence was broached again in the summer of 1958. It is not clear who succeeded in persuading Jung to change his mind so soon after he had pushed the project into the distant future. The impetus may have originated with the publisher Kurt Wolff, who before World War II had had a distinguished career in Germany and Italy, and had founded the New York firm of Pantheon Books in the early 1940's. Pantheon had been chosen as publisher of Bollingen Series, a programme of the Bollingen Foundation, the keystone of which was the Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Kurt Wolff, who had known Jung for many years, had convinced him in 1956 that his autobiography should be written. This project grew into a collaboration between Jung and Aniela Jaffé; Mrs. Jaffé wrote the greater part of it from interviews with Jung, and he wrote other parts in longhand.⁵² Wolff was in Zürich during the summer of 1958 for editorial conferences. And in Europe during the same period were the editor and assistant editor of Bollingen Series, John D. Barrett and Vaun Gillmor, and Sir Herbert Read, a director of Routledge & Kegan Paul, the publishers of Jung's works in England. These three, with Jung, composed the "Editorial Committee," which met once a year to review the progress of the collected works and plan the future programme.

The first document is a letter Jung wrote on 20 July 1958 to Eissler:

As you know, I have stipulated that my correspondence with Freud ought not to be published before 30 years⁵³ have elapsed

⁵¹ Letters to Bollingen Foundation, 19 Aug. 57, and to John D. Barrett, 29 Jan. 58, in the Foundation archives. / Marianne Niehus-Jung died in March 1965.

⁵² *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, "by C. G. Jung, recorded and edited by Aniela Jaffé," was published simultaneously in New York, London, and Zürich in 1963.

⁵³ On 12 Aug. 60, Dr. Franz N. Riklin, who had succeeded Meier as director of the Jung Institute, informed Eissler of a further proviso, namely that Jung now wished that no one be permitted to study the correspondence until thirty years after his death. He proposed that a protocol be made by both sides, stipulating

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after my death, but lately I have been asked from different sides to permit—inasmuch as I am competent—an earlier publication of the whole correspondence.

Such a change of my will⁵⁴ is not a simple matter. First of all I don't know how you feel about such a proposition, and secondly I could not permit an earlier publication without a necessary revision of my letters. My letters were never written with any thought that they might be broadcasted. As a matter of fact, many of them contain unchecked and highly objectionable materials, such as are produced in the course of an analysis, and shed a most one-sided and dubious light on a number of persons who I don't want to offend in any manner whatever. Such material enjoys the protection of the *secretum medici*. These people or their descendants are still alive.

I should be deeply obliged to you, if you would kindly inform me of your feelings in this matter, especially if you would agree with an earlier publication under strict observation of the rule of discretion and the risk of libel.⁵⁵

Dr. Eissler responded:

There are two aspects to the question you asked me regarding the publication of the letters Prof. Freud and you exchanged: the legal aspect and my personal feeling about the whole matter. There can be no doubt that anything which might offend anyone who was under your treatment or a descendant of such persons should not be published. However, permission to publish at least the letters written by Freud does not depend on the Archives, since the Archives never acquired the copyright. This question has to be discussed with the Sigmund Freud Copyrights, Ltd., c/o Mr. Ernst Freud, . . . in London.

Since I consider it an indiscretion to read letters that have not been published, I made it my habit not to read the letters acquired by the Archives unless there is an objective necessity for doing so. Since this did not arise regarding your correspondence with Prof.

this limitation, and Eissler referred him to Ernst Freud. Such a document has not been found.

⁵⁴ Jung's last will and testament contains no dispositions regarding the correspondence with Freud. He may have used the term "will" here not in its legal meaning, but in the nontechnical sense of intention. (Information from Dr. Hans Karrer and Mr. Franz Jung.)

⁵⁵ *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 2.

Freud I never took the liberty of reading the letters and cannot express an opinion about whether or not this correspondence should be published at this time. However, I recall the opinion of the late Dr. Kris, the editor of the Freud/Fliess correspondence, who read the letters at the request of the Jung Archives⁵⁶ in Zurich. If I recall correctly, his opinion was that it would be worthwhile to publish at present those parts of the correspondence which contain strictly scientific problems such as the questions of narcissism and schizophrenia, which apparently came up quite frequently in your communications with Freud.

This is the only contribution I can make in answer to your letter of July 20th. The most important questions I think have to be straightened out between you and Ernst Freud.⁵⁷

On 23 August, at his home at Küsnacht, Jung met with Barrett, Miss Gillmor, Read, and Wolff. Agreement to publish the Freud/Jung correspondence was reached—in principle. Wolff had read the entire correspondence and prepared a fifty-page summary; this presented the first conspectus of the letters and was testimony to the importance of publishing them.⁵⁸

Shortly afterward, Mrs. Jaffé, Jung's secretary, wrote to John Barrett: "Dr. Jung said that he fully agreed with Dr. Eissler's idea to 'publish at present those parts of the correspondence which contain strictly scientific problems' and asked me to inform Dr. F. Riklin, President of the C. G. Jung Institute, of this fact. (Dr. Jung has given the Freud letters to the Institute as a donation.) Yesterday Dr. Jung told me in a few words about your talk on Saturday, August 23rd, and added that he would very much like to reread or at least peruse the letters in question before giving his definite 'placet.'" ⁵⁹

Mrs. Jaffé remembers that Jung did not look at the letters himself—in fact, to her knowledge he never showed any desire at any time to reread any of his correspondence with Freud—but asked another one of his pupils to go through them and to make recommendations. The consequence was the following letter from Jung to Barrett, one week later:

⁵⁶ That is, the C. G. Jung Institute.

⁵⁷ Letter of 13 Aug. 58 (copy in Bollingen Foundation archives).

⁵⁸ Mrs. Helen Wolff kindly gave access to her late husband's summary of the letters and confirmed other details in his diary.

⁵⁹ A. Jaffé to J. D. Barrett, 27 Aug. 58, in the Bollingen Foundation archives; quoted by permission of Mrs. Jaffé.

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Re: publication of the Freud-correspondence, I want to tell you that I have decided to do nothing further. The letters are too personal and contain too little generally interesting material, so that the great work which ought to be done, to draw something worthwhile from them, would be wasted time.

It was nice to see you again, and I am glad that I am able to spare you a superfluous trouble. Thus the conditions remain as they have been before, namely the publication of the correspondence is postponed *ad calendas graecas*.⁶⁰

The following year, the British writer John Freeman (later, ambassador to the United States) conducted a filmed interview with Jung for the British Broadcasting Corporation. He asked Jung, "When are the letters which you exchanged with Freud going to be published?"

Professor Jung: "Well, not during my lifetime."

Freeman: "You would have no objection to their being published after your lifetime?"

Professor Jung: "Oh, no, none at all."

Freeman: "Because they are probably of great historical importance."

Professor Jung: "I don't think so."

Freeman: "Then why have you not published them so far?"

Professor Jung: "Because they were not important enough. I see no particular importance in them."⁶¹

Later, the pupil who had read the letters at Jung's request the previous summer happened to write to him quoting his striking remarks about Christianity in the letter of 11 February 1910 (178 J), and Jung replied (9 April 1959):

Best thanks for the quotation from that accursed correspondence. For me it is an unfortunately inexpungeable reminder of the incredible folly that filled the days of my youth. The journey from cloud-cuckoo-land back to reality lasted a long time. In my case Pilgrim's Progress consisted in my having to climb down a thou-

⁶⁰ Letter of 5 Sept. 58, in the Bollingen Foundation archives.

⁶¹ Transcript published in *C. G. Jung Speaking* (1977). An abridged version, not including this passage, is in *Face to Face*, ed. Hugh Burnett (London, 1964), pp. 48-51.

sand ladders until I could reach out my hand to the little clod of earth that I am.⁶²

In the fall of 1960, Ernst L. Freud brought out the *Letters of Sigmund Freud*, a volume of selected letters that he had edited. By agreement with the Jung Institute, he included seven of his father's letters to Jung (27, 38, 42, 45, 71, 129, 340, three of them with deletions).

An old friend of Jung's, meanwhile, had been writing a memoir of Jung as he had known him: this was Dr. E. A. Bennet, a psychiatrist and analyst of London, whose book, *C. G. Jung*, was largely based on their conversations and correspondence that had continued up until a short time before Jung's death. In his chapter on Jung's relations with Freud, Bennet writes: "More and more Freud came to rely on Jung and wrote him constantly, often every week. If Jung did not reply, he would get a telegram asking what had gone wrong. Jung has kept these letters, although he never intended to publish them; they are personal, mainly about current events, and in any case of no special importance or general interest."⁶³ This estimate was based on what Dr. Bennet had been told by Jung, who, furthermore, reviewed the book in manuscript.

Until the time of Jung's death, 6 June 1961, there was no further consideration of the correspondence with Freud and no change in Jung's wish that publication be postponed until long after his death. Editorial work had continued on *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, and arrangements were made to publish in an appendix parts of three letters from Freud to Jung (139, 255, 260) dealing with occultism. Jung had expressly given his approval, and the permission of Ernst Freud was duly sought and granted.

In August 1961, shortly after Jung's death, there was another meeting in Zürich of Barrett, Miss Gillmor, and Read, this time with Mr. and Mrs. Walther Niehus-Jung, Franz Jung, Aniela Jaffé, Franz Riklin, and Max Rascher, Jung's Swiss publisher. The gathering carried on the tradition of the regular summer meetings to review the progress of the English-language publications of Jung's works. Jung had named Walther Niehus as his literary executor, and his wife Marianne Niehus-Jung had a principal role as an editor of the *Gesammelte Werke* and the selected letters. The main business of

⁶² Quoted in a footnote to Jung's 11 Feb. 10 letter to Freud in *Letters*, ed. Adler, vol. 1, p. 19.

⁶³ *C. G. Jung* (London and New York, 1961), p. 39.

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the 1961 meeting was indeed the selected letters, upon which intensive editorial work was now to begin. According to the minutes, "It was tentatively suggested that three volumes be prepared: (1) Freud correspondence, (2) letters concerning religion and theology, and (3) the balance of the scientific letters." This revival of the Freud/Jung correspondence was countermanded as soon as all parties concerned were reminded of Jung's wish that the correspondence remain sealed until 1991. The selected letters were finally arranged chronologically, and Adler stated that "I felt justified in publishing only a very few and quite uncontroversial letters of Jung's to Freud, eight in all," on the pattern of Ernst Freud's choice of seven of Freud's to Jung in the selection he edited.⁶⁴

Earlier on, Freud's correspondence had begun to come out in several different collections. *The Origins of Psychoanalysis*, a volume of letters to Wilhelm Fliess and related papers, was published as early as 1950, and the selection by Ernst Freud, already mentioned, appeared in 1960. Then followed the exchanges of letters with Pfister (1963), Abraham (1965), Lou Andreas-Salomé (1966), and Arnold Zweig (1968).⁶⁵

*

In the spring of 1969, Norman Franklin, chairman of Routledge & Kegan Paul, Jung's publishers in England, called on Ernst Freud at his home in London. Mr. Freud pointed to a storage cabinet in his study and said it contained Jung's letters to his father, which the family were thinking of selling, along with the right to publish his father's letters to Jung. Mr. Franklin wrote to Princeton University Press, as Jung's American publishers, conveying this news. The Princeton University Library, with whose staff the matter was discussed, was not in a position at that time to bid for the letters, which did not fall naturally into the University collections. But at the Press we were troubled at the thought of the letters being scattered or

⁶⁴ Adler, introduction to *Letters*, vol. 1, p. xii. The letters to Freud included in Adler's selection (also in Jaffé's, in the Swiss edition) are 138, 170, 178, 198, 224, 259, and 315, three with deletions. The translation is that of R.F.C. Hull, as in the present volume. The Swiss edition of Jung's *Briefe* appeared in three volumes in 1972-73 and the American-English edition in two volumes in 1973-74.

⁶⁵ In February 1965, Eissler wrote Riklin saying that he had heard that the Jung Institute would like to publish the Freud/Jung letters but believed that the Freud family were opposed, whereas he knew that the Sigmund Freud Copyrights had no objection. Riklin responded that the thirty-year embargo had to stand.

perhaps disappearing into some restricted private collection. Furthermore, though we were aware of Jung's embargo on publishing the letters, there was the faint hope that the embargo might somehow be lifted. Accordingly, as executive editor of Jung's works in English, I wrote to Ernst Freud on 23 May: "If your family actually should be entertaining the idea of selling the Jung letters, I would be most grateful if you gave me the opportunity to try to arrange for their purchase in order to place them in the Jung archives in Zürich." At the same time, I wrote the Jung family, through the legal counsel for the estate, Dr. Hans Karrer, asking, "Why shouldn't the Freud and Jung families simply exchange their respective holdings of the original letters?"

On 22 June, Ernst Freud replied, asking whether an offer could be made for the Jung letters which his family could then consider. He added, "It is not correct that there exist any restrictions with regard to the publication of the Freud letters—only Jung found it (unfortunately) necessary to withhold the right for 30 years after his death. And although I have proof that in the last year of his life he was willing to change this condition, the Jung Archives have been unable to free them before this date. Clearly, it would be a pity to publish only my father's letters alone."

Shortly afterward, in Zürich, I took part in meetings with members of the Jung family and their advisers. The consequence of these discussions was a proposal that the Freud letters and Jung letters be exchanged between the C. G. Jung Institute and the Freud family. It was observed that Jung had left conflicting instructions about restrictions on publication—for thirty years, for twenty, for fifty, for one hundred, or until 1980. The family agreed that it would be fortunate if the correspondence could be edited soon, while persons survived who could contribute to an informed annotation. The edited letters would then be put in safekeeping and published only in 1980. I communicated these thoughts to Ernst Freud, who replied on 2 August: "We shall gladly agree to the exchange of the originals. I have taken steps to get the declaration mentioned [that Jung was willing to change the restrictions] but of course I am not certain how long this may take and whether I will be successful.⁶⁶ I share the opinion that an early editing of the letters would be fortunate. . . ." Henceforward, the two parties were in direct communication.

Dr. Karrer wrote to me on 2 December 1969: "My clients have taken a decision of considerable importance. They have come to the

⁶⁶ This point was never clarified. / (Mrs. E. L. Freud kindly gave permission for publication of parts of her husband's letters.)

INTRODUCTION

conclusion that this question must not be decided on the basis of the late Professor Jung's various and possibly contradictory statements, but in the light of the situation as it presents itself now. Under this angle, they attach overriding importance to the consideration that the publication should take place as long as persons are still available for the editorial work who had known Jung and Freud. Of course, it remains to be seen whether the Freud party shares this view."

The Freud party did share that view. And, on 25 February 1970, Franz Jung flew from Zürich to London with the original Freud letters in his briefcase, and called on Ernst Freud in St. John's Wood. Freud, who had been ill with a heart ailment, dressed and left his bedroom in honour of his guest. As he wrote me on 6 March, "Mr. Jung—whom I liked very much—visited me here, and we didn't only exchange our fathers' letters, but in the easiest and friendliest way agreed on plans for the early publication of the correspondence." Both men were architects, and they readily found a mutual sympathy. Ernst Freud's letter went on: "In order to guarantee impartiality, these letters will be printed like historical documents, that is to say without any comments whatsoever and absolutely complete, unless discretion concerning former patients or colleagues makes omissions unavoidable. The existing typescripts will once more be compared with the originals, necessary notes to explain names, book titles, quotations, etc., will be added." Later, Franz Jung remarked, "It was quite an historic moment. We decided that the letters should be given to publication while there are still people around who knew the personalities of the two men."⁶⁷

Ernst Freud died suddenly on 7 April 1970, but the contractual arrangements for the publication were duly completed, and the news was made public in mid July. Shortly afterward the original Freud letters were purchased from the Freud family by the Library of Congress, through funds provided by an anonymous benefactor, and they are now in the Manuscript Division of the Library. The original Jung letters are in the C. G. Jung Institute at Zürich, and according to the terms of Jung's gift their sale is barred.

*

As explained heretofore, the transcripts of the letters were typewritten in 1955, and photocopies of these transcripts provide the text of the present volume. The transcripts were read against the holo-

⁶⁷ Article by Henry Rayment, *New York Times*, 15 July 1970, p. 41.

graph letters (or photocopies of them) once more by Anna Freud and her sister Mathilde Hollitscher and by Kurt Niehus-Jung, Professor Jung's son-in-law. On both sides, memoranda were prepared explaining abbreviations and noting handwritten corrections and slips of the pen by both writers.

Both translators—Ralph Manheim for the Freud letters, R.F.C. Hull for the Jung letters—worked from these prepared transcripts. During the course of the translating and editorial work, the transcripts were again checked against the holographs for problematical readings, sometimes with the assistance of other persons familiar with the handwriting.

In the present edition, textual matters have not been presented in exhaustive detail, which would be distracting and tedious for most readers. The German edition of the letters, however, which is being published simultaneously (by S. Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt), will be available to anyone who wants to study Freud's and Jung's original usages especially with respect to the salutations and valedictions of the letters. There are more diverse possibilities for these epistolary formulas in German than in English, and some of them if translated literally would sound stilted and odd. Variety and literality have been sacrificed for the sake of phrases that ring naturally in English. But the chief and most interesting forms and changes of forms have usually been mentioned in the notes. It will be seen that Freud, beginning with a formal expression such as *Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege* (literally, "Very esteemed Mr. Colleague"), came in time to the simple and warm *Lieber Freund*, which he used until the cooling of the relationship caused him to adopt *Lieber Herr Doktor*. Jung began formally with salutations on the order of *Sehr geehrter Herr Professor* and arrived rather slowly at *Lieber Herr Professor*, which he used almost to the end. The valedictions are even more varied; while literality here is, again, also impossible, they have been translated with strict consistency—for example, *Ihr ergebener*, though it allows of various English renderings, is always translated as "Yours sincerely."

The two writers, and particularly Freud, used many abbreviations, as was the custom in that day—it must certainly have expedited letter-writing. In the interests of readability most of the abbreviated words have been spelled out, but certain abbreviations have been retained consistently because they are a characteristic part of the psychoanalytic vocabulary: "ucs." (unconscious), for *Ubw.* (*Unbewusstsein*); "cs." (consciousness), for *Bw.* (*Bewusstsein*); Greek psi-

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alpha (Ψ A) for *Psychoanalyse* (psychoanalysis). (Both letters, psi and alpha, of this Greek abbreviation are consistently capitalized in the present volume, though the writers' usage varied. Freud preferred capitals but often used lower case in adjectival forms. Jung preferred to write Ψ as a capital and α in lower case.) Some other abbreviations—of personal names, journal and book titles, and so on—are retained for flavour. The writers' placement of postscripts and interpolations has been indicated as faithfully as possible. Slips of the pen, cancellations, etc., have been indicated when they are of interest and can be given intelligibly in translation. Confusions of the pronominals *Sie / sie* and *Ihr / ihr* (you / they, your / their) have in general been indicated, not only when they caused controversy between the writers but in the fairly frequent cases when they went unnoticed. Underlining has not been reproduced as italic when this device is used differently in German (as for personal names) than in English; underlining for emphasis is, however, usually indicated by italic. Book titles are italicized as they are normally in English.

Dates at the head of the letters, which the writers often gave in European number style, as 3.IV.10 or 3.4.10, have been standardized to the style "3 April 1910" (and, in the notes, "3 Apr. 10"). The printed letterheads have also been somewhat simplified, as explained in the notes.

No letter that was in the two sets at the time they were transcribed in 1955 has been omitted from this edition, and (as indicated in the notes) a few more have since come to light. That the sets are intact is proved by the unbroken sequence of letter or page numbers pencilled by unknown hands on both sets of letters and visible on photocopies made earlier. The loss of some letters, cards, and telegrams (and enclosures, which were apparently not filed with the letters) is sometimes evident from context, and these are mentioned in the notes.⁶⁸ It is not necessary to suppose these were suppressed by either recipient, as the surviving letters contain ample material that might have been considered suppressible. What is remarkable is that both sides of this correspondence have survived in nearly complete form.

