



JUNG HISTORY

A SEMI-ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF THE
PHILEMON FOUNDATION

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Volume 2, Issue 2

JUNG HISTORY: *A Semi-Annual Publication of the
Philemon Foundation, Volume 2, Issue 2*

The Philemon Foundation was founded at the end of 2003, and since this time, has made critical contributions to a number of ongoing projects preparing for publication the still unpublished works of C. G. Jung. The Foundation is grateful to its donors who have made this work possible. *Jung History*, which will appear semi-annually, will provide accounts of some of the ongoing research supported by the Philemon Foundation and other news. ✨ In addition to scholars funded by the Philemon Foundation, *Jung History* will present reports of significant historical research and publications in the field. In recent years, an increasing amount of new historical research on C. G. Jung has been undertaken, based on the study of hitherto unknown primary materials. However, the publication of such research has been widely dispersed, which has led to the desirability of a publication to gather together such work and make it better known. *Jung History* sets out to fill this need. ✨ *Jung History* will be freely distributed to donors, collaborating institutions, and interested readers. *Jung History* will also be available for download at www.philemonfoundation.org. For further information concerning the Philemon Foundation and to receive a copy of *Jung History*, please send an e-mail to info@philemonfoundation.org.

THE EDITORS —

Michael Whan, *Editor*

Sonu Shamdasani, *Editor*

Stephen A. Martin, *Editor*

Lily Ann Hoge, *Consulting Editor*

Eugene Taylor, *Consulting Editor*

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Cover image: Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon
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Brock, Charles Edmund (1870–1938), Private Collection,
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FOUNDATION NEWS

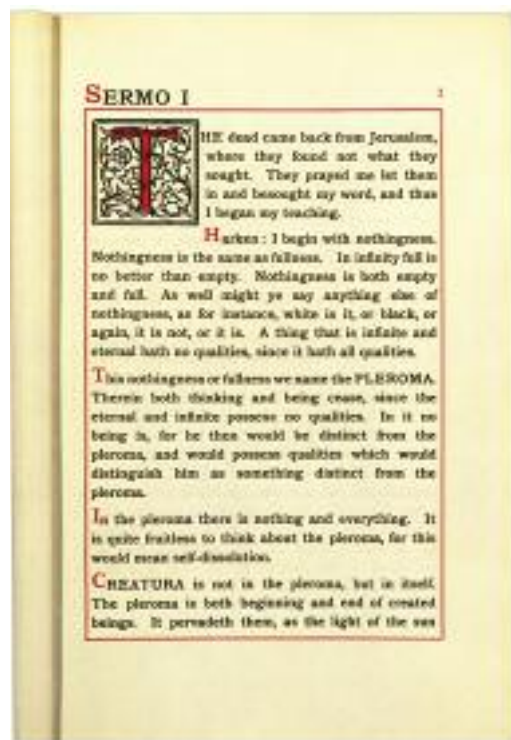
NEARLY TWENTY YEARS AGO I made my first visit to Seestrasse 228, the home of C. G. Jung. I was at the time Editor-in-Chief of *QUADRANT: The Journal of Contemporary Jungian Thought*, and was in Zurich to visit old friends from my training days at the Jung Institute and to meet with Jung's only son, Franz, who was then living at the house. In the course of this lively visit that focused on the question of Jung as an artist posed in my introduction to an issue of *QUADRANT* entitled "Art and Soul", the subject of the *Red Book* arose. Perhaps naively, but emboldened by the interest of Shambala Press, publishers of a volume I co-edited with my friend, Aryeh Maidenbaum, *Lingering Shadows: Freud, Jung and Anti-Semitism*, I asked Franz Jung whether I might see the *Red Book* and if the Jung heirs would consider publishing a facsimile edition of it. What came next was, to say the least, unexpected. Franz Jung, an otherwise genial and gracious man, reacted sharply, nearly with anger, saying to me that, in no uncertain terms, could I see the *Red Book* nor could he ever imagine that it would be published. Empathizing quickly with how startled I was, as if in consolation he handed me a small notebook dense with Jung's script. Looking through it, I realized that I was holding perhaps the original version of *Seven Sermons to the Dead*. Caught between being crushed and elated, I was speechless. It is one of the singular moments of my life, and the first time I had personally crossed paths with the *Red Book*. 🌀 Fast forward to the summer of 2001; I was thumbing through the most recent copy of the International Association of Jungian Analysts (IAAP) newsletter, a thick publication with contributions from Jungian professional groups the world over. At the back, in the 'lonely hearts' pages dedicated to books received was a simple announcement that jolted me- that the *Red Book* was released for publication by the Jung Heirs and was to be edited by Sonu Shamdasani. I thought back to my first meeting with Franz and smiled to myself, wondering what must have happened. I sent off an e-mail to this fellow, Shamdasani, asking "when" and received a simple, direct response, "at some point." I filed this knowledge under the heading, "I can't wait!" 🌀 Skip again a few years to June 2003. For some time I had the urge to work with Jung's correspondence, particularly examples that addressed 'regular' people,