Within the letters, there are deletions of two kinds: (1) The names of analysands whose cases are discussed are replaced by initials, beginning with "A" for the first case mentioned. As the same initial

⁶⁸ See appendix 1, p. 562.

is used consistently for an analysand, the references are coherent throughout the correspondence. This discretion, which was requested by both families, is in accordance with medical practice. (2) In Jung's letters, at the request of his family, a few passages have been omitted and replaced by: [. . .]. None of these refers to Freud, but to other personalities whose close relatives may survive.

The system of numbering the letters has, of course, been devised for the present edition. As explained in its annotation, item number 199a F was found (or rather, refound) after the numbers had been established.⁶⁹ Thus the total number of items in the exchange is 360: 164 from Freud, 196 from Jung; and, in addition, 7 from Emma Jung. While slightly different totals are given by Ernest Jones (171, Freud; 197, Jung: in vol. II, preface) and by Gerhard Adler (167, Freud; 196, Jung: in vol. 1, introduction), the discrepancies result from later finds and different ways of counting fragments.

As for the annotations, they are documentary and explanatory in the spirit of Ernst Freud's and Franz Jung's agreement, but both families have assented to the inclusion of notes that cite parallel and related publications and events, textual details, and cross-references; passages of editorial comment that bridge discontinuities in the letters (usually because Freud and Jung met and therefore did not write); and illustrations, facsimiles, and documentary appendices. Occasional gaps in the information are regretted.

8 November 1973

W. M.

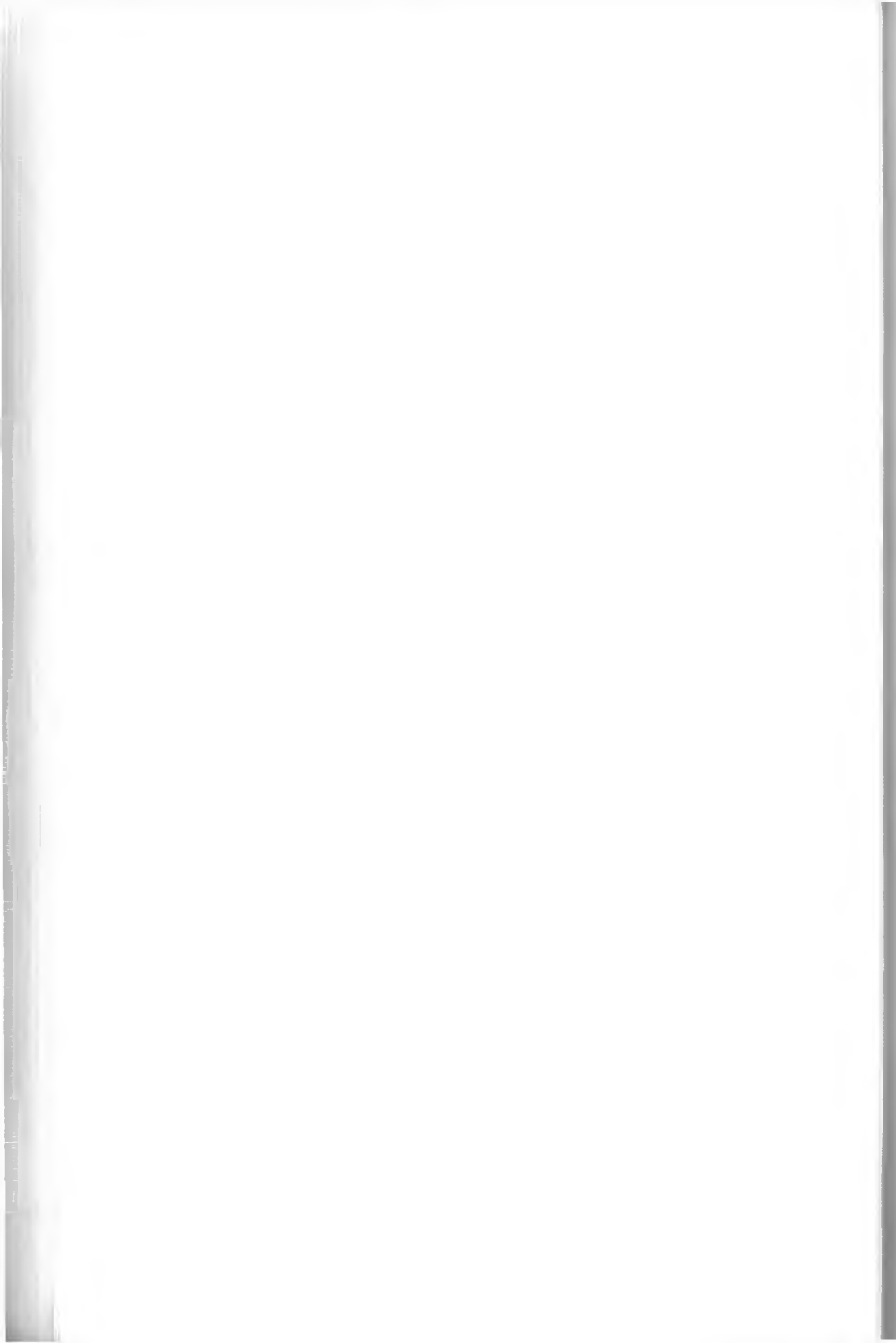
⁶⁹ The postscript of 163 F (see addenda) was also found among a set of photo-stats in the Library of Congress.

For the third printing, new information has been added and some corrections have been made. The chief of these revisions are marked with a marginal asterisk; some are given as articles in the addenda section.

For information that prompted many of the revisions I am grateful to Wolfgang Sauerlander (1912-1977), the co-editor of the German edition (Sigmund Freud, C. G. Jung, *Briefwechsel*, Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer, 1974), and to the following: Gertrude Dann (9 J n. 1 and 324 F n. 2), H. U. Dohrenbusch (219 J n. 1), Markus Fierz (166 F n. 3 and 333 J n. 5), Hans W. Loewald (3 F, 22 F, EJ 6 Nov and 14 Nov 11), Siegfried Lowitz (96 F n. 1), Else Pappenheim, M.D. (240 F n. 4), Beata Ruhm von Oppen (196 J), and Frank Sulloway (49 J n. 2).

8 November 1978

W. M.



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I am deeply grateful to all my colleagues at Princeton University Press for their expertise, co-operation, and patience, and a most heartening spirit of enthusiasm over the publication.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

perienced, and graceful of translators—co-ordinated their texts in the most congenial way, though working far apart. Both made significant contributions to the annotation.

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Paula and Mary McGuire have helped inestimably.

W. M.

For permission to quote translations of Nietzsche and Goethe, grateful acknowledgment is made to Penguin Books, and for brief quotations from *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, by C. G. Jung, edited by Aniela Jaffé, to Pantheon Books, New York, and Routledge & Kegan Paul and William Collins, London.

The Freud/Jung Letters

Prof. Dr. Freund

H. H. F.
IX., Berggasse 19.

IX., Berggaß
Jesper Peter Collen

[illegible]

1 F

Dear colleague,²

11 April 1906, IX. Berggasse 19¹

Many thanks for sending me your *Diagnostic Association Studies*,³ which in my impatience I had already acquired. Of course your latest paper, "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments," pleased me most, because in it you argue on the strength of your own experience that everything I have said about the hitherto unexplored fields of our discipline is true. I am confident that you will often be in a position to back me up, but I shall also gladly accept correction.

Yours sincerely,⁴ DR. FREUD

¹ The printed letterhead (on a small sheet, 5¼ x 6¾") has been simplified for this edition. For the full heading, see the facsimile of this letter on facing page. "IX." means Vienna's ninth *Bezirk*, or district. Hereafter, "Vienna" is supplied, unless Freud used unheaded paper. At 52 F he began using a different letterhead.

² Holograph: *Geehrter Herr College*, a rather formal salutation; Freud used it with occasional variations until 18 F.

³ *Diagnostische Assoziationsstudien: Beiträge zur experimentellen Psychopathologie*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1906), containing six studies by Jung and other doctors at the psychiatric clinic of the University of Zürich (i.e., Burghölzli Hospital), edited by Jung, who had directed the research. The studies had first appeared as articles in the *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie*, 1904-6. Six further studies appeared 1906-9; collected in Vol. II (1909). All were tr. by M. D. Eder, *Studies in Word-Association* (London, 1918). Those by Jung (including "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments," orig. 1906) are in CW 2. / Freud's first published reference to Jung, an allusion to these association studies, occurred in June 06 in a lecture before a University seminar on jurisprudence: "Tatbestandsdiagnostik und Psychoanalyse," *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie*, XXVI (1906) = "Psychoanalysis and the Establishment of the Facts in Legal Proceedings," SE IX; cf. p. 104: "[These experiments] only became significant and fruitful when Bleuler in Zürich and his pupils, especially Jung, began to turn their attention to . . . 'association experiments.'"

⁴ Holograph: *Ihr collegial ergebener*. (Concerning salutations and complimentary closings in general, see the introduction.)

Dear Professor Freud,²Burghölzli-Zürich, 5 October 1906¹

Please accept my sincerest thanks for the present you kindly sent me. This collection of your various short papers³ should be most welcome to anyone who wishes to familiarize himself quickly and thoroughly with your mode of thought. It is to be hoped that your scientific following will continue to increase in the future in spite of the attacks which Aschaffenburg,⁴ amid the plaudits of the pundits, has made on your theory—one might almost say on you personally. The distressing thing about these attacks is that in my opinion Aschaffenburg fastens on externals, whereas the merits of your theory are to be found in the psychological realm of which modern psychiatrists and psychologists have somewhat too scanty a grasp. Recently I conducted a lively correspondence⁵ with Aschaffenburg about your theory and espoused this standpoint, with which you, Professor, may not be entirely in agreement. What I can appreciate, and what has helped us here in our psychopathological work, are your psychological views, whereas I am still pretty far from understanding the therapy and the genesis of hysteria because our material on hysteria is rather meagre. That is to say your therapy seems to me to depend not merely on the affects released by abreaction but also on certain personal rapports,^{5a} and it seems to me that though the genesis of hysteria is predomi-

¹ For the printed letterhead (on a sheet $8\frac{1}{4} \times 12''$), see facsimile. Jung was then living with his wife and two children in a flat in the main building of the Burghölzli, in the eastern part of Zürich. See plate I. / This letter was published in *Letters*, ed. G. Adler, vol. 1.

² Holograph: *Hochgeehrter Herr Professor*, an even more formal salutation. In his next letter he changed to the slightly more deferential *Hochverehrter Herr Professor*, which with occasional variations he used until 111 J.

³ *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Vol. I (Vienna, 1906) = *Collected Short Papers on the Theory of the Neuroses*, in various vols. of SE; most of those comprising Vol. I, and the preface, are in SE III.

⁴ Gustav Aschaffenburg (1866–1944), professor of psychiatry and neurology in Heidelberg, later Halle and Cologne; after 1939 in U.S.A., teaching and practicing in Baltimore and Washington. His criticism was made at the Congress of South-West German Neurologists and Psychiatrists, Baden-Baden, 27 May 1906; published as “Die Beziehungen des sexuellen Lebens zur Entstehung von Nerven- und Geisteskrankheiten,” *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*, LIII:37 (11 Sept. 06). See Jones, II, p. 124/111.

⁵ This correspondence is now apparently lost.

^{5a} Cf. below, 19 J n. 1.

Burgthölzli-Zürich, den 5. X. 1906.

Hochgeehrter Herr Professor!

Empfangen Sie meinen ergebensten
Dank für Ihre gütige Zusage. Diese Sammlung
Ihrer verschiedenen klinischen Schriften dürfte Ihnen hoch-
willkommen sein, da sie sich sehr reichhaltig mit Ihrer An-
schauungsweise einlesen lässt. Hoffentlich wird in
Zukunft sich Ihre wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit immer
fort mehr, trotz der Angriffe, welche Verharmlo-
bung unter dem Einfluss der Autoritäten auf Ihre Lehre,
man möchte fast sagen, auf Ihre Person gemacht hat.
Der Betrübnis an Ihrem Angriff ist, dass nach meinem
Empfinden die Verharmlo-
bung sich an Unwissenheit klammert,
während ich Verdacht Ihrer Lehre auf dem psycho-
logischen Gebiete hege, welches Psychiater und Psychologen
moderner Observanz etwas zu wenig berücksichtigen. Ich habe
vor Kurzem über Ihre Lehre mit Verharmlo-
bung eine Ab-
hafte Correspondenz geführt und dabei obigen Standpunkt
vertreten, mit dem Sie hochverehrter Herr Professor, wirklich
verständlich einverstanden sind. Was ich abschließen kann,

and was uns hier psychopathologisch gelehrt hat, das
sind Ihre psychologischen Anschauungen, während die
Therapie und die Hysteriengenese bei uns um etwas späteren
Hysteriematerial meinem Verständnis nach ziemlich fern
steht; d. h. Ihre Therapie scheint mir nicht bloß auf den
Affecten der Abreagierung, sondern auch auf gewissem persön-
lichen Rapporten zu beruhen, und die Hysteriengenese scheint
mir zwar eine überausigende, aber nicht ausschließlich
sexuelle zu sein. Dergleichen Standpunkt nehme ich auch
Ihres Sexualtheorie gegenüber ein. Während Anschaffungs-
forschung ausschließlich auf diesen delikaten theoretischen Fragen
kreuzt, vergisst er die Hauptfrage, die Psychologie,
aus welcher die Psychiatrie einmal gewiss unerschöpflichen
Lehrreichtum ziehen wird. Ich hoffe Ihnen bald ein kleines
Buch zusenden zu können, indem ich die Dementia praecox
und Ihre Psychologie von diesem Standpunkte aus be-
trachte. Ich veröffentliche darin auch ~~den~~ jenen Fall,
in dem ich Bleuler auf der Vorlesung in Ihrer Principien
aufmerksam machte, damals noch unter lebhaften
Widerstand vortragte. Wie Sie wissen, ist aber Bleuler jetzt
völlig bekehrt.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
Ihr dankbarer ergebenster
C. G. Jung.

nantly, it is not exclusively, sexual. I take the same view of your sexual theory. Harping exclusively on these delicate theoretical questions, Aschaffenburg forgets the essential thing, your psychology, from which psychiatry will one day be sure to reap inexhaustible rewards. I hope to send you soon a little book⁶ of mine, in which I approach dementia praecox and its psychology from your standpoint. In it I have also published the case⁷ that first drew Bleuler's⁸ attention to the existence of your principles, though at that time with vigorous resistance on his part. But as you know, Bleuler is now completely converted.

With many thanks,

Very truly yours,⁹ C. G. JUNG

3 F

Dear colleague,

7 October 1906, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

Your letter gave me great pleasure. I am especially gratified to learn that you have converted Bleuler. Your writings have long led me to suspect that your appreciation of my psychology does not extend to all my views on hysteria and the problem of sexuality, but I venture to hope that in the course of the years you will come much closer to me than you now think possible. On the strength of your splendid analysis of a case of obsessional neurosis,¹ you more than anyone must know how consummately the sexual factor hides and, once discovered, how helpful it can be to our understanding and therapy. I continue to hope

⁶ "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox"; see below, 9 J n. 1.

⁷ Probably the case of B. St., *ibid.*, CW 3, pars. 198ff.

⁸ Paul Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939), professor of psychiatry at the University of Zürich, director of the Burghölzli Hospital. In 1898, after 12 years as director of the Rheinau (Cant. Zürich) asylum, succeeded Forel (see 17 J n. 4) at Burghölzli, serving as head until 1927. One of the great pioneers of psychiatry, he revised the entire concept of dementia praecox, renaming it schizophrénia (see below, 272 J n. 7, for his influential book); made major contributions, working under the direct impact of the psychoanalytic method, to the understanding of autism and ambivalence. He may actually have been receptive to Freud's ideas as early as 1901, when he had Jung report to the Burghölzli staff on Freudian dream-interpretation. He was a lifelong advocate of alcoholic abstinence. His *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie* (1916; tr. A. A. Brill, *Textbook of Psychiatry*, 1924) is still standard.

⁹ Holograph: *Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung / Ihr dankbar ergebener.*

¹ "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments," CW 2, esp. par. 666.

that this aspect of my investigations will prove to be the most significant.

For reasons of principle, but also because of his personal unpleasantness, I shall not answer Aschaffenburg's attack. It goes without saying that my judgment of it would be rather more severe than yours. I find nothing but inanities in his paper, apart from an enviable ignorance of the matters he is passing judgment on. He is still taking up arms against the hypnotic method that was abandoned ten years ago and he shows no understanding whatever of the simplest symbolism (see his footnote),² the importance of which any student of linguistics or folklore could impress on him if he is unwilling to take my word for it. Like so many of our pundits, he is motivated chiefly by an inclination to repress sexuality, that troublesome factor so unwelcome in good society. Here we have two warring worlds, and to all who live in the real world it will soon be obvious which is on the decline and which on the ascendent. Even so, I know I have a long struggle ahead of me, and in view of my age (50) I hardly expect to see the end of it. But my followers will, I hope, and I also venture to hope that all those who are able to overcome their own inner resistance to the truth will wish to count themselves among my followers and will cast off the last vestiges of pusillanimity in their thinking. Aschaffenburg is otherwise unknown to me, but this paper gives me a very low opinion of him.

I am eagerly awaiting your forthcoming book on *Dem. praecox*. I must own that whenever a work such as yours or Bleuler's appears it gives me the great and to me indispensable satisfaction of knowing that the hard work of a lifetime has not been entirely in vain.

Yours very sincerely, DR. FREUD

My "transference" ought completely to fill the gap in the mechanism of cure (your "personal rapport").

4 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 23 October 1906

By the same post I am taking the liberty of sending you another offprint containing some more researches on psychoanalysis.¹ I don't

² Note 18 in Aschaffenburg's paper.

¹ Apparently "Assoziation, Traum und hysterisches Symptom," *Journal für Psy-*

think you will find that the "sexual" standpoint I have adopted is too reserved. The critics will come down on it accordingly.

As you have noticed, it is possible that my reservations about your far-reaching views are due to lack of experience. But don't you think that a number of borderline phenomena might be considered more appropriately in terms of the other basic drive, *hunger*: for instance, eating, sucking (predominantly hunger), kissing (predominantly sexuality)? Two complexes existing at the same time are always bound to coalesce psychologically, so that one of them invariably contains constellated aspects of the other. Perhaps you mean no more than this; in that case I have misunderstood you and would be entirely of your opinion. Even so, however, one feels alarmed by the positivism of your presentation.

At the risk of boring you, I must abreact my most recent experience. I am currently treating an hysteric with your method. Difficult case, a 20-year-old Russian girl student, ill for 6 years.²

First trauma between the 3rd and 4th year. Saw her father spanking her older brother on the bare bottom. Powerful impression. Couldn't help thinking afterwards that she had defecated on her father's hand. From the 4th-7th year convulsive attempts to defecate on her own feet, in the following manner: she sat on the floor with one foot beneath her, pressed her heel against her anus and tried to defecate and at the same time to prevent defecation. Often retained the stool for 2 weeks in this way! Has no idea how she hit upon this peculiar business; says it was completely instinctive, and accompanied by blissfully shuddersome feelings. Later this phenomenon was superseded by vigorous masturbation.

I should be extremely grateful if you would tell me in a few words what you think of this story.

Very truly yours, C. G. JUNG

chologie und Neurologie, VIII (1906-7) = "Association, Dream, and Hysterical Symptom," CW 2. / Jung here used the spelling *Psychoanalyse*, but subsequently he tended to use *Psychanalyse*. Cf. 7 J n. 2.

² The case is described in "The Freudian Theory of Hysteria," CW 4, pars. 53-58 (orig. a paper at Amsterdam, 1907).

5 F

Dear colleague,

27 October 1906, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

Many thanks for the new analysis. You certainly did not show too much reserve, and the “transference,” the chief proof that the drive underlying the whole process is sexual in nature, seems to have become very clear to you. As to criticism, let us wait until the critics have acquired some experience of their own before attaching any importance to it.

I have no theoretical objection to according equal importance to the other basic drive, if only it would assert itself unmistakably in the psychoneuroses. What we see of it in hysteria and obsessional neuroses can easily be explained by the anastomoses existing between them, that is, by the impairment of the sexual component of the alimentary drive. But I own that these are knotty questions that still require thorough investigation. For the present I content myself with pointing out what is glaringly evident, that is, the role of sexuality. It is possible that later on we shall find elsewhere, in melancholia or in the psychoses, what we fail to find in hysteria and obsessional neurosis.

I am glad to hear that your Russian girl is a student; uneducated persons are at present too inaccessible for our purposes. The defecation story is nice and suggests numerous analogies. Perhaps you remember my contention in my *Theory of Sexuality*¹ that even infants derive pleasure from the retention of faeces. The third to fourth year is the most significant period for those sexual activities which later belong to the pathogenic ones (*ibid.*). The sight of a brother being spanked arouses a memory trace from the first to second year, or a fantasy transposed into that period. It is not unusual for babies to soil the hands of those who are carrying them. Why should that not have happened in her case? And this awakens a memory of her father's caresses during her infancy. Infantile fixation of the libido on the father—the typical choice of object; anal autoerotism. The position she has chosen can be broken down into its components, for it seems to have still other factors added to it. Which factors? It must be possible, by the symptoms and even by the character, to recognize anal excitation as a motivation. Such people often show typical combinations of character traits. They are extremely neat, stingy and obstinate, traits which

¹ *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (orig. 1905): II, “Infantile Sexuality,” SE VII, p. 186.

are in a manner of speaking the sublimations of anal erotism.² Cases like this based on repressed perversion can be analysed very satisfactorily.

You see that you have not bored me in the least. I am delighted with your letters.

Sincerest regards,

YOURS, DR. FREUD

6 J

Dear Professor Freud, Burghölzli-Zürich, 26 November 1906

By the same post you will be getting an offprint, a reply to Aschaffenburg's lecture.¹ I have tailored it a bit to my subjective standpoint, so you may not agree with everything in it. I hope I haven't misrepresented you! In any case I wrote it out of honest conviction. Incidentally, I have also championed your cause at the congress of alienists in Tübingen² amid stifling opposition; Geheimrat Hoche³ in particular distinguished himself by the inanity of his arguments. Happily enough Prof. Gaupp⁴ then moved a little closer to our side, at least conceding that the matter was worth looking into.

Recently I have been analysing another obsessional neurosis—a German colleague—naturally with sexual complexes dating back to the 7th year! After the very first sitting the anxiety disappeared, but in the meantime has shown a strong tendency to return, of course only in reaction to traumas. It seems to me that it is of the greatest prognostic importance for therapy whether tic-dispositions and well-established stereotyped habits of thought are present (habitual splitting-off

² Freud developed this idea two years later in "Character and Anal Erotism" (orig. 1908), SE IX. See below, 77 F n. 6.

¹ "Die Hysterielehre Freud's: Eine Erwiderung auf die Aschaffenburg'sche Kritik," *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*, LIII: 47 (20 Nov. 06) = "Freud's Theory of Hysteria: a Reply to Aschaffenburg," CW 4.

² Congress of South-West German Psychiatrists, 3–4 Nov. 1906. See *Zentralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie*, n.s., XVIII (Mar. 07), p. 185, for report, quoting Jung.

³ Alfred Erich Hoche (1865–1943), professor of psychiatry at Freiburg; an outspoken adversary of psychoanalysis.

⁴ Robert Eugen Gaupp (1870–1953), professor of neurology and psychiatry in Tübingen; editor of the *Zentralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie*.

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of everything unpleasant). So far as I have seen, the "habitual hysteric" usually reacts badly to analysis.

It may interest you to know that Dr. Frank,⁵ formerly director of the Münsterlingen Asylum, has been using your method of analysis with great success here and has built up a large practice in a very short time. Another expert practitioner is Dr. Bezzola,⁶ head physician at the Schloss Hard Sanatorium, Canton Thurgau. They are unanimous in their judgement that your method is a breakthrough in neurological practice. They recently said the same thing in Tübingen. Even so, it gives both of them pleasure (all-too-human) to deviate from you on individual points. So you see your views are making rapid progress in Switzerland. In Germany, on the contrary, it looks as though the present generation will have to die out first. Their prejudices are suffocating.

Very truly yours, JUNG

7 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 4 December 1906

First of all I must tell you how sincerely grateful I am to you for not taking offence at some of the passages in my "apologia."¹ If I allowed myself certain reservations it was not in order to criticize your theory but a matter of policy, as you will surely have noticed. As you rightly say, I leave our opponents a line of retreat, with the conscious purpose of not making recantation too difficult for them. Even so things will be difficult enough. If one attacked an opponent as he really deserves, it would merely result in a disastrous dissension which could have *only* unfavourable consequences. Even as it is, people find my criticism too harsh. If I confine myself to advocating the bare minimum, this is simply because I can advocate only as much as I myself have unquestionably experienced, and that, in comparison with your experience, is naturally very little. I am only beginning to understand many of your formulations and several of them are still beyond me, which does

⁵ Ludwig Frank (1863-1935), Zürich neurologist, follower of Auguste Forel (see 17 J n. 4).

⁶ Dumeng Bezzola (1868-1936), Swiss psychiatrist, from Cant. Graubünden; leader in the abstinence movement.

¹ Freud's letter is missing.

not mean by a long shot that I think you are wrong. I have gradually learnt to be cautious even in disbelief.

I have seen *ad nauseam* that the opposition is rooted in affect and I also know that no amount of reason can prevail against it.

If I appear to underestimate the therapeutic results of psychoanalysis,² I do so only out of diplomatic considerations, with the following reflections in mind:

1. Most uneducated hysterics are unsuitable for psychoanalysis. I have had some bad experiences here. Occasionally hypnosis gets better results.

2. The more psychoanalysis becomes known, the more will incompetent doctors dabble in it and naturally make a mess of it. This will then be blamed on you and your theory.

3. In practice, the concept of hysteria is still far from clear. Countless cases of mild *hebephrenia* still pass under the diagnosis of "hysteria," and here the results are doubtful to bad, as I know from my own experience. (In a few exceptional cases the results have been provisionally good.) How little clarity reigns in this area is shown by a recent publication from the Heidelberg Clinic,³ where a case of *unquestionable* catatonia was asserted to be hysteria.

For these reasons I consider it more cautious not to put too much emphasis on therapeutic results; if we do, there may be a rapid accumulation of material showing the therapeutic results in a thoroughly bad light, thus damaging the theory as well.

Personally I am enthusiastic about your therapy and well able to appreciate its signal merits. Altogether, your theory has already brought us the very greatest increase in knowledge and opened up a new era with endless perspectives.

Yours very sincerely, JUNG

8 F

Dear colleague, 6 December 1906, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

I am sure you will draw your conclusions from this "acceleration of reaction-time"¹ and guess that your last letter has given me great pleas-

² Holograph: *Psychanalyse*, a form in earlier use, preferred by the Zürich group.

³ Unidentified.

¹ Allusion to Jung's association study "Über das Verhalten der Reaktionszeit beim

ure, which is far from being an auxiliary hypothesis. It did indeed seem to me that you had modified your opinions with the purposive idea of pedagogic effect, and I am very glad to see them as they are, freed from such distortion.

As you know, I suffer all the torments that can afflict an "innovator"; not the least of these is the unavoidable necessity of passing, among my own supporters, as the incorrigibly self-righteous crank or fanatic that in reality I am not. Left alone for so long with my ideas, I have come, understandably enough, to rely more and more on my own decisions. In the last fifteen years I have been increasingly immersed in preoccupations that have become monotonously exclusive. (At present I am devoting ten hours a day to psychotherapy.) This has given me a kind of resistance to being urged to accept opinions that differ from my own. But I have always been aware of my fallibility and I have turned the material over and over in my mind for fear of becoming too settled in my ideas. You yourself once remarked that this flexibility of mine indicated a process of development.²

I can subscribe without reservation to your remarks on therapy.³ I have had the same experience and have been reluctant for the same reasons to say any more in public than that "this method is more fruitful than any other." I should not even claim that every case of hysteria can be cured by it, let alone all the states that go by that name. Attaching no importance to frequency of cure, I have often treated cases verging on the psychotic or delusional (delusions of reference, fear of blushing, etc.), and in so doing learned at least that the same mechanisms go far beyond the limits of hysteria and obsessional neurosis. It is not possible to explain anything to a hostile public; accordingly I have kept certain things that might be said concerning the limits of the therapy and its mechanism to myself, or spoken of them in a way that is intelligible only to the initiate. You are probably aware that our cures are brought about through the fixation of the libido prevailing in the unconscious (transference), and that this transference is most readily obtained in hysteria. Transference provides the impulse necessary for understanding and translating the language of the ucs.; where it is lacking, the patient does not make the effort or does not listen when we submit our translation to him. Essentially, one might say, the

Assoziationsexperimente," *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie*, VI:1 (1905) = "The Reaction-time Ratio in the Association Experiment," CW 2.

² Jung, "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments," CW 2, par. 660.

³ This paragraph and the next are quoted by Jones, II, p. 485/435f.

cure is effected by love. And actually transference provides the most cogent, indeed, the only unassailable proof that neuroses are determined by the individual's love life.

I am delighted with your promise to trust me for the present in matters where your experience does not yet enable you to make up your own mind—though of course only until it does enable you to do so. Even though I look at myself very critically, I believe I deserve such trust, but I ask it of very few persons.

I hope to learn a good deal from your long-announced work on dementia praecox. I have still formed no definite opinion on the dividing line between dementia praecox and paranoia, still less concerning the more recent terms employed in the field, and must own to a certain incredulity toward Bleuler's communication⁴ that the repressive mechanisms can be demonstrated in dementia but not in paranoia. But my experience in this field is meager. In this respect therefore I shall try to believe you.

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

9 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 29 December 1906

I am sincerely sorry that I of all people must be such a nuisance to you. I understand perfectly that you cannot be anything but dissatisfied with my book¹ since it treats your researches too ruthlessly. I am perfectly well aware of this. The principle uppermost in my mind while writing it was: consideration for the academic German public. If we don't take the trouble to present this seven-headed monster with everything tastefully served up on a silver salver, it won't bite, as we have seen on countless occasions before. It is therefore entirely in the

⁴ Bleuler, "Freudische Mechanismen in der Symptomatologie von Psychosen," *Psychiatrisch-neurologische Wochenschrift*, VIII (1906-7). Abstracted by Jung in his "Referate über psychologische Arbeiten schweizerischer Autoren (bis Ende 1909)," *Jahrbuch*, II:1 (1910) = "Abstracts of the Psychological Works of Swiss Authors (to the end of 1909)," CW 18. (Cited hereafter as "Abstracts." Only those written by Jung himself are in CW 18.)

¹ *Über die Psychologie der Dementia praecox: Ein Versuch* (Halle a. S., 1907; Vorwort dated July 1906) = "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," CW 3. For tr., see below, 124 J n. 3. Freud's letter commenting on the book is missing.

* See addenda. / Jung's foreword is quoted in the introduction.

interests of our cause to give heed to all those factors which are likely to whet its appetite. For the time being, unfortunately, these include a certain reserve and the hint of an independent judgment regarding your researches. It was this that determined the general tenor of my book. Specific corrections of your views derive from the fact that we do not see eye to eye on certain points. This may be because I. my material is totally different from yours. I am working under enormously difficult conditions mostly with uneducated insane patients, and on top of that with the uncommonly tricky material of *Dementia praecox*. II. my upbringing, my milieu, and my scientific premises are in any case utterly different from your own. III. my experience compared with yours is extremely small. IV. both in quantity and quality of psychoanalytic talent the balance is distinctly in your favour. V. the lack of personal contact with you, that regrettable defect in my preparatory training, must weigh heavily in the scales. For all these reasons I regard the views in my book as altogether provisional and in effect merely introductory. Hence I am extraordinarily grateful to you for any kind of criticism, even if it does not sound at all sweet, for what I miss is opposition, by which I naturally mean justified opposition. I greatly regret that your interesting letter broke off so abruptly.

You have put your finger on the weak points in my dream analysis.² I do in fact know the dream material and the dream thoughts much better than I have said. I know the dreamer intimately: he is myself. The "failure of the rich marriage"³ refers to something essential that is undoubtedly contained in the dream, though not in the way you think. My wife⁴ is rich. For various reasons I was turned down when I first proposed; later I was accepted, and I married. I am happy with my wife in every way (not merely from optimism), though of course

² See "The Psychology of *Dementia Praecox*," CW 3, pars. 123-33. The dream is given in par. 123: "I saw horses being hoisted by thick cables to a great height. One of them, a powerful brown horse which was tied up with straps and was hoisted aloft like a package, struck me particularly. Suddenly the cable broke and the horse crashed to the street. I thought it must be dead. But it immediately leapt up again and galloped away. I noticed that the horse was dragging a heavy log with it, and I wondered how it could advance so quickly. It was obviously frightened and might easily have caused an accident. Then a rider came up on a little horse and rode along slowly in front of the frightened horse, which moderated its pace somewhat. I still feared that the horse might run over the rider, when a cab came along and drove in front of the rider at the same pace, thus bringing the frightened horse to a still slower gait. I then thought now all is well, the danger is over."

³ Apparently in Freud's missing letter.

⁴ Emma Jung, née Rauschenbach (1882-1955).

this does nothing to prevent such dreams. So there has been no sexual failure, more likely a social one. The rationalistic explanation, "sexual restraint," is, as I have said, merely a convenient screen pushed into the foreground and hiding an illegitimate sexual wish that had better not see the light of day. One determinant of the little rider, who in my analysis at first evokes the idea of my chief, is the wish for a boy (we have two girls).⁵ My chief is wholly conditioned by the fact that he has two boys.⁶ I have been unable to discover an infantile root anywhere. I also have the feeling that the "package" has not been sufficiently clarified. But I am at a loss for an interpretation. Although the dream has not been analysed completely, I still thought I could use it as an example of dream symbolism. The analysis and use of one's own dreams is a ticklish business at best; one succumbs again and again to the inhibitions emanating from the dream no matter how objective one believes oneself to be.

As for the concept of "indistinctness,"⁷ I understand very well how distasteful it must appear from your point of view. It is a concept that does not presume too much, and it is certainly not the last word. But in my opinion its advantages are I. that it links up with Wundt's psychology,⁸ and II. that it provides a visual image which makes the vague ideas associated with it accessible to ordinary human understanding. In my view it explains merely the *displaceability* of the dream-image, but not the whence and the whither. Instead of an "indistinct" idea one could equally well say an idea "poor in associations." But I prefer "indistinct." I don't know whether an error of principle is lurking in the background. At present only you can decide. But you should not imagine that I am frenetically set on differentiating myself from you by the greatest possible divergence of opinion. I speak of things as I understand them and as I believe is right. Any differentiation would come far too late anyway, since the leading lights in psychiatry have already given me up for lost. It is enough for them to read in a report that I have championed your standpoint.

⁵ Agathe ("Agathli"), born 1904; Gret ("Grethli"), born 1906.

⁶ Manfred Bleuler (b. 1903), who became a distinguished psychiatrist and, like his father, was professor in Zürich University and director of the Burghölzli (1942-69); see below, 188 F n. 2; and Richard Bleuler (1905-73), who studied agriculture at the E.T.H., Zürich, and spent most of his life in Morocco as a farmer and agricultural consultant.

⁷ See CW 3, pars. 133-35.

⁸ Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), professor of psychology and physiology at Leipzig; his work in experimental psychology foreshadowed Jung's association studies.

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Aschaffenburg's paper has whipped up a storm of protest against you. Faced with these fearsome difficulties there is probably no alternative but the *dosis refracta*⁹ and another form of medication.

Very sincerely yours, JUNG

10 F

Dear colleague,

30 December 1906¹

Perhaps you can make some use of this observation in spite of its sketchiness. I have been called in as a consultant in the case of a woman of 26, who gave birth to her first child 6 weeks ago and whose condition set in about the middle of her pregnancy. According to the family doctor, who is not too familiar with our ideas, the woman's explanation of her severe depression is that she had turned herself into an "imbecile" by the habit formed in childhood of retaining her urine so long that its discharge would provide her with sexual sensations. This she continued to do for some time after her marriage. Then she stopped (her illness probably began at that time). She married for love after an acquaintance of six years and a prolonged struggle with her family. She is very much in love with her husband (he is an actor), but has been totally anaesthetic in sexual intercourse. The patient adds that it has never occurred to her to blame her husband for her lack of satisfaction, that she is convinced it is her fault. Her depression was probably connected with her anxiety about her impending delivery. She had kept insisting that she would not be able to give birth normally, and gloated when a forceps delivery was required: she had been right. She maintains quite seriously that her child is a hopeless "imbecile." She has made repeated attempts at suicide (always taking her precautions) and written her husband mournful letters of farewell. Once she actually left home, but only went as far as her sister's flat, where she played the piano. She has occasionally struck her baby. When asked if she loves the child, she says: Yes, but it's not the right one.

States of manic excitation have been noted. One is struck by megalomaniacal statements in reference to her illness: her condition is unprecedented, the doctors will never be able to help her, and it would

⁹ = *refracta dosi*, "in repeated and divided doses."

¹ On an unheaded sheet 8¼ x 13¼".

take them years to understand her. She argues very acutely, it is impossible to reason with her. She claims to have only the dimmest memory of her life or even of the things she accuses herself of. She says that her brain is affected by "imbecility," that she cannot think clearly and is incapable of reflection, that only her illness is really clear to her. Though on the whole she gives an impression of dejection, there is an unmistakable affectation in her speech and movements. The family doctor says she behaves like an actress. And she does indeed accompany her speech with a perverse mimicry (eye-movements such as I have seen only in paranoia).

Formerly this would have been called masturbatory insanity, an abominable term. Don't you think it's dementia praecox? Don't you find this revelation of the etiology so carefully kept hidden in hysteria interesting?

This is as much as I have been able to ascertain. It is an initial case, I shall probably see her again in a few weeks. Forgive me for taking up your time.

Yours sincerely, DR. FREUD

11 F

Dear colleague,

1 January 1907

You are quite mistaken in supposing that I was not enthusiastic about your book on dementia praecox. Abandon the idea at once. The very fact that I offered criticism ought to convince you. If my feelings had been different, I should have summoned up enough diplomacy to hide them. For it would have been most unwise to offend you, the ablest helper to have joined me thus far. In reality I regard your essay on D. pr. as the richest and most significant contribution to my labours that has ever come to my attention, and among my students in Vienna, who have the perhaps questionable advantage over you of personal contact with me, I know of only one who might be regarded as your equal in understanding, and of none who is able and willing to do so much for the cause as you. I meant my letter to be longer; I broke it off partly for incidental reasons and partly because my guess, confirmed by you, as to the identity of the dreamer, bade me hold my peace. I merely thought that you might have gone so far as to stress the interpretation log = penis and the "alternative"¹ gallop < ^{horse} career

¹ Holograph: "Wechsel." See Jung, "New Aspects of Criminal Psychology" (orig.

without giving yourself away. Now I learn that you neglected to make the first point for reasons of diplomatic caution. The only point that struck me as incorrect, that is, likely to suggest an incorrect idea, was your identification of the wish fulfilled in the dream, which, as you know, can be disclosed only on completion of the analysis, but which for reasons of fundamental theory must be different from what you state.