so plentiful in the second volume of his collected *Letters*. Often deeply compassionate and filled with empathic advice to people like me, they were a growing fascination as I, having worked for decades as an analyst, felt the increasing sense of 'not knowing much of anything.' I felt that by diving into 'Jung the man' who expressed himself in these wise missives, the way into my future would become clearer. Who better to advise about the viability of such a project than the man who was editing the *Red Book*? Capitalizing on a planned trip to London in July 2003, I arranged to lunch with Dr. Shamdasani in his hometown. 🌀 My approach to the *Red Book* was many years in the making. Sonu Shamdasani's journey with it is nearly as long in absolute time, but far deeper in scope and intensity. First beginning work on its scholarly and historical importance in 1996, his involvement in the *Red Book* project began in earnest in 1997, when discussions occurred between the Jung Heirs and him about its possible publication. Miraculously, after some three years of study, conversation and collaboration, the *Erbengemeinschaft C. G. Jung* (Association of Heirs of C. G. Jung) released the *Red Book* for publication in May 2000. The *Red Book* project has been central to Dr. Shamdasani's scholarly and personal life for over ten years and I for one look forward to the time when he will share details of his remarkable story. 🌀 Sonu and I date the conceptual formation of the Philemon Foundation to that fateful lunch at *Benares*, a superb Indian restaurant in Mayfair. Over exquisitely flavored food, he politely fielded my questions about the *Red Book*, listened to my own far more modest scholarly interests and finally broke open the world of Jung when he informed me about the staggering amount of unpublished work. From that lunch, and a sleepless night that followed, the Philemon Foundation was born. 🌀 It is now just over four years later and the Philemon Foundation, thanks to the help of its donors and friends, is actively pursuing its mission of bringing unpublished work by C. G. Jung to the reading public. But what of the *Red Book*, the elusive object that started it all? With profound pleasure I can report that the newly constituted *Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung* (The C. G. Jung Foundation), the charitable successor to the *Erbengemeinschaft C. G. Jung*, and with whom the Philemon Foundation will maintain its formal

red book



The Red Book, courtesy of the Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung



First page of the English version of *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos*, 1916

relationship of cooperation negotiated under the auspices of the *Erbengemeinschaft*, has reached an agreement with W. W. Norton & Company, one of the finest, if not the finest, independent American publishing houses, to publish the *Red Book*. Although with no firm publication date yet determined, to have it in production, readying for publication, is a singular development for all who value the work and insights of Jung, as well as for the understanding the intellectual history of the twentieth century. As if tailor made to convey the feel of this wonderful news that the *Red Book* will be available in the near future is the mission of W. W. Norton to be found on its web site, that is, to create “books that live.” Rightly, with the publication of the *Red Book*, an enlivened world of Jung scholarship and deeper appreciation of his importance for our psychological lives will ensue. We at the Philemon Foundation congratulate the *Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung* and, in particular, its director, Ulrich Hoerni, and all the Heirs of C. G. Jung, for making this longed for dream a living reality. ✨ Besides contributing to the *Red Book* project, there is much to report about activities of the Philemon Foundation since our last *Jung History*. The first sponsored volume of the Philemon Series, *The Jung-White Letters*, published by Routledge, appeared in print in April, 2007, less than three years after the formal establishment of the Foundation. In April, 2008, Princeton University Press will publish the second volume in our Philemon Series, C. G. Jung’s seminar on *Children’s Dreams*, ending PUP’s long absence from Jung publishing. Projects currently underway are numerous and include an edited volume of the correspondence between C. G. Jung and his close friend from the early years of Analytical Psychology, Hans Schmid. This dialogue helped

Jung to develop and refine his theory of psychological types. Additional projects are the preparation of Jung’s *Deutsches Seminar* (*German Seminar*) of 1931 that is principally clinical in perspective; the transcription and initial editorial work on Jung’s *Unpubliziertes Buch* (*Unpublished Book*) on alchemy; the editorial completion of *Volume One* of the *ETH Lectures*; the near completion of our *ETH Transcription* project of approximately 100 unpublished Jung manuscripts and an agreement in principle to begin work on the extraordinary correspondence between Jung and Erich Neumann. Finally, we are nearing completion of the second year of the *Philemon Readership in Jung History* at the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London. Sonu Shamdasani, our General Editor who occupies this chair, continues to distinguish himself as a scholar and ambassador of the Philemon Foundation. 🍷 All the while support for the Philemon Foundation is increasing. Among institutional donors, we have been fortunate to receive a grant from a private Swiss Foundation that meets the terms of our Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Matching Grant as well as a second generous grant

from the IAAP specifically for the *ETH Lectures*, and a third unrestricted grant from the Rodel Foundations. Additionally, this issue of *Jung History* is made possible by a generous grant from the Oswald Family Foundation. Balancing these is the generosity of the individual donors who comprise the true core of our support. The best way we know how to thank all who are placing their trust in us is to move ahead with our mission. It is our hope that the wonderful news cited above meets that trust.