If I may be pardoned an attempt to influence you, I should like to suggest that you pay less attention to the opposition that confronts us both and not to let it affect your writings so much. The "leading lights" of psychiatry really don't amount to much; the future belongs to us and our views, and the younger men—everywhere most likely—side actively with us. I see this in Vienna, where, as you know, I am systematically ignored by my colleagues and periodically annihilated by some hack, but where my lectures² nevertheless draw forty attentive listeners, coming from every faculty. Now that you, Bleuler, and to a certain extent Löwenfeld³ have won me a hearing among the readers of the scientific literature, the movement in favour of our new ideas will continue irresistibly despite all the efforts of the moribund authorities. I believe it would be good policy for us to share the work in accordance with our characters and positions, that you along with your chief should try to mediate, while I go on playing the intransigent dogmatist who expects the public to swallow the bitter pill uncoated. But I beg of you, don't sacrifice anything essential for the sake of paedagogic tact and affability, and don't deviate too far from me when you are really so close to me, for if you do, we may one day be played off against one another. In my secret heart I am convinced that in our special circumstances the utmost frankness is the best diplomacy. My inclination is to treat those colleagues who offer resistance exactly as we treat patients in the same situation.

1908), CW 2, par. 1335, where he cites Freud's use of this term. / Concerning "gallop," etc., see "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," CW 3, par. 130.

² Freud lectured at the University every Thursday and Saturday (Jones, I, p. 375/341).

³ Leopold Löwenfeld (1847-1923), psychiatrist of Munich, had published Freud's *Über den Traum* (see below, 246 F n. 5) in 1901 in the series *Grenzfragen des Nerven- und Seelenlebens*, of which he was co-editor. He included contributions by Freud in two other books, "Freud's Psycho-analytic Procedure" (SE VII) in *Die psychischen Zwangerscheinungen* (1904) and "My Views on the Part Played by Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses" (SE VII) in the 4th edn. of *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden* (1906).

A great deal might be said about the "indistinctness" which supposedly makes much of the usual dream-work superfluous; too much for a letter. Perhaps you will be coming to Vienna before you go to America⁴ (it's nearer). It would give me the greatest pleasure to spend a few hours discussing these matters with you.

If I have written nothing about a considerable part of your book, it is because I am entirely in agreement; that is, I can only accept your elucidations without discussion. (Still, I believe that my case⁵ ought to be diagnosed as authentic paranoia.) But I also learned much that was new. I have been very much concerned for some time with the "problem of choice of neurosis," which, as you say quite correctly, is not clarified by my observations. I was entirely mistaken in my first attempt at an explanation; since then I have been cautious. Yes, I am on the way, but I have not yet reached the goal. In regard to your inclination to resort to toxins⁶ in this connection, I should like to observe that you omit a factor to which, I am aware, I attribute far more importance than you do at the present time; as you know, I am referring to + + + sexuality.⁷ You thrust it aside in dealing with this question, I make use of it but arrive at no solution; so it is not surprising that neither of us knows anything about it. "Nemo me impune lacessit"⁸ rings in my ears from my schooldays. The ancients knew how inexorable a god Eros is.

Best wishes for the New Year. May we continue to work together and allow no misunderstanding to arise between us.

Most sincerely, DR. FREUD

My little observation was all ready for you even before I received your letter.

⁴ In his analysis of the dream discussed above, Jung had alluded to his strong desire to visit America; see CW 3, par. 124.

⁵ Freud, "Further Remarks on the Neuro-Psychoses of Defence" (orig. 1896), SE III, pp. 174ff.: part III, "Analysis of a Case of Chronic Paranoia"; discussed by Jung in "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," CW 3, pars. 63ff.

⁶ See *ibid.*, par. 75. Also see below, 85 J n. 4.

⁷ Three crosses were chalked on the inside of doors in peasant houses to ward off danger.

⁸ "No one provokes me with impunity." Apparently not ancient, but coined as the motto of the Order of the Thistle, or Order of St. Andrew, of Scotland (*Elvin's Handbook of Mottoes*, 1860).

JANUARY 1907

12 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 8 January 1907

I am sorry I have been so long in answering your last, exceedingly friendly and detailed letter. Afterwards I was rather embarrassed at having played hide-and-seek with my dream. Bleuler, to whom I showed the interpretation in its first version, found it much too forthright. This gave me a welcome opportunity to hide behind the interpretation again in its second version and in that way to act out the complexes myself. There are special reasons why I did not bring in the interpretation $\log = \text{penis}$, the chief of which was that I was not in a position to present my dream impersonally: my wife therefore wrote the whole description (!!).

You may very well be right when you counsel me to practise more "therapy" on our opponents, but I am still young, and now and then one has one's quirks in the matter of recognition and scientific standing. Working in a University Clinic, one has to give a great many considerations their due which in private life one would prefer to ignore. But in this respect you may rest assured: I shall never abandon any portion of your theory that is essential to me, as I am far too committed to it.

I am now firmly resolved to come to Vienna during my spring holiday (April), in order to enjoy the long-desired pleasure of a personal conversation with you. I have an awful lot to abreact.

Concerning the question of "toxins," you have again put your finger on a weak spot. Originally I wanted to leave material causes entirely out of my "psychology." But because I feared misunderstandings owing to the notorious dim-wittedness of the esteemed public, I had at least to mention the "toxin." I was acquainted with your view that sexuality may play a role here. Also, I find it a thoroughly congenial idea that a so-called "inner" endocrine secretion may be the cause of these disturbances, and that perhaps the *sex glands* are the makers of the toxins. But I have no proof of this, so I dropped the conjecture. Moreover it seems to me at present that the latter hypothesis is more applicable to *epilepsy*, where the sexual-religious complex holds a central place.

As to your conception of "paranoia," I can see in it only a difference of nomenclature. With "Dementia" praecox one should on no account think first of imbecility (though that can *also* happen!), but rather of a *complex-delirium* with fixations. Paranoia is built up ex-

actly like *Dementia praecox*, except that the fixation is restricted to a few associations; with few exceptions, clarity of concepts remains unimpaired. There are, however, numerous fluid transitions to what we call D. pr.¹ D. pr. is a most unfortunate term! From your² standpoint my D. pr. case could just as well be described as paranoia, which was in fact done in former times.

The case you kindly wrote to me about is of extraordinary interest as a parallel to my own. Many D. pr. patients have the feeling of being "imbecilic." Megalomania and affectation are practically synonymous. (The latter is usually a female accessory.) Both point to a psychic component that has not developed properly either in the erotic or the social sphere, possibly both. The sexual frigidity in marriage seems to indicate that in spite of her marrying for love there is something the matter with this man, that he was not the right one for her. At least that is what we usually find in our cases where sexual anaesthesia appears in the anamnesis. The lack of love for the children bears this out. As a rule women love the husband in the children; if the husband doesn't suit, then the children don't either. Very often the patients hallucinate that the children have been killed. More often only the daughters are killed, which would indicate that the mother is not sexually satisfied, because the husband is either too old or in some way unsuitable. In D. pr., too, "killing" simply means negating or repressing. In an attack of D. pr. all the complexes that haven't been dealt with are always abreacted, quite in accordance with the pattern in hysteria. Only, everything follows a much stormier and more dangerous course, leaving behind various irreparable disturbances in the mental performance and, in particular, increased difficulty in coping with affects and abreacting them. Later a stronger and more generalized occlusion of emotion supervenes, with characteristic stultification of intelligence. But the emotional disturbance always occupies the foreground and makes the diagnosis certain in spite of all the other intellectual stultifications.

Recently I read with satisfaction that Löwenfeld has resolutely come over to our side, at least so far as the anxiety neuroses are concerned. In Germany his voice will carry further than mine. Perhaps your triumphal entry will begin sooner than we think.

¹ "*Dementia praecox*," introduced by Kraepelin, was the term preferred by the Swiss psychiatrists. It has largely been replaced by the term coined by Bleuler, "*schizophrenia*."

² Holograph: *ihrem*, "their" or "her," slip for *Ihrem*, "your."

I still owe you an explanation of the term “habitual hysteric.”³ It is yet another makeshift. I have been struck by the fact that there are hysterics who live in perpetual conflict with their complexes, exhibiting violent excitement, fluctuations of mood, and wild changes of symptoms. In my limited experience these cases warrant a favourable prognosis. They have a component within them that resists subjugation by the pathogenic complex. On the other hand there are hysterics who live at peace with their symptoms, having not only *habituated* themselves to the symptom but also exploiting it for all kinds of symptomatic actions and chicaneries, and who batten parasitically on the sympathy of everyone in their environment. These are prognostically bad cases who also struggle against analysis with extreme obstinacy. They are the ones I call “habitual hysterics.” Perhaps you will see what I mean from this sketchy description. Of course it is only a very crass and superficial classification, but it has been helpful to me in my work so far. Perhaps you can open my eyes in this respect as well. Countless uneducated hysterics (especially the hospital parasites) come into this category.

With most cordial wishes for the New Year and my warmest thanks!

Yours very sincerely, JUNG

13 F

Dear colleague,

13 January 1907¹

I am taking you at your word. So you are coming to Vienna for Easter² and will inform me of your dates in time for me to make arrangements with my patients. I hope we shall discuss many things and broaden our mutual understanding; I am looking forward to the pleasant prospect opened by your acceptance.

Most sincerely, FREUD

³ See above, 6 J par. 2.

¹ Postcard.

² 31 March.

14 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 20 February 1907

I can get away from Zürich at the beginning of March and would like to come to Vienna for a few days then. As my main purpose is naturally a visit with you, I would like to fix the date of my departure to suit your convenience. Unfortunately it is impossible for me to come later in March or in April. I should be grateful if you would drop me a line.

Yours very sincerely, JUNG

15 F

Dear colleague,

21 February 1907, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

I am somewhat disappointed that you cannot come at Easter time, since otherwise I am taken up every day from eight to eight with the occupations known to you. But on Sundays I am free, so I must ask you to arrange your visit to Vienna in such a way as to have a Sunday available for me. If possible, I should also like to introduce you to a small circle of followers on a Wednesday evening.¹

I further assume that you will be willing to forgo the theatre on the few evenings you will be spending in Vienna, and instead to dine with me and my family and spend the rest of the evening with me. I am looking forward to your acceptance and the announcement of your arrival.

With kind regards, DR. FREUD

¹ In 1902, Freud's followers had begun meeting in Freud's waiting-room on Wednesday evenings—the so-called "Psychological Wednesday Evenings." In 1908 the group became the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, and in 1910 the meetings were moved to a room in the College of Physicians. See Herman Nunberg's introduction to *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, I: 1906–1908*, edited by him and Ernst Federn (New York, 1962), p. xviii.

16 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 26 February 1907

It is indeed a great pity that it is impossible for me to come at Easter, and I much regret arriving at a time that doesn't suit you. Unfortunately it can't be managed otherwise. I shall be in Vienna next Saturday evening and hope I may call upon you on Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. I am travelling with my wife and one of my pupils, a nephew of Binswanger in Jena.¹ Perhaps I may, if occasion offers, introduce my wife and Herr Binswanger to you. My wife has relieved me of all obligations while I am in Vienna. I shall take leave, before my departure, to let you know at what hotel I am staying, so that you could if necessary send word there.

Most truly yours, DR. JUNG

The Jungs in Vienna

Jung visited Freud on Sunday, 3 March. See Jones, II, p. 36/32 (where the date is given as Sunday, 27 Feb.) and Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp. 149/146 (also placed in Feb.). According to L. Binswanger's *Sigmund Freud; Reminiscences of a Friendship* (New York, 1957), he also, with the Jungs, was received by the Freud family, and he and Jung attended the Wednesday meeting of 6 March and participated in the discussion (see *Minutes*, I, p. 144, and below, 23 F n. 2). Binswanger remained a second week in Vienna, and Carl and Emma Jung went on to Budapest, where they visited Philip Stein (see below, 33 J n. 1), then to Fiume and by sea to the resort of Abbazia for a holiday, before returning to Zürich. (For this information, from Mrs. Jung's diary, we are indebted to Mr. Franz Jung.)

¹ Ludwig Binswanger (1881–1966), then on the staff of the Burghölzli and a participant in the word-association experiments. Later at Jena; 1911–56, director of Bellevue, a private clinic at Kreuzlingen, on Lake Constance, in northeastern Switzerland. In 1910, became first president of the Swiss Branch Society of the International Psychoanalytic Association. A founder of existential analysis. His uncle, Otto Binswanger (1852–1929), was professor of psychiatry and director of the psychiatric clinic, Jena University, where Nietzsche had been his patient in 1889–90.

17 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 31 March 1907

You will doubtless have drawn your own conclusions from the prolongation of my reaction-time. Up till now I had a strong resistance to writing because until recently the complexes aroused in Vienna were still in an uproar. Only now have things settled down a bit, so that I hope to be able to write you a more or less sensible letter.

The most difficult item, your broadened conception of sexuality, has now been assimilated up to a point and tried out in a number of actual cases. In general I see that you are right. *Autoerotism* as the essence of *Dementia praecox* strikes me more and more as a momentous deepening of our knowledge—where indeed will it end? Your criteria of the acute stage may be equally cogent, but any attempt at proof encounters great difficulties, chiefly technical: D. pr. allows us only limited insight into the personality. A given case may look quite different according to whether the “withdrawal of libido” takes place in a complex that is accessible to consciousness or in an unconscious one. The connections between infantilism and autoerotism also become increasingly clear. I now have to rely on my own independent thinking more than I did before, since Prof. Bleuler’s resistances are more vigorous than ever. In particular he contests the purposivity of dreams, which amounts to denying the masking effect of the complexes, the real core of dream interpretation. Bleuler has insuperable unconscious resistances to analysing his own dreams and associations. In my frequent discussions with him it has become quite clear to me that the expression “libido” and, in general, all the terms (no doubt justified in themselves) that have been carried over into the broadened conception of sexuality are open to misunderstanding, or at least are not of didactic value. They actually evoke emotional inhibitions which make any kind of teaching impossible. Thus I had to launch forth into a long discussion in order to make clear to Bleuler what you mean by “libido.” Is it not conceivable, in view of the limited conception of sexuality that prevails nowadays, that the sexual terminology should be reserved only for the most extreme forms of your “libido,” and that a less offensive collective term should be established for *all* the libidinal manifestations? Herr Rank¹ is another who simply takes the

¹ Otto Rank (1886–1939), born Rosenfeld, changed his name because of conflict with his father. 1906–15, secretary of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society (the so-called “Wednesday evenings”). His *Der Künstler: Ansätze zu einer Sexual-*

broadened conception of sexuality for granted, in such a way that even I, who have been studying your thought intensively for more than 4 years, have difficulty in understanding this conception. The public Herr Rank writes for won't understand it at all. The libidinal relation of hypersensitive persons to the object needs to be illustrated with countless examples of varying intensity. In this way the public would gradually come to see that your terminology is very largely justified. (Especially "pan-sexuality"!) One also has the uncomfortable feeling that Rank "jurat in verba magistri"² and lacks empiricism. In reading him I have more than once had to think of Schelling and Hegel. But your theory is pure empiricism and should be presented empirically too. At any rate this beckons me onward as my foremost task. I am therefore looking round for methods that would develop psychoanalysis as exactly as possible, hoping by this means to lay the foundations for a scientific popularization of your teachings. One of my next tasks will be to document the wish-dreams in *Dementia praecox* with a larger amount of empirical material. Only when this and other such preparatory work has been accomplished can I hope to get closer to the heart of the sexual theory. Certainly dreams, as you have said, are best suited for subjective "confirmation," as I have lately been able to demonstrate with some very fine examples. I am no longer plagued by doubts as to the rightness of your theory. The last shreds were dispelled by my stay in Vienna, which for me was an event of the first importance. Binswanger will already have told you of the tremendous impression you made on me. I shall say no more about it, but I hope my work for your cause will show you the depths of my gratitude and veneration. I hope and even dream that we may welcome you in Zürich next summer or autumn. A visit from you would be seventh heaven for me personally; the few hours I was permitted to spend with you were all too fleeting.

Riklin³ has promised to send you his piece on fairytales as soon as it is finished, though that will not be for some time yet.

psychologie (The Artist: The Beginnings of a Sexual Psychology) was published in early 1907. Ph.D., University of Vienna, 1912. Rank was the first lay psychoanalyst, and one of the five original members of the "Committee"; see below, comment following 321 J. In the early 1920's he dissented from psychoanalysis; after 1935, in the U.S.A.

² = "Swears to the words of the master."—Horace, *Epistulae*, I, i, 14.

³ Franz Riklin (1878–1938), psychiatrist at the Burghölzli 1902–4, during which time he collaborated with Jung on the word-association tests; 1904, they published jointly a study of "The Associations of Normal Subjects" (CW 2). 1905–10, at

Forel⁴ has recently been in Zürich, and I took the opportunity of having him interviewed by a friend. It turns out that he hasn't the faintest idea who you are, and his objection to my work is that I *pay too little attention to hypnotism*. There's the rub.

My wife and I thank you, your wife, and all your family most cordially for the kind reception you gave us,

Yours gratefully, JUNG

18 F

Dear colleague,¹

7 April 1907

I am choosing different paper² because I don't wish to feel cramped in speaking to you. Your visit was most delightful and gratifying; I should like to repeat in writing various things that I confided to you by word of mouth, in particular, that you have inspired me with confidence for the future, that I now realize that I am as replaceable as everyone else and that I could hope for no one better than yourself, as I have come to know you, to continue and complete my work. I am sure you will not abandon the work, you have gone into it too deeply and seen for yourself how exciting, how far-reaching, and how beautiful our subject is.

Of course I am thinking of a return visit to Zürich, on which occasion I hope you will demonstrate your famous *Dem. praecox* case,³ but I doubt if it will be very soon. At the moment I am also troubled

the cantonal hospital, Rheinau (Cant. Zürich). Riklin was married to a cousin of Jung's. He remained with Jung after his dissension from Freud but was not actively concerned with analysis. / The piece on fairytales: *Wunscherfüllung und Symbolik im Märchen* (*Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, 2; 1908) = *Wishfulfillment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*, tr. William Alanson White (1915).

⁴ Auguste Henri Forel (1848-1931), Swiss neurologist and entomologist, from Canton Vaud; director of the Burghölzli before Bleuler. He was a celebrated specialist in hypnosis and a leader of the abstinence movement; rejected psychoanalysis. He had spoken at the tenth anniversary celebration at Clark University in 1899.

¹ Holograph: *Lieber und sehr geehrter Herr College*. The first time Freud used the salutation "Lieber."

² Sheets 8 x 6½" with no letterhead.

³ See "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," CW 3, pars. 198ff. (case of B. St.).

by the uncertainty of our relations with your chief. His recent defense of our position in the *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift*⁴ made me think he could be relied on, but now you tell me of a very serious swing in the other direction, which like myself you probably interpret as a reaction to the conviction you took home with you. How the "personal complex" casts its shadow on all purely logical thought!

In regard to Dem. pr. I have a proposal to make to you. Since your departure I have jotted down a few ideas on the subject we discussed. I should like to let you have them unless—for two reasons—you would prefer not to see them. First, because you might hit on them yourself, and second because it may be distasteful to you to accept anything whatsoever. I must say that I regard a kind of intellectual communism, in which neither party takes anxious note of what he has given and what received, as a highly estimable arrangement. Please tell me with analytic frankness whether you would like to take a look at the stuff, whose value you need not overestimate because of this announcement, or would rather not.

I appreciate your motives in trying to sweeten the sour apple, but I do not think you will be successful.⁵ Even if we call the ucs. "psychoid," it will still be the ucs., and even if we do not call the driving force in the broadened conception of sexuality "libido," it will still be libido, and in every inference we draw from it we shall come back to the very thing from which we were trying to divert attention with our nomenclature. We cannot avoid resistances, why not face up to them from the start? In my opinion attack is the best form of defense. Perhaps you are underestimating the intensity of these resistances if you hope to disarm them with small concessions. We are being asked neither more nor less than to abjure our belief in the sexual drive. The only answer is to profess it openly.

I feel sure that Rank will not get very far. His writing is positively autoerotic. He is utterly lacking in pedagogic tact. Besides, as you observe, he has not overcome the influence of his previous intellectual fare and wallows in abstractions that one cannot get one's teeth into. But he is more independent of me than it might appear; he is an able man, very young and, what is especially estimable in one so young, thoroughly honest. It goes without saying that we shall expect far more of your manner of treating the material.

⁴ Review of the *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre 1893-1906*, in the *Wochenschrift*, LIV:11 (1907).

⁵ This paragraph is quoted by Jones, II, p. 486/436.

Bezzola's paper,⁶ which he sent me recently in a very impersonal way and probably out of sheer "piety," does not strike me as honest. The appended remarks are the product of a personal cowardice that gives reason to hope that the man will come to a bad end. It seems downright deceitful to conceal the fact that Ψ synthesis is the same thing as Ψ analysis. After all, if we try by analysis to find the repressed fragments, it is only in order to put them together again. The essential difference—that he makes use not of associations but only of sensations—signifies merely that he works exclusively with cases of traumatic hysteria; in other cases this material is not present. And from what I know of the structure of a neurosis, it is usually quite impossible to solve the therapeutic problem solely by disclosing the traumatic scenes. Consequently he is back where Breuer⁷ and I were twelve years ago and has learned nothing since then. He deserves a rap on the knuckles for his "piety," but we have better things to do.

This month you will receive two little publications from me, one of them being the *Gradiva*,⁸ which may decide you, soon I hope, to contribute something with a more general appeal to the *Papers*.⁹ Thank you very much for Riklin's promise. I hope his work meets our special requirements. I shall get into direct touch with him when sending him my *Gradiva*.

At Easter I was at Kahlbaum's¹⁰ in Görlitz and saw a most instructive case that I should have liked to tell you about if this first letter since your visit had not already grown to inordinate length.

My wife¹¹ was very pleased with your wife's letter. It is the host, not the guest, who owes thanks for the honour and the pleasure. Un-

⁶ "Zur Analyse psychotraumatischer Symptome," *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie*, VIII (1906-7). Criticized in Jung, "Abstracts."

⁷ Josef Breuer (1842-1925), Austrian physiologist and physician; author with Freud of *Studies on Hysteria* (orig. 1895; SE II); they later diverged.

⁸ See below, 24 J n. 4; for the other, see 23 F n. 2.

⁹ *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* (*Papers on Applied Psychology*), containing works of various authors edited by Freud. The first two numbers, published by Hugo Heller, were Freud's "Gradiva" study and Riklin's on fairytales (see above, 17 J n. 3); Franz Deuticke took over publication with the third number, Jung's *Der Inhalt der Psychose* (1908). See below, 82 F n. 4. For a list of the *Papers*, see appendix 5.

¹⁰ "Dr. Kahlbaum's Ärztliches Pädagogium für jugendliche Nervenkranken" (medical educational establishment for nervous illness of young people) at Görlitz, eastern Germany, founded by Karl Ludwig Kahlbaum (1828-99), eminent psychiatrist; he coined the term "paranoia." See also addenda.

¹¹ Martha Freud, née Bernays (1861-1951).

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fortunately she cannot answer now, because she is suffering from (benign) iridocyclitis, resulting from an upset stomach.¹²

Looking forward to your answer,

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

19 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 11 April 1907

Many thanks for your long and exceedingly friendly letter! I only fear that you overestimate me and my powers. With your help I have come to see pretty deeply into things, but I am still far from seeing them *clearly*. Nevertheless I have the feeling of having made considerable inner progress since I got to know you personally; it seems to me that one can never quite understand your science unless one knows you in the flesh. Where so much still remains dark to us outsiders only faith can help; but the best and most effective faith is knowledge of your personality. Hence my visit to Vienna was a genuine confirmation.

An excellent analysis I recently made of a Dementia praec. patient has recalled to my mind many of the things we talked about together. I would like to put one question before you which I am quite particularly racking my brains over. The structure of the case was altogether "hysteriform," so much so that during the analysis I lost all consciousness of talking with a Dem. praec. patient. The rapport (transference) was excellent, so that I got the whole story out of her in *one hour*: nothing but sexual events dating back to the 6th year, all quite typical. The patient accepted the transposition¹ with the greatest affect. Insight into the nature and origin of the illness became quite clear to her during the analysis, so that one might have expected considerable improvement. No sign of it the next day; can still come. Thus far everything would be just as it is in hysteria. But the patient has no "hysterical" associations. She reacts quite superficially, has the shortest reaction-times I have ever seen. This means that the stimulus words don't strike through to her affectivity, as they always do in

¹² Holograph: *einer Stomakake*.

¹ Holograph: *Transposition*. In this letter and elsewhere, Jung also used the terms *Rapport* and *Übertragung*, "transference," apparently interchangeably, but eventually he fixed on the latter. Cf. below, 27 F preceding n. 10.

hysteria. You will say: no object-libido, but autoerotism. During the association test the complexes appeared starkly split off so that no affects were aroused. But during the analysis it was just the reverse: fragmentary complexes came pouring out *with no resistance*. In such a situation one might have expected that the stimulus words would also hit the complexes, but they didn't. I have the impression that in Dem. praec. the complex constellates the personality to far fewer associable stimuli than it does in hysteria, with the result that there is much less "working through" of the personality by the complex. In hysteria there is always a synthesis of the complex with the whole personality. But in D. pr. the complexes appear to coalesce only sporadically, at any rate far less than they do in hysteria, let alone with normals. The complexes are largely isolated from one another. You will say: the complexes become autoerotic and contain all the libido. But how does that come about? We find much the same thing in toxic deliria (alcoholism, etc.): fragmentary complexes mixed with elementary hallucinations due to neural stimuli, an unanalysable *mixtum compositum* I could never make head or tail of (psychologically!). In these states dull everyday things come to the surface—bits of complexes, endogenic sensory stimuli, etc., but any meaningful constellation is entirely absent. Would this be analogous to the isolation of complexes in Dem. praec.? Naturally the effect of the toxin would have to be thought of as very slight. But why the regression to the autoerotic stage? Autoerotism is certainly something infantile, and yet infantilism is utterly different from D. pr. I have even seen that in the galvanometric investigations² the splitting off of affects in Dem. praec. goes so far that strong *physical* stimuli do not exert the slightest influence, whereas psychological stimuli still provoke affects. Thus, even with complete analysis and transference no revolutionizing of the personality occurs as it does in hysteria. As a rule nothing whatever happens, the patients have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing but continue to suffer undisturbed. It is as if their personality had disintegrated into separate complexes which no longer exert any mutual influence. I should be grateful to have your views on this matter.

You will be interested to hear that I have been asked to report on

² In 1907 Jung published "On Psychophysical Relations of the Associative Experiment," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, I; "Psychophysical Investigations with the Galvanometer and Pneumograph in Normal and Insane Individuals," with Frederick Peterson, *Brain*, XXX; "Further Investigations on the Galvanic Phenomenon and Respiration in Normal and Insane Individuals," with Charles Ricksher, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, II; all in CW 2.

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"Modern Theories of Hysteria" at this year's International Congress in Amsterdam. My opposite number is Aschaffenburg! I shall naturally confine myself entirely to your theory. I feel in my bones that the discussion will be pretty depressing. A. wrote to me recently; he still hasn't understood anything.

I have just finished Rank's book.³ There seem to be some very good ideas in it though I haven't understood everything by any means. Later I'll read it through again.

Bleuler has now accepted 70% of the libido theory after I demonstrated it to him with a few cases. His resistance is directed chiefly to the word itself. His negative shilly-shallying seems to have been temporarily occasioned by my visit to Vienna. For a very long time Bleuler was a frosty old bachelor who must have done a lot of repressing in his life; hence his unconscious has become very well-filled and influential. All the same, you have a staunch supporter in him, even though sundry *restrictions mentales* will put in an appearance from time to time. Once Bleuler is on to something he knows is right he will never let it go. He possesses the Swiss national virtues to a fault.

I shall be extremely grateful for your thoughts on D. pr., as indeed for any suggestions on your part.

Of course you are right about "libido," but my faith in the efficacy of sweeteners is deep-rooted—for the present.

Bezzola is a confounded fusspot who has to compensate for a highly disagreeable position in life and thinks he can get rich on the crumbs that fall from the master's table. A hoarder of details with no clear over-all vision, but otherwise a decent fellow still in the grim clutches of the unconscious. I found his paper infuriating.

My wife and I have heard with deep regret of your wife's illness and with all our hearts wish her a speedy recovery.

With best regards and gratefully yours, JUNG

20 F

Dear colleague,

Vienna, 14 April 1907

You see, my view of our relationship is shared by the world at large. Shortly before your visit, I was asked to give that report in Amsterdam. I declined in haste for fear that I might talk it over with you and

³ *Der Künstler*. See above, 17 J n. 1.

let you persuade me to accept. Then we found more important things to talk about and the matter was forgotten. Now I am delighted to hear that you have been chosen. But when I was invited, Aschaffenburg was not to be the other speaker; two were mentioned, Janet¹ and a native. Apparently a duel was planned between Janet and myself, but I detest gladiatorial fights in front of the noble rabble and cannot easily bring myself to put my findings to the vote of an indifferent crowd;² but my chief reason is that I am eager to hear nothing of science for a few months and to restore my sorely maltreated organism through all sorts of extra-curricular pleasures. Now you will have to measure yourself with Aschaffenburg. I recommend ruthlessness; our opponents are pachyderms, you must reckon with their thick hides.

And in another connection as well I must welcome you as my successor. I had been meaning to speak to you of the case I saw in Görlitz at Easter. Now I hear that he is being sent to you at the Burghölzli, and that you wish information about him from me. Accordingly, I shall write to his father that I am in direct contact with you and report to you on what I have seen. You will find the boy interesting; he will probably derive little benefit from us and we a great deal from him; and above all, he is the first case we shall both have been able to observe directly. I am curious to know whether you will confirm my contention that it is not Dem. pr. but began with obsession and is continuing as hysteria; I have several times observed this reverse development and I am curious to know what your association experiments will have to say of my diagnosis. He is a highly gifted individual, an Oedipus type, loves his mother, hates his father (the original Oedipus was himself a case of obsessional neurosis—the riddle of the Sphinx), has been ill since his eleventh year when the facts of sexuality were revealed to him; return to infancy even in his dress, his rejection of sex is enormous, “comme une maison,” as Charcot³ used to say. What makes him hard to deal with and prevented me from bringing him to Vienna are his screaming fits when he gets excited. Originally they were merely his infantile means of pressure on his

¹ Pierre Janet (1859–1947), French neurologist and psychologist, one of the first to recognize the unconscious, though he was hostile to psychoanalysis. Jung studied with him at the Salpêtrière (institution for aged and insane women) in Paris, 1902–3.

² Quoted in Jones, II, p. 125/112.

³ Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–93), French neurologist, physician-in-charge at the Salpêtrière; famous for his work on hysteria and hypnosis. Freud studied with him in Paris in 1885–86, translated his lectures into German, and named his eldest son after him.

mother. Now his attacks are as follows: He stands outside a door and screams, roars, raves and spits. In observing the scene, one notices *at the first glance*—though a true psychiatrist mustn't see anything that is not in Kraepelin⁴—that he is running two fingers of his right hand up and down in a groove in the door panel (I saw this myself), in other words he imitates a coitus! When I mentioned this to him after his attack, he denied it; then he told me that the kids in school had imitated it with a finger going like this (into the closed hand). At the same time he counts: two, three, four with long pauses, which indeed makes sense in connection with coitus, and his spitting is obviously an imitation of ejaculation. Meanwhile he hears voices (which also occur in his intervals; this of course presents a doubtful diagnostic picture but does not look like paranoia), his expression is one of extreme bitterness and indignation, in short, he is a spectator at a coitus to which he reacts with rage, and if you bear in mind that he slept with his parents up to the age of ten, you can guess whom he is spying on. Of course he is playing both roles, that of the spectator with his disgust and that of the man with his ejaculation. The best is yet to come. Unfortunately he is also organically infantile, including the formation of his genitals which, as he himself tells one with lofty calm, have not developed since he was eleven. Pride has led him to repress his despair over this and all related affects, and these are the source of his attacks. He would never admit that he attaches the slightest importance to this disgusting performance (of which, it so happens, he is incapable)!

I do not know whether this is his only form of attack, or whether he has modified it since our conversation. When you see him, treat him more or less as you would a colleague, he is frightfully proud and quick to take offense, and in my opinion a good deal more intelligent than Aschaffenburg, for instance.

I must assume a period of infantile sexual activity; I was unable to find out anything about it from his parents. But what a lot parents manage to overlook! Since he has a phimosis (a case for Adler!),⁵ it seems hardly possible that he failed to masturbate at an early age.

⁴ Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926), German clinical psychiatrist, professor at Munich 1903–22; he evolved the system of psychiatric classification and differentiated dementia praecox (his term) from manic-depressive psychosis. His *Psychiatrie: Ein Lehrbuch für Studierende und Ärzte* (1st edn., 1883) has been authoritative in modern psychiatry.

⁵ Alfred Adler (1870–1937), since 1902 a member of the Freudian group in Vienna; he was the first president of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, and the

What pleases me most is that you don't reject my remarks on dementia. It is the same thing, you know, though I am accustomed to speak of paranoia, because the paranoiac element in dementia requires after all to be explained. And so I shall use my next free moment—today, Sunday, I don't feel up to it—to put my thoughts into intelligible form. I shall not lose sight of these ideas; if I can make something of them, I will, but I am too far away from the material; I hope you get to it sooner.

Nor, for the same reason, shall I answer your dementia questions today. Besides, I doubt if I could answer them properly at such a distance. I merely have the feeling that you are right in stressing the fact that these patients reveal their complexes without resistance and are inaccessible to transference, i.e., show none of its effects. That is exactly what I should like to translate into theory.

Incidentally, it seems quite possible that a true, correctly diagnosed case of hysteria or obsessional neurosis should take a turn toward dementia or paranoia after a certain time. Such a possibility can easily be demonstrated in theory—something of the sort seems possible in the case of the boy from Görnitz.

My wife is doing well enough and thanks you and your wife for your good wishes. With kind regards,

Yours, DR. FREUD

21 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 17 April 1907

Many thanks for your news! Unfortunately I must tell you at once that we have no room at all in the Clinic at present, which is most regrettable. We are once again in a period of fearful overcrowding. At the same time I would like to remind you that our in-patient department, being a State institution, is not prodigally luxurious and caters

first of Freud's important followers to secede, in 1911, when he founded "Individual Psychology." After 1926, he spent much of his time in the U.S.A. and settled there in 1935. Died May 1937 at Aberdeen, Scotland, during a lecture tour. / In his monograph *Studie über Minderwertigkeit von Organen*, published in Feb. 1907 (given as a paper to the Vienna Society on 7 Nov. 06: see *Minutes*, I, p. 36), Adler had noted that in cases of enuresis one frequently finds phimosis, i.e., constriction of the prepuce. See tr., *Study of Organ Inferiority and its Psychological Compensation* (New York, 1917), p. 72.

only for the general public. The board for foreigners amounts only to 10-12 fr. a day at the maximum. The charge for a private attendant is a little more than 2 fr. a day. Cheap and middling to good, therefore. As I said we are inundated at present, so it is quite impossible for us to take your patient. I hope, however, that this will not set a precedent, for I would dearly like to investigate a case with which you too are thoroughly acquainted. It may be that in a few weeks we shall have enough room again.

I can understand how repugnant it must be for you to get into cock fights, for that is exactly how the public looks at it and satisfies its sublimated blood lust. Since I am not so deeply committed and am not defending my own brain-children, it sometimes tickles me to venture into the arena. The identification with you will later prove to be very flattering; now it is *honor cum onere*.

Your case is most interesting. The attacks look more hysteriform than catatonic. The voices are highly suspicious, indicating a very deep split and a brittleness of the *niveau mental*. I have often had cases that passed with apparent smoothness from hysteria or obsessional neurosis straight into D. pr. But I don't know what to make of them. Were they already D. pr., but unbeknownst to us? We still know far too little, in fact nothing, about the innermost nature of D. pr., so it may well fare with us as it did with the old doctors who assumed that croupous pneumonia occasionally passed over into TB. We only see how at a certain period in the development of various interrelated complexes the rapport with the environment comes to a partial or total stop, the influence of the objective world sinks lower and lower and its place is taken by subjective creations which are hypertoned *vis-à-vis* reality. This state remains stable in principle, fluctuating only in intensity. There are even cases who actually *die* of autoerotism (acute condition, no post-mortem findings). I saw one again only recently. (Symbolic death?) If in such cases there are no grave anatomical anomalies, we must assume "inhibition." But this is accompanied by a positively hellish compulsion to autoerotism (manifested in other cases too), going far beyond all known limits; perhaps a compulsion due to some organic malfunctioning of the brain. Autoerotism is so consummately purposeless—suicide from the start—that everything in us must rebel against it. And it happens nevertheless.

This "nevertheless" reminds me that not long ago an educated young catatonic drank up half the chamber-pot of a fellow sufferer, with obvious relish. He is an early masturbator, and enjoyed prema-

ture sexual activity with his sister. Catatonic since puberty. Hallucinates the said sister, who occasionally appears as *Christ* (bisexuality). Then deterioration set in, intense hallucinations, partly unidentifiable, partly concerned with the sister. Mounting excitement, masturbates incessantly, sticks his finger rhythmically into mouth and anus alternately, drinks urine and eats stool. A very pretty autoerotic homecoming, is it not?

The following things have struck me in several cases: feelings of sexual excitement frequently get displaced in (female) D. pr. patients from their original site towards and round the anus. Recently I saw a case where they were localized in the pit of the stomach. Frequent anal masturbation in D. pr.! Does the pit of the stomach also belong to the infantile sexual theory? I have not yet observed displacements towards other parts of the body.

Catalepsy is uncommonly frequent in the acute phases of catatonia. In hysteria I have observed only one case where a cataleptically stiffened arm was a penis symbol. But what is the general stiffness and *flexibilitas cerea* in catatonia? Logically it too should be psychologically determined. It goes together with the severest symptoms of the deepest phase, when the crassest autoerotisms are wont to appear. Catalepsy seems to be more common among women; at any rate it is more common among persons of both sexes who fall ill early, just as, in general, their disintegration apparently goes much deeper and the prognosis is correspondingly worse than with those who fall ill late, and who usually stop short at delusional ideas and hallucinations (Lugaro's hypothesis).¹

Bleuler is leaning more and more towards autoerotism but in theory only. Here you have your "verité en marche."

Can you lay hands on *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology*? In Vol. I, No. 7 Sollier² reports "troubles cénesthésiques" at the onset of D. Pr., associated with alteration of the personality. He claims to have observed the same thing in hysteria at the moment of "personality restitution" (transposition?): storms of affect, throbbing of

¹ Ernesto Lugaro (1870-1940), Italian psychiatrist. It has not been possible to identify his "hypothesis," beyond Dr. Assagioli's suggestion (personal communication) that it refers to Lugaro's theory of pseudo-hallucinations.

² Paul Sollier, "On Certain Cenesthetic Disturbances, with Particular Reference to Cerebral Cenesthetic Disturbances as Primary Manifestations of a Modification of the Personality," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, II:1 (Apr.-May 1907). (Jung's citation is incorrect.) Sollier (1861-1933) was a psychiatrist in Boulogne-sur-Seine.

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the blood vessels, fear, explosions, whistlings, acute pains in the head, etc.[†] Have you seen anything like it? Excuse my barrage of questions!

Gratefully yours, JUNG

[†] Rousseau (*Confessions*) similar case.³

22 F A Few Theoretical Remarks on Paranoia¹

The basic situation is roughly this: a person (f.)² conceives a desire for intercourse with a man. It is repressed and reappears in the following form: people outside say she has this desire, which she denies. (Or else: the intercourse has taken place during the night against her will. But this is not the primary form.)

What has happened in this type of repression and reappearance typical of paranoia? An idea—the content of a desire—has arisen and persisted, it has even ceased to be ucs. and becomes cs. But this idea which originated within has been projected outward and reappears as perceived reality, against which repression can manifest itself anew as opposition. Belief has been withheld from the wish-affect; with the reappearance of the idea a contrasting, hostile affect is manifested.

The projection requires explanation. What is the condition for the outward projection of an inner affectively cathected process? A glance at the normal situation: Originally our cs. registers only two types of experience. From outside, perceptions (P), which as such are not affectively cathected and have qualities; from within it experiences “sensations,” which are manifestations of drives in certain organs. These are only in small degree qualitative, but are capable of strong quantitative cathexis. What shows such quantity is located within, what is qualitative and without affect is localized outside.

Of course this is crudely schematic. All processes of mental representation, thought, etc. are composed of elements from both sides.

What arrives at the P. end meets with immediate belief; what originates within the psyche is subjected to a *reality test* (which consists in reduction to P.) and to the *repressive tendency* which is directed against the unpleasure qualities of the sensations.

³ *Confessions*, Part I, Book VI, 1738.

¹ Written and posted between 14 and 20 Apr. 07. On 11 x 8¾" sheets.

² Holograph: f. inserted before *Person*.

The sexual instinct is originally autoerotic, later on it lends affective cathexis, object-love, to memory-images of objects. A wish fantasy such as that presupposed above is to be regarded as a libidinal object-cathexis; if it can be subjected to repression before it becomes conscious, this may occur in various ways (corresponding to the salient characteristics of the various Ψ Neuroses). *If the image-content has been projected upon the P. end, its libidinal cathexis must first have been removed from it. Then it has the character of a perception.*³

In paranoia the libido is withdrawn from the object; a reversal of this is *grief*, in which the object is withdrawn from the libido.

The cathexis lost by the image of the object is first replaced by belief. Where the libido has gone is indicated by the *hostility to the object*,³ found in paranoia. This is an endogenous perception of libido withdrawal. In view of the relation of compensation between object-cathexis and ego-cathexis, it seems likely that the cathexis withdrawn from the object has returned to the ego, i.e., has become autoerotic.

The paranoid ego is consequently hypercathected, egoistic, megalomaniac. A counterpart to the process here assumed is provided by anxiety hysteria. Hysteria is very generally characterized by an excess of object-cathexes. It is extreme object-love and even overlays the autoerotic early period with object-fantasies (seduction). It takes as an object anything that bears the remotest relation to a normal object, even places, for which reason hysteria attaches to places (agoraphobia) or to the vicinity of the loved one, as opposed to the instability, the travel urge, of dementia praecox.

In anxiety hysteria the opposite of what we have assumed for paranoia occurs. *Outward stimuli, i.e. P., are treated like inner affectively cathected processes*, a mere verbal representation has the effect of an inner experience; proneness to fear. The mere withdrawal of the object-cathexes into the ego—into the autoerotic sphere—occurs as an organic process with transformation of affect (into unpleasure), to wit, in so-called hypochondria. It is only the use of this mechanism for purposes of repression that results in paranoia. Thus hypochondria is related to paranoia as purely somatic anxiety neurosis is to hysteria that goes through the Ψ .⁴ Often enough hypochondria approaches paranoia, shifts into it, or mingles with it.

Now it should not be forgotten that in Ψ N we are always dealing with unsuccessful defence. That attempted in paranoia seems surest to

³ Holograph: underlined in blue pencil, apparently by Jung.

⁴ I.e., hysteria that is psychologically determined.

fail, i.e., the libido returns to its object, tries to prevail, and with a reversal to unpleasure clings to the perceptions into which the object has been transformed.

The return-struggle is more clearly evident in paranoia than in the other neuroses. The libidinal cathexis heightens the images that have become perceptions, transforming them into hallucinations. The clinical picture corresponds to this *secondary* defensive struggle against the libidinal fantasy, which now appears from a quarter of the psychic apparatus which ordinarily gives access only to reality.

It should further be considered that as a rule this process is only partial, i.e., affects only one component of the libidinal object-cathexis. All the repressed libido is gradually transformed into belief, the *delusion* is so intense because it has the libido as its source. Delusion is a libido-inspired belief in reality.

Summary. Projection (like conversion, etc.) is a variety of repression, in which an image becomes conscious as perception; the affect pertaining to it is detached and withdrawn into the ego with a reversal into unpleasure. This affect (the libidinal cathexis) then tries, starting from the perceptual end, to force itself once more on the ego.

More readily than other Ψ neuroses, paranoia can be explained by normal Ψ processes.

As you see, a formula for the especially successful type of repression in the hallucinatory forms of insanity par excellence (amentia) can be derived from the relations here discussed between libidinal object-cathexes and ego-cathexes. (Cf. the old analysis in *Collected Short Papers*.)⁵

With kind regards, DR. FREUD

Anyone who gives more than he has is a rogue.

23 F

Dear colleague,

21 April 1907

It's splendid of you to ask so many questions even though you know that I can answer only a few of them. I too am coming to regard our exchange of ideas as a necessity, at least on Sundays.

I see that you have come closer to my idea that the regression to auto-

⁵ See above, 11 F n. 5; in the *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, I (1906).

erotism occurs also in Dem. p. I can do nothing without the direct impact of the material, and I am well aware that one learns more from three detailed analyses than one can ever piece together at one's desk. What I recently sent you from that source is of value only to the extent that it corresponds to what can be inferred from the material of the two other ΨN (I am sure you will understand these abbreviations and not take them amiss). On the whole I believe that we must be patient and not expect to answer certain questions until we have learned a good deal more. Still, we are entitled to conjectures, e.g., concerning cases which begin in hysterical or obsessional form. On a theoretical basis, it is easy to understand that at first the one form of defence customary in hysteria (the suppression within the unconscious of the image cathected with libidinal affect) is attempted, and then, if this does not suffice, the far more radical and dangerous method of splitting off the cathexis and retracting it into the ego. On this assumption, the case would start out as hysteria and develop into D. pr.

As you surely see, it would be incorrect to say that hysteria develops into D. pr.; rather, the hysteria is broken off and replaced by D. pr. These phrases of ours become meaningful only when we take account of certain aspects of the process of repression. Other cases can begin directly with the method of defence characteristic of D. pr.; still others do not go beyond hysteria, because somatic compliance permits of an ample discharge. An analogous example in the organic field would be the relationship between locomotor ataxia and general paralysis. As a rule general paralysis occurs only in mild cases of locomotor ataxia; it is well known that the usual tertiary process does not advance if typical syphilitic blindness has developed. To ascertain this at the very beginning of the process requires diagnostic subtlety and depth of experience.

Incidentally, I am very much surprised that in your cases the return to autoerotism is so strikingly successful. In all probability this really is contingent on their youth, and the predisposing moment, the factor our authors call "idiopathic," would be an incomplete transition from autoerotism to object-love in the past. Dementia would correspond roughly to the success and paranoia to the failure of this return, i.e., of the libido from perceptions. With all the intervening gradations. I believe that the return to autoerotism is indeed as catastrophic as you suppose for the integrity of the personality. In the entire process the various libido components and especially bisexuality should be taken into account. I would give a good deal to be able to abandon my shop and join you in studying this undoubtedly most instructive

and readily understandable form of Ψ N, but unfortunately I have to earn a living and must keep my nose to the grindstone, which now more than ever makes me very tired.

I do not believe that a Ψ determinant is absolutely indispensable in the case of catatonia (I shall have to reread Riklin¹). The displacement of cathexis must involve considerable modifications in innervation, i.e., physiological effects, as in hysteria. Of course I interpret the displacement of sexual stimulation to the anal region in Dem. pr. and the other perversions as well, in line with my *Theory of Sexuality*, not as displacements of the erogenous zones, but as reinstatements of their old primary power, which, according to my theory, are magnificently evident in Dem. pr. The pit of the stomach belongs to the oral zone or to the upper section of the alimentary tract which includes the stomach, see hysteria. I have not read Sollier's article. What I do know of his work (hysteria, memory) is inept chatter and crude misinterpretation of nature. You must think that I am playing the Pope again, fulminating against heretics. But can I look at these things in two ways?

I must say that what you told me in your next to last letter about the reactions of a Dem. pr. patient—lack of resistance in analysis and fragility of transference—cries out for a diagnosis of autoerotism. That this autoerotism should present an entirely different picture than in a child is self-evident. After all, senile imbecility is also very different from child behaviour, though it represents a regression to the infantile stage. In both cases the ability to progress is absent. We find the same differences between an aphasic and a child learning to speak.

Yesterday my comparison of obsessional neurosis and religion appeared in the first number of the new *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*.² I have not yet received any offprints. And I am also still waiting for *Gradiva*.

Perhaps you will be able to take on the boy from Görlitz later. His case ought to be most instructive.

Don't take the burden of representing me too hard. You are so enviably young and independent. Perhaps you will incur the onus but not the odium of our cause, and in later years you will reap the full

¹ "Beitrag zur Psychologie der kataleptischen Zustände bei Katatonie," *Psychiatrisch-neurologische Wochenschrift*, VII:32/33 (1906). See Jung, "Abstracts," CW 18.

² "Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübung" = "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," SE IX. Freud had read part of it at the 6 Mar. meeting of the Wednesday Society, at which Jung and Binswanger were guests (not on 2 Mar., as Jones states, II, p. 36/32; also ed. note, SE IX, p. 116). See *Minutes*, I, p. 142.

reward of your labours. Come to think of it, considering the importance of the cause, the resistance to it is perhaps not so exorbitant.

Write me more news from Burghölzli soon! I feel sure there will be an audible uproar in learned circles when you and Bleuler come out in support of the libido theory.

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

24 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 13 May 1907

First of all I must beg you to excuse the long pause I have allowed myself. I could not and did not want to write to you until I had seen things a bit more clearly. Above all I wanted to absorb and digest your "Remarks on Paranoia." But first the news! It will soon come to your attention that an assistant of Kraepelin's has slaughtered me with a review of my Dem. pr. book in Gaupp's *Zentralblatt*.¹ You are included too, of course. His helpless flounderings are touching to see! If you don't have the *Zentralblatt* I can send you an offprint for your edification. In spite of everything, he has felt impelled to write a whole article about it. At least they have now started using heavy artillery. But in the end the thing has got me down again, for I see how infinitely difficult it is to communicate your ideas to the public.

Autoerotism has yet another triumph to chalk up. We have recently succeeded in analysing an educated and very intelligent young female catatonic who is blessed with very good introspection. She always walks around stiff and affectless and it is difficult to keep her in a good ward because from time to time she smears herself with excrement. She *spontaneously* admitted to us that since her illness she has become like a child in her thoughts, masses of old infantile memories pop up in which she gets completely submerged. She says the smearing came about simply because it occurred to her (in one of those "absent-minded" states) not to sit on the toilet but to defecate on a piece of paper on the floor. Oddly enough that is what she did as a child. She suffered from constipation and got too tired on the seat, then started

¹ Max Isserlin, "Über Jung's 'Psychologie der Dementia praecox' und die Anwendung Freud'scher Forschungsmaximen in der Psychopathologie," *Zentralblatt für Nervenheilkunde und Psychiatrie*, n.s., XVIII (May 1907). Isserlin (1879-1941), Munich neurologist, Kraepelin's assistant; was an adversary of psychoanalysis. Died in England as a refugee.

defecating on a piece of paper. In her illness localized states of excitement occurred, with masturbation. It is significant that sexuality *sensu strictiori* does not have any effect on the psyche whatever, but in the great majority of cases remains *local* and is felt as something alien and oppressive, or at any rate no corresponding repression takes place.

I have mulled over your "Remarks on Paranoia" several times, also together with Bleuler. The derivation of delusional ideas from affects (= libido) is perfectly clear to us. It seems to me, however, that in your explanation of "outward projection" you can mean only the genesis of the idea of persecution. But in D. pr. every single thing is projected outwards. The delusional ideas are as a rule a crazy mixture of wish-fulfilment and the feeling of being injured. The following analogy has always struck me as enlightening: the religious ecstatic who longs for God is one day vouchsafed a vision of God. But the conflict with reality also creates the opposite for him: certainty turns into doubt, God into the devil, and the sublimated sexual joy of the *unio mystica* into sexual anxiety with all its historical spectres. Here we see how the wish directly produces the projection outwards because the wish for reality is present. This same wishing can often be demonstrated with ease in the unconscious of the paranoiac, but usually only the conflict becomes objectivated. Then the feeling of persecution is often compensated by megalomania, though this leads less often to objectivations. In paranoid Dem. pr. the wish-fulfilment is certainly very much more frequent. When you say that the libido withdraws from the object, you mean, I think, that it withdraws from the *real object* for normal reasons of repression (obstacles, unattainability, etc.) and throws itself on a fantasy copy of the real one, with which it then proceeds to play its classic autoerotic game. The projection towards the perception end springs from the original wish for reality, which, if unattainable, creates its own reality by hallucination. But in psychosis everything goes askew because only the conflict is experienced as objectively real. Why this is so is still not quite clear to me; perhaps the conflicting component is reinforced by the normal corrective component. I should be extremely grateful for any correction you can make of my views. My one hope is that it will bring me closer to you.

Bleuler still misses a clear definition of autoerotism and its specifically psychological effects. He has, however, accepted the concept for his Dem. pr. contribution to Aschaffenburg's Handbook.² He

² See below, 272 J n. 7.

doesn't want to say autoerotism (for reasons we all know), but prefers "autism" or "ipsism." I have already got accustomed to "autoerotism."

Your Görlitz patient now has unquestionably catatonic symptoms on the lowest autoerotic level—he's started smearing himself. So his father wrote me recently. Any psychic treatment, even mere analysis, is completely out of the question, as unfortunately I see every day with our own catatonics.

Maeder is now publishing dream analyses in the latest *Archives de psychologie*.³

Your *Gradiva*⁴ has just arrived. Heartiest thanks! I shall start reading it at once with great expectations.

At the moment I am treating a 6-year-old girl for excessive masturbation and lying after alleged seduction by her foster-father. Very complicated! Have you had experience with such small children? Except for a colourless and affectless, totally ineffectual representation of the trauma in consciousness, I have not succeeded in obtaining any abreaction with affect, either spontaneous or suggested. At present it looks as if the trauma were a fake. Yet where does the child get all those sexual stories from? The hypnosis is good and deep, but with the utmost innocence the child evades all suggestions for enacting the trauma. One thing is important: at the first sitting she spontaneously hallucinated a "sausage which the woman said would get fatter and fatter." When I asked where she saw the sausage she quickly said: "On the Herr Doktor!" All that could possibly be wished of a transposition! But since then everything sexual has been completely occluded. No sign of D. pr.!

With most respectful regards,

Yours very sincerely, JUNG

³ Alphonse E. Maeder, "Essai d'interprétation de quelques rêves," *Archives de psychologie*, VI (1906). Maeder (1882–1971), Swiss psychotherapist, for a time chairman of the Zürich Psychoanalytic Society; supported Jung after the break; later developed a method of brief analysis and became associated with the Oxford Movement.

⁴ *Der Wahn und Die Träume in W. Jensens 'Gradiva'* (*Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, 1; Leipzig and Vienna, 1907) = "Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's 'Gradiva,'" SE IX. Jones, II, p. 382/341: "It was Jung who had called [Freud's] attention to the novel, and he told me Freud had written his little book on it expressly to give him pleasure." The present correspondence casts no light on this; however, cf. below, 50 J: Jones may have confused the novel with the "Übermächte" stories.

MAY 1907

25 F

Dear colleague,

23 May 1907

Since you have kept me waiting so long for your reaction to the *Gradiva*, I can only assume that you are immersed in D. pr. work, so I shall not make you wait any longer for the information you have asked for.

I see two problems in your letter: a) what the withdrawal of libido from the object means, b) what are the differences between paranoid outward projection and other projections. I shall tell you what I think.

a) I do *not* think that the libido withdraws from the real object to throw itself on the mental representation of the object, with which fantasy it proceeds to play its autoerotic game. By definition, the libido is not autoerotic as long as it has an object, real or imagined. I believe, rather, that the libido departs from the object-image, which is thereby divested of the cathexis that has characterized it as internal and can now be projected outward and, as it were, perceived. Then for a moment it can be perceived calmly as it were and subjected to the usual reality-testing. "People say that I love coitus. That is what they say, but it's not *true*!" Successful repression would accomplish this much; the liberated libido would somehow manifest itself autoerotically as in childhood. The source of all our misunderstandings, I believe, is that I have not stressed clearly enough the double onset of the process, the breakdown into repression of the libido and return of the libido.

We can now construct three possible cases. 1) Repression by the above-described process is permanently successful, then the case takes the course that seems characteristic of Dem. pr. The projected object-image may appear only briefly in the "delusional idea," the libido turns definitively to autoerotism, the psyche is impoverished in the way you know so well.

2) Or there is a return of libido (failure of the projection), only a part of which is guided into autoerotism; another part goes back to the object which is now to be found at the perception end and is treated as a perception. Then the delusional idea becomes more intense and resistance to it more and more violent, the entire defensive battle is fought all over again as rejection of reality (repression is transformed into rejection). This can go on for some time; in the end the newly arriving libido is diverted to autoerotism or a part of it is

fixated permanently in a delusion directed against the projected object-wish. In varying mixtures this is what happens in paranoid *Dem. praecox*, undoubtedly the least pure and most frequent type.

3) Or the repression fails completely, after succeeding for a time to the point of projecting the object-wish. The newly arriving libido now seeks out the object which has turned into a perception and develops the most intense delusional ideas, the libido is converted into belief, and secondary modification of the ego sets in; the result is pure paranoia, in which autoerotism is not developed; its mechanism, however, can be explained only on the basis of the series extending to total *Dem. pr.*

I conceive of these three schemata. How much of this is clinically demonstrable, that is, can be shown to exist in reality, you will see. For the present I note that return to autoerotism is most successful in pure *Dem. pr.* Your communications are most convincing. In passing I reiterate my inability to believe, as Bleuler did, that these mechanisms are demonstrable only in *Dem. pr.* and not in authentic paranoia.

b) What is less clear to me, because I lack impressions of recent cases, is my own ideas on the problem, i.e., the relation of paranoid projection to hysterical and amentic projection. The purest hallucinatory realization undoubtedly occurs in the latter, where there is no repression and where the image of the desired object, over-catheted with libido, is turned directly into perception via regression. Here, on the contrary, we find repression of the conflicting ego and of reality. And there is no reversal of value. Pleasure remains pleasure and is not, as in paranoia, transformed into unpleasure. This type then has two distinguishing features—see my old analysis¹—: No repression of the wish-object, the libido (hypervalent) stays with the object-representation. This type sets in suddenly, there is no prolonged struggle and chronic development as in paranoia (*Dem. pr.*).

In hysteria an analogous process, hallucination of the wish-representation and overpowering of the ego, occurs in a brief episodic attack, brought on by regression from the hypercatheted object-image to perception. This instability is characteristic of hysteria, the repressed becomes the repressive—but only temporarily. However, any case of hysteria can shift into an acute hallucinatory psychosis of the character described above.

In paranoia (which remains the theoretical concept; *Dem. pr.* seems to be an essentially clinical notion) the image of the wish-object is

¹ See above, 11 F n. 5.

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never realized directly through augmented libido-cathexis caused by regression. Here repression through projection with *reduced* libido-cathexis comes first, the intensification of the hallucination by the libido returning after repression is secondary. I maintain, though this could only be demonstrated with the help of a well-conceived schema, that regression and projection are different processes and also take different courses. It is also characteristic of paranoia that there is so little regression; the wish-idea is perceived as a word, by audition—i.e. intensified by thought-processes, and not as a visual image. I still fail to understand the undoubtedly secondary visual hallucinations; they look like secondary regression.

The *vicissitudes of the libido*, where it is localized in regard to ego and object, and the *modifications of repression*, what brings them about and in what rhythm—these undoubtedly determine the character of neuropsychoses and psychoses.

After these difficult matters something simpler. In your six-year-old girl, you must surely have discovered in the meantime that the attack is a fantasy that has become conscious, something which is regularly disclosed in analysis and which misled me into assuming the existence of generalized traumas in childhood. The therapeutic task consists in demonstrating the sources from which the child derives its sexual knowledge. As a rule children provide little information but confirm what we have guessed when we tell them. Questioning of the families indispensable. When it is successful, the most delightful analyses result.

In regard to Bleuler, I should add: the *Three Essays* do give a clear picture of autoerotism. Psychically negative, if you will.

Another reason why the child fails to talk is that, as your observation shows, she enters immediately and fully into the transference.

My Görlitz patient, like all mistakes, is very instructive. Everything we diagnosed is still present, plus Dem. pr. My *Gymnasium* student of whom I speak in the *Gradiwa*,² who takes refuge in geometry, showed the loveliest obsessions, the most magnificent fantasies. His genitals, too, have remained infantile; I saw him again some months ago in a state of apathetic dementia.

With kind regards, in anticipation of your reply,

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

² SE IX, p. 36.

26 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 24 May 1907

Your *Gradiva* is magnificent. I gulped it at one go. The clear exposition is beguiling, and I think one would have to be struck by the gods with sevenfold blindness not to see things now as they really are. But the hide-bound psychiatrists and psychologists are capable of anything! I shouldn't wonder if all the idiotic commonplaces that have been levelled at you before are trotted out again from the academic side. Often I have to transport myself back to the time before the reformation of my psychological thinking to re-experience the charges that were laid against you. I simply can't understand them any more. My thinking in those days seems to me not only intellectually wrong and defective but, what is worse, morally inferior, since it now looks like an immense dishonesty towards myself. So you may be absolutely right when you seek the cause of our opponents' resistance in affects, especially sexual affects. I am just dying to know what the sexual complex of the public will have to say about your *Gradiva*, which in this respect is wholly innocuous. It would irritate me most of all if they treated it with benevolent patronage. What does Jensen¹ himself say about it? Please tell me sometime what kind of literary reviews you get. One question which you leave open, and which the critics may pick on, is this: why is the complex in Hanold repressed? Why doesn't he let himself be put on the right track by the song of the canary bird and other perceptions?²

The part played by the bird is equally diverting. Howsoever, for understandable reasons you have not pursued the meaning of this symbol any further. Do you know Steinthal's writings on the mythology of the bird?³

Overwork explains my two lapses into silence these last days. Prof. Bleuler is not well and has gone to a watering-place for 3 weeks.

¹ Wilhelm Jensen (1837-1911), North German playwright and novelist. See editorial note to the "Gradiva" study and Freud's postscript, SE IX, pp. 4 and 94.

² SE IX, p. 64.

³ Heymann Steinthal (1823-99), German philologist and philosopher, whose works Jung was to cite in "Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido" (1911-12; see CW 5, index, "Steinthal"). He was editor of *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (Berlin); see "Die ursprüngliche Form der Sage von Prometheus," *ibid.*, II (1862), 5 and 20f., on bird symbolism. Also see the next letter, n. 8.

Meanwhile I have the direction of the Clinic and much else on my shoulders. I have also written another little piece,⁴ a "sideline," as you would call it. I had to furnish exact proof of something in connection with disturbances in reproduction, which is as self-evident to you as it is to me; but these pachyderms just can't understand anything unless you write it out as big as your fist on their hides. Even so I shall send it to you later and not let it slip my mind, as did my last paper in English on the galvanometric investigations.⁵ That time in Vienna my unconscious was disagreeably upset because it seemed to me you were not paying due attention to our electrical researches. Vengeance was bound to come. Delayed insight!

Lately I've been having unpleasant arguments with Bezzola. I have looked at his work and tested it several times myself. It is the original Breuer-Freud method, with stronger emphasis on hypnosis. He puts a mask on people and gets them to tell him the visual images they see. Many traumatic moments are brought out, which he makes them repeat over and over until these are exhausted. Good results, so far as I have been able to check them. Many of the test-persons fall into auto-hypnosis and experience somnambulistic traumata. But it seems to me that a good deal of it is made up; at least that is what the 6-year-old whom I am now treating does: tells purely made-up stories and circumvents the traumatic moments with the greatest care. So far I have had only failures when using this method on uneducated persons. Frank, using hypnotic suggestion, concentrates attention on the traumatic moment (supposing there is one!) and makes the patient go through it again and again until it is exhausted. The effect of both methods is not altogether comprehensible to me. I conjecture that both of them, at least to some extent, overlook the accompanying transposition. In one case of mine which I treated that way it was quite clear: the woman extolled chiefly my kindness in going so deeply into her affairs. Another one I plagued almost to death in two sittings without obtaining the slightest visual image, and only when I put direct questions about dreams and sexuality did she begin to come alive. The bad thing in all this is that Bezzola, in his benighted blindness, is antagonistic to you and has already started telling lies about me. You discerned his character better than I did—a small [. . .]

⁴ "Über die Reproduktionsstörungen beim Assoziationsexperiment," *Journal für Psychologie und Neurologie*, IX (1907) = "Disturbances of Reproduction in the Association Experiment," CW 2.

⁵ See above, 19 J n. 2; probably the first paper.

soul. Opposition and dissension in one's own camp are the very worst thing.

About your *Gradiva* Bleuler said: yes, it is really marvellous—either all these connections are really there, or one could put them in everywhere. This thorn of doubt still sticks in Bleuler's flesh but it isn't dangerous. At the moment he is engaged on his Dem. praec. book, from which we may expect great things. The continuation of the great "Freud battle" is guaranteed.

Heilbronner⁶ in Utrecht has subjected my "Diagnosis of Evidence"⁷ to detailed criticism in the latest issue of the *Zeitschrift f. d. gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft*. I am sending it to you together with Isserlin's criticism.

With best regards,

Ever sincerely yours, JUNG

27 F

Dear colleague,²

26 May 1907¹

Many thanks for your praise of *Gradiva*. You wouldn't believe how few people have managed to say anything of the kind; yours is just about the first friendly word I have heard on this subject (No, I must not be unfair to your cousin (?) Riklin). This time I knew that my work deserved praise; this little book was written on sunny days³ and I myself derived great pleasure from it. True, it says nothing that is new to us, but I believe it enables us to enjoy our riches. Of course I do not expect it to open the eyes of our hide-bound opponents; I long ago stopped paying attention to those people, and it is because I have so little hope of converting the specialists that, as you have no-

⁶ Karl Heilbronner, "Die Grundlagen der psychologischen Tatbestandsdiagnostik," in XXVII (1907). Heilbronner (1869–1914), German psychiatrist, then director of the Utrecht University clinic.

⁷ "Die psychologische Diagnose des Tatbestandes," *Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen*, IV (1906) = "The Psychological Diagnosis of Evidence," CW 2.

¹ Published in *Letters*, ed. E. L. Freud, no. 124; partially quoted and discussed by Max Schur, *Freud: Living and Dying* (New York, 1972), pp. 249ff.

² Holograph: *Lieber Herr College*.

³ "He had written it in the open air during his summer holiday (1906) . . . at Lavarone, in the Trentino."—Jones, II, pp. 383/341 and 16/15.

ticed, I have taken only a half-hearted interest in your galvanometric experiments, for which you have now punished me. To tell the truth, a statement such as yours means more to me than the approval of a whole medical congress; for one thing it makes the approval of future congresses a certainty.

If you are interested in the reception of *Gradiva*, I shall keep you informed. So far the only review to appear has been in a Viennese daily;⁴ it is favourable but shows no more understanding or feeling than, let us say, your dementia praecox patients. Journalists apparently fail to understand how anyone can take a passionate interest in abstract ideas; they think nothing of writing such things as: The mathematicians say that 2×2 is often 4, or: We are assured that 2×2 is not usually 5.

What Jensen himself says?⁵ He has been really charming. In his first letter he expressed his pleasure etc. and said that in all essential points my analysis corresponded to the intention of his story. Of course he was not speaking of our theory, the old gentleman seems incapable of entering into any other ideas than his own poetic ones. The agreement, he believes, must probably be laid to poetic intuition and perhaps in part to his early medical studies. In a second letter I was indiscreet and asked him about the subjective element in the work, where the material came from, where his own person entered in, etc. He then informed me that the ancient relief actually exists, that he possesses a reproduction of it from Nanny⁶ in Munich, but has never seen the original. It was he himself who conceived the fantasy that the relief represented a woman of Pompeii; it was also he who liked to dream in the noonday heat of Pompeii and had once fallen into an almost visionary state while doing so. Apart from that, he has no idea where the material came from; the beginning suddenly came to him while he was working on another story. He put everything else aside and started to write it down. He never hesitated, it all came to him ready and complete, and he finished the story at one stretch. This suggests that the analysis, if continued, would lead through his childhood to his most intimate erotic experience. In other words, the whole thing is another egocentric fantasy.

⁴ By Moritz Necker, in *Die Zeit*, 19 May 07 (Jones, II, pp. 384/343).

⁵ For Jensen's letters, see *Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, I (1929), 207-11.

⁶ Illegible in Freud's holograph, but in Jensen's letter, which he is paraphrasing, it is Nanny, presumably the art dealer Felix Nanny, Türkenstrasse 92, Munich. The reproduction was probably a copy in plaster. (In the *Psych. Bewegung* transcript, the name appears as Namy.) See plate II.



The "Gradiva" relief. Fragment of a classical work in the Vatican Museum. Sec 27 F

In conclusion let me express the hope that one of these days you too will come across something that you think likely to interest the general public, and that you will give it to my *Papers* rather than to *Die Zukunft*.⁷

You are right, I have kept silent about the "bird" for reasons well known to you, out of consideration for the publisher and public, or because of your mollifying influence, as you prefer. Someone who is working on the material would be very grateful for the reference of the Steinthal article. Riklin has called my attention to an article in Steinthal's *Zeitschrift* for 1869.⁸ Are you referring to the same one?

I am really curious about Bleuler's book on dementia. It will probably show an advance over the *Theory of Sexuality*, but hardly of the kind that is needed. I hope it does not make your study superfluous. I really sweated blood over the two theoretical constructions I sent you recently.⁹ I am not used to working in that way, without direct observation. And I am sure you are not taken in by such theorems. If only I were younger or wealthier or more frivolous, any of the three, I would spend a few months at your clinic; together we would certainly work our way through the problem.

I really have no reason to regard Bezzola and Frank as members of our group. If you have rebuffed B. a bit harshly, I should say that he had it coming to him; to judge by his symptomatic actions, we are certainly not being unfair to him. The mechanism of his successful treatments—if they are lasting, which is more than doubtful—is undoubtedly transference, as you presume; you call it transposition. I seem to remember that I myself expressed this suspicion when I first wrote to you about him not so long ago.¹⁰

Yes, I hope to receive your publications, quite apart from my momentary reaction. All you can expect from me in the near future is the second edition of *Everyday Life* (about the end of June), in which

⁷ *Die Zukunft* (Berlin) was a literary and political weekly, founded and edited by Maximilian Harden (1861–1927), in which Jung had published an essay on cryptomnesia (1905; see CW 1).

⁸ Hermann Cohen, "Mythologische Vorstellung von Gott und Seele," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, VI (1869), especially 121ff., on the soul as a bird. Maeder had cited it in his paper mentioned by Jung, 24 J n. 3. / Subsequently, Abraham used both Cohen's work and that of Steinthal (above, 26 J n. 3) in his *Traum und Mythos* (below, 84 F n. 2), to which Jung expressed his debt in "Wandlungen und Symbole," part II, ch. 3.

⁹ Above, 22 F and 25 F.

¹⁰ Above, 18 F.

some of your examples are included.¹¹ Bresler¹² has not sent offprints of the little essay on religion and obsession, passages from which you heard at my house that Wednesday. The publisher neglected to order any! Two short articles have been wrung out of me,¹³ but will probably not appear until later.

Thank you very much for the two bombshells from the enemy camp.¹⁴ I am not tempted to keep them for more than a few days, only until I am able to read them without affect. What are they, after all, but emotional drivel? First they write as if we had never published a dream analysis, a case history, or an explanation of parapraxis; then, when the evidence is brought to their attention, they say: But that's no proof, that's arbitrary. Just try to show proof to someone who doesn't want to see it! Nothing can be done with logic, about which one might say what Gottfried von Strassburg, rather irreverently I think, says of the ordeal:

“that Christ in his great virtue
is as wavering as a sleeve in the wind.”¹⁵

But just let five or ten years pass and the analysis of “aliquis,”¹⁶ which today is not regarded as cogent, will have become cogent, though nothing in it will have changed. There is no help for it but to go on working, avoid wasting too much energy in refutation, and let the fruitfulness of our views combat the sterility of those we are opposing. Envy is evident in every line of Isserlin's paper. Some of it is just too absurd, and the whole thing is a display of ignorance.

But all the same, don't worry, everything will work out all right. You will live to see the day, though I may not. As we know, others before us have had to wait for the world to understand what they were

¹¹ *Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens* (orig. 1901), 2nd edn., Berlin: Karger, 1907 = *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, SE VI; Jung's examples at pp. 18, * 25; 215. For his review, in the *Correspondenzblatt für Schweizer Ärzte*, XXVIII (1908), see CW 18, par. 906.

¹² Johannes Bresler (1866–1936) was founder and co-editor with Freud of the *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie*; see above, 23 F n. 2.

¹³ See below, “Sexual Enlightenment” (34 F n. 7) and “Hysterical Phantasies” (64 F n. 1).

¹⁴ See above, 24 J n. 1 (Isserlin), and 26 J n. 6 (Heilbronner).

¹⁵ *Tristan* (ca. 1210), III, 469–70. (Tr. partly A. T. Hatto, Penguin, 1960, p. 248.)

¹⁶ “. . . that wonderful example of Freud's in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, where in the verse ‘Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor’ [*Aeneid* 4.625] Freud was able to trace his friend's forgetting of the word ‘aliquis’ . . . to the overdue menstrual period of his beloved.”—Jung, “The Psychology of Dementia Praecox,” par. 117, citing SE VI, pp. 9ff.

saying; I feel certain that you will not be all alone at the Amsterdam Congress. Every time we are ridiculed, I become more convinced than ever that we are in possession of a great idea. In the obituary you will some day write for me,¹⁷ don't forget to bear witness that I was never so much as ruffled by all the opposition.

I hope your chief will recover soon and that your work load will then be reduced. I miss your letters very much when the interruptions are too long.

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

28 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 30 May 1907

Unfortunately I can send only a short answer today to your very friendly letter as all my time is taken up with the affairs of the Clinic.

Thanks above all for the news about Jensen. It is roughly what one would have expected. Putting it down at his age to his medical studies is splendid and suspiciously arteriosclerotic. In my entourage *Gradiva* is being read with delight. The women understand you by far the best and usually at once. Only the "psychologically" educated have blinkers before their eyes.

I would gladly write something for your *Papers*. The idea is very attractive. Only I don't know *what*. It would have to be something worthwhile. The *Zukunft* article and its like are not good enough; Harden wrung it out of me. I would never have written it of my own accord. At the moment I am particularly keen on experimental studies, but I'm afraid they are hardly suitable for a wider circle of readers. Still, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Dementia praecox will send up something good from its inexhaustible depths. The snag is that I am so swamped with the affairs of the Clinic that I can scarcely find the necessary time for my own work. It is impossible for me to immerse myself in the material at present. Any systematic working up of Dementia praecox is equally impossible as it demands unlimited time. I am therefore planning to change my position so as to have more free time to devote myself entirely to scientific work. My plan, which has Bleuler's vigorous support, is to affiliate to the Clinic

¹⁷ "Sigmund Freud: Ein Nachruf," *Sonntagsblatt der Basler Nachrichten*, 1 Oct. 1939 = "In Memory of Sigmund Freud," CW 15. But witness was not borne.

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a laboratory for psychology, as a more or less independent institute of which I would be appointed director. Then I would be independent, freed from the shackles of the Clinic, and able at last to work as I want. Once in this position, I would try to get the chair for psychiatry separated from the running of the Clinic. The two together are too much and hamper any useful scientific activity. By taking such a step I would of course be abandoning my clinical career, but the damage would not be so great. I would have the material anyway. And I can imagine that I would get sufficient satisfaction from scientific work alone. As I have seen from my recent dreams, this change has its—for you—transparent “metapsychological-sexual” background, holding out the promise of pleasurable feelings galore. Anyone who knows your science has veritably eaten of the tree of paradise and become clairvoyant.

More news soon.

With sincerest regards, J U N G

29 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 4 June 1907

The remark in your last letter that we can “enjoy our riches” is admirable. I rejoice every day in *your* riches and live from the crumbs that fall from the rich man’s table.

Here is another pretty case of depression in Dem. praec.:

9th year: Patient sees traces of her mother’s period; sexual excitement and masturbation.

12th year: Onset of periods. Studies instructive sex books. Has fantasies about genitalia of siblings, especially older brother’s. Is admonished by them to be more reserved with her brother as she is a big girl now.

16th year: Symptoms of strong emotivity. Wept all day when fiancé of an older girlfriend was in danger in the Alps. Brother a great Alpinist.

18th year: Violent excitement all day and nervousness during sister’s wedding. Heightened sexual urges and accompanying masturbation. Growing feelings of guilt.

20th year: Older brother gets engaged; thunderstruck. Continually compares herself with the bride, who has all the graces, while the patient comes off badly.

21st year: First acquaintance with a man who drops hints of marriage intentions. Finds him attractive because he reminds her of her brother in many ways. Instantly gets increased guilt feelings, it's wrong to think of marrying, etc. Deepening depression, sudden violent urge to suicide. Interned. Very dangerous suicide attempts. Unquestionable D. pr. symptoms.[†] Six months later, sudden swing-over to euphoria at the moment when her sister tells of the brother's wedding presents. From then on euphoric, attends the wedding without a trace of emotion, which seems to her very peculiar because she was dissolved in tears at her sister's wedding 3 years before. After the wedding, abatement of euphoria back to normal. Gets a *distortio pedis*. Doesn't like talking of going home.

I'd like to make an amusing picture-book in this style, to be enjoyed only by those who have eaten of the tree of knowledge. The rest would go away empty-handed.

Case of paranoia (paranoid D. pr.):

About 10th year: Patient is seduced by an older boy into mutual masturbation.

About 16th year: Falls in love with a flapper (Berty Z.) who has hair cut short like a boy.

About 18th year: Gets to know through this girl a certain Lydia X. with whom he falls head over heels in love.

About 20th year: In London. Loses his job (why?), wanders about the streets in a distracted state for 3 days without eating, hears his name called several times; sees a horse rearing up close by, is terrified: takes this as meaning that he will get a good job. Finally goes home in the evening. On the way to the station an unknown lady comes towards him, obviously she is making advances. But when she comes closer he sees that she is an unknown, respectable lady and not a cocotte. Standing on the station is a young man with a girl—Berty Z. from Zürich; but he is not absolutely certain. At his house door he sees for the first time that it is No. 13. Same night he fires a bullet into his head, not fatally. Recovers.

About 34th year: Job in Zürich. Hears Lydia X. is engaged. Excited state; interned. Megalo- and persecution mania. Is God, monseigneur, doctor, the lot. Lydia X., as well as her sister and mother, are hiding in everyone he sets eyes on. Everything that happens is done by them.

[†] Delusional idea: her brother *cannot* marry because he was going to go bankrupt.

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They are around him continually but never show themselves in their true form. "Bring Lydia to me sometime so that I can let my sperm out on her. Then everything will be all right."

Three years ago the delusional picture changed. At a festivity in the Clinic he met a girl with a tremor of the head. She had *hair cut short*. Manifestly fell in love with her. Soon afterwards Lydia does nothing directly herself but only by "pulling a princess around by the hair."¹ This peculiar two-track mechanism now causes everything that goes on in his environment.

No remission since Lydia got married!

I should be most grateful for your theoretical views on this last case. Your previous detailed exposition was, frankly, too difficult for me; I couldn't follow it. My mind is better able to cope with concrete cases.

Next time I will tell you of another, to me theoretically interesting, case which seems to be structured rather differently from these two, but is very characteristic of a large number of D. pr. cases.

At the moment I have a case which despite all my efforts baffles me: I can't make out whether it is D. pr. or hysteria. Altogether, the differences between D. pr. and hysteria are becoming suspiciously blurred since I have started analysing them.

With best regards,

Most sincerely yours, JUNG

30 F

Dear colleague,

6 June 1907, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

I am very much surprised to hear that I am the rich man from whose table you glean a few crumbs. This remark must refer to things that are not mentioned elsewhere in your letter. If only I were! Especially your work on Dem. pr. makes me feel quite impoverished. Enclosed¹ you will find the result of the exertions you have asked of me. Since I lack direct contact with the cases, it is most unsatisfactory—I regard this scribbling merely as an occasion to repeat certain

¹ Cf. "The Psychology of Dementia Praecox," CW 3, par. 169, n. 24, where a patient uses this expression.

¹ See below, p. 60.

things which, as you say, I did not express clearly enough the first time.

A picture-book such as the one you are thinking of would be highly instructive. Above all, it would provide a general view of the architectonics of the cases. I have several times attempted something of the sort, but I was always too ambitious. To be sure of making everything absolutely clear, I tried to show all the complications and consequently got stuck every time. But why shouldn't you attempt such a project in earnest? Do you already feel up to a serious struggle for the recognition of our new ideas? If so, the first thing to do would be to start a journal: "for psychopathology and psychoanalysis" you might call it, or more brazenly, just "for psychoanalysis." A publisher can surely be found; the editor can only be yourself, and I hope Bleuler will not decline to join me as a director. So far we have no one else. But such a venture has a force of attraction. There will be no shortage of material, we shall have our work cut out for us selecting, editing, and rejecting contributions. With our own analyses (yours and mine) we can easily fill up more than a volume a year. And if there is truth in the proverb: The more they carp the more they buy—the publishers will do a flourishing business.

Doesn't it tempt you? Think it over!

Now that I have more free time, I am able to fish an idea or two out of the stream that rushes by me each day. I am again taking notes on my analyses. Just now I had a consultation with one of my patients who has made my head spin so that I can think of nothing else. Her main symptom is that she can't hold a cup of tea if anyone is present, clearly exacerbation of the most significant inhibitions. She worked very poorly this morning. "No sooner was I back in the entry hall, she says now, "than I saw it all. Obviously it's innate cowardice! After all, *lâcheté* and *Schale Thee*² aren't so far apart." She has a habit of inverting words. She spent her childhood between her mother and her nurse, who stayed with her for many years. The mother's name is *Emma*; turn it around: *Amme*.³ The devil take our hare-brained critics! Suggestion, etc.!

Yours cordially, DR. FREUD

² = Cowardice; cup of tea.

³ = Wet-nurse.

[ENCLOSURE]⁴

So you want my impressions of your two cases. I presume there is no need for me to copy the notes, you must have them at hand.

The first is the simpler: it begins at the age of nine; of course the essential determinants lie farther back, for all hysteria, I believe, relates to the sexuality of the third to fifth year. But this cannot be proved without a prolonged analysis. Your anamnesis provides only the historical material, so to speak; whatever childhood memories have been retained would lead us to prehistory. It seems likely that in Dem. pr. we shall often have to content ourselves with the historical material.

From then on everything is clear; she is dominated by an unexpressed love for her brother, but it springs from unconscious sources. Increasing conflicts, gradual repression, guilt feelings as a reaction. Her behaviour during her brother's engagement is fascinating, comparison with his fiancée. No conversion symptoms, only conflictual moods. When reality is brought home to her by the proposal of the man she associates with her brother, repression sets in and she falls ill. She has probably masturbated all along and it seems likely that this has prevented her condition from taking a hysterical form; a typical case of hysteria would have stopped masturbating long ago and shown substitutive symptoms. Your diagnosis of dementia is in this case quite correct and is confirmed by her delusional idea. After this she seems to have succeeded in disengaging her libido from her brother; substitution by indifference, euphoria, which can be explained theoretically as reinforcement of the ego by withdrawal of the object-cathexis. In other words, a partial case, probably not yet concluded or fully understood.

II The paranoid

He starts out with homosexual experiences. The girl with the short hair brings about the return of his libido to woman.

In London conflictual state; unable to bear the dashing of his hopes, shoots himself because of the desperate situation (symbol: No. 13) after several attempts to procure what he lacks. Tries to do so by hallucination, but fails. Indeed the wish-fulfilment of this process is not hallucinatory, no regression from mental images to perceptions. But his perceptions, or more precisely his memory-images of recent

⁴ On both sides of a 16 x 9¾" sheet. The 6 June 07 letter is on the small stationery.

perceptions, are influenced in the direction of wish-fantasies. Wish-fulfilments of this kind are easily distinguished from delusional ideas. But they already have a special character which is peculiar to paranoia and the theoretical explanation of which would be localization. In the conflict between reality and wish-fantasies the latter prove stronger, because they have roots in the ucs. Here there is no repression, but probably an overpowering, i.e., there is a process of psychosis, the ucs. has not been repressed but has overpowered the reality-connected ego. At least temporarily in this case the suicide shows that there was no lasting success; it is a defensive action of the normal ego against the psychosis.

Between this London period and the definitive illness there lies a period of good health, that is, of successful repression. But the libido returns with the news of the engagement, and illness ensues in typical paranoid form with projection. The final outcome, with Lydia being felt as present and active everywhere, means that this object-love has taken full possession of him. But to judge by the form of these manifestations, it is a libido that has re-cathected something repressed. The repression has taken place in the course of recovery and consisted—though this cannot be proved on the basis of the present case—in outward projection, not however in *intense* images as in wish-delirium, but in feeble ones, which can only have been made possible by the detaching of the libido. The returning libido has found its object present as an outward projection. I infer from cases of pure dementia that in the intervening repression the libido has been diverted to autoerotism; this paranoid case throws no light on the matter. In general paranoia shows only the return of the libido; detachment (repression) becomes visible in your observations of dementia.

The psychological (not the clinical) problem is that of the mechanism of projection into the world of perception, which cannot be identical with simple wish-regression.

What is extremely interesting is the relation between later paranoia (with projection) and an original psychosis of overpowering, and I hope it will soon be possible to study this on the basis of other cases. At first reality is overpowered by an intense wish-fantasy, but in such a way that only memories are falsified whereas wishes are not hallucinated. Then there is a reactive repression of the wish-fantasies. Perhaps it is because of this preliminary stage that when the libido returns later on it finds these wish-fantasies so close to the perception end. In the paranoid process the regression does not really seem to extend to the perceptual system, but only to the preceding one: mem-

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ory-images. I hope that in further analyses it will be possible to show the deviation from the hysterical-conversion type more clearly.

I can give no more, but I am *very* willing to receive more.

31 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 12 June 1907

In the interval since my last letter I have been under such pressure that I am now pretty flattened. End of last week Claparède,¹ Directeur du Laboratoire de Psychologie expérimentale de Genève, was with me in order to get himself inducted into the technique of the association test. Your teachings have already gained a firm foothold among psychologists in Geneva, though not everything has been digested. The immediate result of Claparède's visit will, however, turn out primarily to my advantage. C. wants to publish a big over-all report on my work in the *Archives de psychologie*.² This would be yet another symptom that our cause is making headway. Flournoy³ is extremely interested in it too. Next week I have to go to Paris and London for 10 days. I shall take this opportunity to call on Janet and interview him about you.

Your annotations on my cases are naturally a great joy to me, for only so can I see how you approach a case, what you think right, and how you abstract more general rules. I entirely agree with you when you say they haven't been sufficiently understood. Undoubtedly they haven't. But with Dem. praec. one learns to be content with little.

As for the first case with the transposition to the brother, I should add: On the morning of the brother's wedding she suddenly got the idea of jumping over a wide drainage ditch, 4 metres deep, hence the *distortio pedis*.

Today I have the following case to report:

¹ Edouard Claparède (1873–1940), Swiss medical psychologist and educator, founder of the Rousseau Institute in Geneva; co-editor with Flournoy of the *Archives de psychologie*.

² Never published.

³ Theodore Flournoy (1854–1920), Swiss psychiatrist; he and Claparède were influenced by William James. Jung drew on Flournoy's work, particularly the Frank Miller case for "Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido" (see appendix to CW 5) and a study of a medium, *Des Indes à la Planète Mars* (1900).

36-year-old woman. Her father was a bad lot, bullied the whole family. Patient therefore attached herself to her mother, who confided all her troubles to her. Thus the two became friends. She had only one friend besides her mother: a woman whose marriage was equally unhappy. Patient had no use for men. At 28, for practical reasons, she married a younger man who was her intellectual inferior. Sexually she had no desires at all and was completely frigid. In time the idolized mother grew old and feeble. Patient declared that she would go mad when her mother died, she could not and *would* not let her mother go. This was the beginning of an ever-deepening depression, neglect of her family, thoughts of suicide, etc. Interned. Now shows symptoms of *abaissement du niveau mental*.⁴ Typical catatonic depression.

Your proposal for starting a special journal fits in with my own plans. I would like to suggest the name "Archiv für Psychopathologie," because I'd be glad to have somewhere I could place all the work coming from our laboratory. However, I'd like to give it a good thinking over first, because at the moment it seems to me that, what with a mostly negative public, the chances of success are still very dubious. Also, I must first finish the second volume of my "Diagnostic Association Studies" before entering into new obligations. Meanwhile let the leaven work.

My outpatients' clinic is studded with thorns. Analysing the uneducated is a tough job. I now have someone who for the life of her cannot finish up her coffee without vomiting if there is a crumb of bread in it. "It tickles my throat." If ever she sees a corpse she has to be continually spitting for several days afterwards. This symptom seems to have set in with the death of her mother. Can you advise me?

It is amusing to see how the female outpatients go about diagnosing each other's erotic complexes although they have no insight into their own. With uneducated patients the chief obstacle seems to be the atrociously crude transference.

With kindest regards and best thanks!

Most sincerely yours, JUNG

⁴ = "lowering of the mental level" or "low energy-tension"; a term introduced by Janet (*Les Obsessions et la psychasthénie*, 1903) and often employed by Jung in his later writings.

Dear colleague,

14 June 1907, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

Good news that Geneva is taking up the cause. Claparède and Flournoy have always shown a friendly attitude in their journal. I am very glad to learn that they are planning to call attention to your work in a detailed article. I am sure to benefit by it too.

Only today I have received a book by a man who certainly deserves his name, *On the Psychology and Therapy of Neurotic Symptoms* by A. Muthmann.¹ It is subtitled "A Study based on Freud's theory of neuroses." M. was an assistant in Basel. It can't be an accident; the Swiss seem indeed to have more personal courage than free German subjects. The book is good, fine case histories, excellent cures, dignified and modest; I have hopes that the man will become a staunch collaborator. He still lacks perspective, he treats discoveries² made in 1893 in the same way as the most recent developments, and he doesn't say one word about the transference.

As for the journal, I am taking you at your word. The need for it will become more and more apparent to you; there should be no lack of readers. We mustn't delay too long, let's say autumn 1908 for the first number.

Of course you have hit the nail on the head with what you say about your ambulatory cases. What with their habits and mode of life, reality is too close to those women to allow them to believe in fantasies. If I had based my theories on the statements of servant girls, they would all be negative. And such behaviour fits in with other sexual peculiarities of that class; well-informed persons assure me that these girls are much less diffident about engaging in coitus than about being seen naked. Fortunately for our therapy, we have previously learned so much from other cases that we can tell these persons their story without having to wait for their contribution. They are willing to confirm what we tell them, but one can learn nothing from them.

Too bad that my case with the teacup is not yet complete, it might throw light on your patient who vomits when there is a bread crumb in the coffee. To judge by certain indications, these symptoms point to the excremental (urine and faeces). The case might be approached through the patient's disgust at her mother's corpse. Disgust with her

¹ Arthur Muthmann (1875-19—), *Zur Psychologie und Therapie neurotischer Symptome: eine Studie auf Grund der Neurosenlehre Freuds* (Halle, 1907). German Muth = courage.

* ² See addenda.

mother probably goes back to the period of sexual enlightenment. Oh yes, I forgot to say that menstrual blood must be counted as excrement. What makes a brief ambulatory treatment almost impossible is the time factor. No psychic change can be effected in such brief periods, and besides, a woman does not confide in a man she has known for so short a time.

Thank you very much for enriching my knowledge by your communication of Dem. pr. cases. Your last, the 36-year-old woman with mother fixation, can be called ideal. The question: Where does the libido detached from the mother go? can perhaps be answered in further analysis if it takes the same course as some of your other cases: to autoerotism.

It is interesting that this repressed mother-cathexis should have a pathological (compensatory) component from the start. It is excessive because of revulsion from the father; one must presuppose a preliminary state of normal infantile affection for the father. Perhaps theoretically significant.

I am glad to see from your plan to visit Paris and London that your period of overwork is past. I wish you an interesting Paris complex, but I should not like to see it repress your Vienna complex. Our difficulties with the French are probably due chiefly to the national character; it has always been hard to import things into France. Janet has a good mind, but he started out without sexuality and now he can go no further; and in science there is no going back. But you are sure to hear much that is interesting.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, DR. FREUD

33 J

Dear Professor Freud,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 28 June 1907

First some "business" news: Dr. Stein¹ of Budapest and another mental specialist, Dr. Ferenczi,² want to visit you sometime in Vienna

¹ Philip (Fülöp or Philippe) Stein (1867–1918), Hungarian psychiatrist, trained in Vienna. 1906–7, research on the association experiment at the Burghölzli, having met Bleuler at the International Congress for Antialcoholism, Budapest, 1905. Founded the antialcohol movement in Hungary. After 1913 Stein apparently separated from psychoanalysis; was chief neurologist of the Workmen's Hospital in Budapest.

² Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933), born Fraenkel, Hungarian neurologist and psy-

and have asked me to inquire when it would be most convenient to you. Dr. Stein is a very decent fellow with a good intelligence, who has done some experimental work with me. He is still something of a beginner in the art, but has grasped the essentials surprisingly quickly and put them into practice. I think it would be best if you contacted him directly (Dr. Stein, Semmelweisgasse 11, Budapest).

Muthmann was assistant physician at the asylum in Basel. I'm afraid I have never had any personal dealings with him. I ordered his book at once. Bleuler tells me there is an amusing (corrected) passage in it which is very characteristic of Prof. Wolff's³ virile courage. Muthmann, incidentally, is not a Swiss but may have had his backbone stiffened in Switzerland.

Head physician Bolte⁴ in Bremen, who recently stuck up for you, and whose paper will appear in the *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, is so far as I know a Bremener, coming therefore from a *free city*.⁵ The milieu obviously makes a big difference.

By the same post I am sending you a paper by a woman student of mine that will perhaps interest you. I think the basic ideas could be developed into a *statistical* complex theory.

I see from your kind gift that your *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* has gone into a second edition—this gives me sincere pleasure. It is good that you have considerably expanded the text—the more examples the better. I hope you will soon be able to manage a new edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams*⁶ as well; it sometimes seems to me that your prophecy that you will have won through in 10 years is being fulfilled. There are stirrings on all sides. You too will have received the book by Otto Gross;⁷ I certainly don't cotton on to his idea

choanalyst, became Freud's close friend and collaborator. Founder of the Hungarian Psychoanalytic Society in 1913 and an original member of the "Committee" (see below, comment following 321 J).

³ Gustav Wolff (1865–1941), professor of psychiatry in Basel, exponent of neo-vitalism and teleology.

⁴ Richard Bolte, "Assoziationsversuche als diagnostisches Hilfsmittel," *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*, LXIV (1907), summarized by Jung in his "Abstracts," CW 18.

⁵ The German "free cities," in the Middle Ages, were directly under the Emperor's protection. At present only Hamburg and Bremen remain autonomous cities.

⁶ *Die Traumdeutung* (orig. 1900) = *The Interpretation of Dreams*, SE IV & V. For the 2nd edn., see below, 112 F n. 8.

⁷ Otto Gross (1877–1919) studied medicine at Graz and was assistant in Kraepelin's clinic at Munich. Jung refers to his *Das Freud'sche Ideogenitätsmoment und seine Bedeutung im manisch-depressiven Irresein Kraepelins* (1907), which

that you are to be merely the mason working on the unfinished edifice of Wernicke's⁸ system. Nevertheless this demonstration that *all* the lines are converging upon you is very gratifying. Apart from that there are all sorts of oddities in Gross's book, though at bottom he has an excellent mind. I am eager to hear what you think.

What is the fate of your *Grädiva*? Any new reviews?

It may interest you to know that the D. pr. patient with the transference to her brother has suddenly started having delusions of grandeur: she declares she has personally experienced the content of Forel's *Sexual Question*,⁹ claims to be related to all sorts of distinguished people, suspects the doctors of having the most elaborate sexual relationships, wants to marry an assistant physician, says the other one (who is married) has made a patient, a Fräulein Lüders, as well as a Fräulein Skudler, pregnant and must therefore get divorced from his wife. ("Luder" is what we call a woman with an unsavoury sexual reputation!) I don't know any more details yet. The doctor she wants to marry happens to have the same name as she (like the brother!).

My experience on the trip was *pauvre*. I had a talk with Janet and was very disappointed. He has only the most primitive knowledge of Dem. pr. Of the latest happenings, including you, he understands nothing at all. He is stuck in his groove and is, be it said in passing, merely an intellect but not a personality, a hollow *causeur* and a typical mediocre bourgeois. Déjerine's¹⁰ grand *traitement par isolement* at the Salpêtrière is a very bad *blague*. It all struck me as unspeakably childish, not least the lofty haze that befogs all heads in such a clinic. These people are 50 years behind the times. It got on my nerves so

dealt with cases at the clinic. / Jung devoted a chapter of *Psychological Types* (orig. 1921; see CW 6, pars. 461ff.) to Gross's typological ideas in *Die zerebrale Sekundärfunktion* (1902) and *Über psychopathische Minderwertigkeiten* (1909). Gross's life ended in hardship, drug addiction, and death by starvation. See Martin Green, *The Von Richthofen Sisters* (New York, 1974); one of the sisters—Frieda, later married to D. H. Lawrence—had a love affair with Gross in Munich in or before 1907. In her memoirs he appears as "Octavio"; see *Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence*, ed. E. W. Tedlock, Jr. (1964), pp. 94–102. She describes Gross as an abstainer from alcohol and a vegetarian.

⁸ Carl Wernicke (1848–1905), professor of psychiatry in Berlin, Breslau, and Halle; discovered the speech centre in the brain and published a valuable book on aphasia (1874).

⁹ *Die sexuelle Frage* (1905); tr. C. F. Marshall, *The Sexual Question* (1925).

¹⁰ Joseph Déjerine (1849–1917), Swiss neurologist, director of the Salpêtrière, Paris.