JUNG HISTORY

As the reader will see from the front cover, this issue of *Jung History* aims to constellate our eponymous daimon, Philemon. The cover of our first issue carried the Philemon painted by Jung himself; we thought it interesting to bring together a few images from other artists of Philemon and his wife, Baucis. Having more Philemons gracing our cover and pages seems only fitting given the news of the *Red Book's* impending publication and that our first article is a scholarly consideration and contextualization by Sonu Shamdasani of a fascinating letter from Jung to Alice Raphael, one of his analysands and students concerning the figures of Philemon and Baucis. In it he sheds light on Jung's views of Philemon as *artifex*, Goethe's oddly evasive attitude towards Philemon in *Faust II*, the scholarship of Raphael whom Jung encouraged to write *Goethe and the Philosopher's Stone: Symbolical Patterns in 'The Parable' and the Second Part of Faust*, and of course, Jung's own sentiments that "Faust" is his heritage and that he is the "advocate and avenger of Philemon and Baucis."

Forming a pendant to Shamdasani's thoughts about figures from the classical period is an article by Barbara Zipser, classicist and historian from the Wellcome Centre Trust, who has transcribed Jung's *Unpubliziertes Buch* on alchemy. The focus of the manuscript, she reveals, is an extensive amplification of the symbol of the hermaphrodite from world literature and mythology. Zipser explores the fascinating fact that Jung amplified this symbol without the aid of two important classical sources, Hesiod's *Theogony* and Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. And, she

notes too that Jung uses his own, well-known dream about the underground phallus to illustrate the "sudden emergence of previously unconscious structures." In fact, it is believed that this is the first time Jung ever mentions this pivotal dream in print.

Angela Graf-Nold, our senior scholar editor who is directing the *ETH Lectures* project, contributes an article on Jung's professorship at the *ETH*. In it she clarifies how Jung came to return to university lecturing and his reception by the *ETH* and his colleagues. In addition, she elaborates on the historical context of these extensive lectures that not only were eagerly attended by students and public alike, but formed the critical backbone of Jung's important later work. It would appear that the forum of the *ETH* was like an alembic in which Jung could process raw material of his extemporaneous brilliance into the gold of refined psychological understanding. To highlight the imminent publication of Jung's seminar on *Children's Dreams* and to give insight into the process of translating Jung, we are including a presentation delivered by its translator and Philemon scholar editor, Ernst Falzeder, at the inaugural Philemon Foundation Donor Seminar in May, 2006. At that London meeting, Falzeder described the differences between working on Freud and Jung as well as captivating the attendees with insights about how *Children's Dreams* reveals a man different from the Jung of the imposing volumes of the *Collected Works*. The Jung that emerges from the seminar, says Falzeder, is "flesh and blood, witty, impatient, authoritarian sometimes, but also wise and understanding, a teacher and a leader, but also vulnerable, uncertain, fallible, and humble vis-à-vis the great mysteries of life." The year 1916

might rank as a unique period in C. G. Jung's inner journey when he came, most assuredly, face-to-face "with the great mysteries of life." Fortunately he left a record of his experiences in two remarkable documents.

The first, *Seven Sermons to the Dead*, is well known to Jungian readers; but the second, *Systema Mundi totius (The System of All Worlds)*, the first mandala Jung ever created, has remained in the shadows until very recently. In an earlier issue of *Jung History*, Barry



Jeromson succinctly characterized these related pieces by saying that “*Systema* is a psychocosmological model of *Sermons*, while *Sermons* is a poetic elaboration of *Systema*.” In a second article on the *Systema*, Jeromson further explores its possible sources in the varied domains of the mythical, mystical, religious, psychological and even the medical. He demonstrates that, rather than being a later day Gnostic as some have insisted, Jung was a modern explorer of the psyche intrigued by the symbology and insights generated by those whom he regarded as prescient “ancient psychologists of the unconscious.” ♀ The final article in this issue illuminates the influences on Jung of another earlier explorer of the unconscious, the eighteenth century Swedish polymath Emanuel Swedenborg. At first reviewing the deeply inward spiritual life of Swedenborg, Eugene Taylor, historian of psychiatry and psychology, then tracks by way of records of books taken out by Jung from the Basel Library, his evolving interest in Swedenborg and his work. Taylor demonstrates the confluence of interests and ideas shared by these two extraordinary individuals, separated by over a century, as they both sought to understand the nature of the soul.

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A CONCLUDING FEELING

As I read over what is reported above, I must add my personal thanks to all who believe in the mission of the Philemon Foundation. It is a thanks, however, that cannot possibly convey the fullness of my feeling. In some sense, I have been waiting for the *Red Book* since I was 18, when I first read *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* and now, with everyone’s help, that work and so much more is in process. My only regret is that a much loved colleague of Jung, my training analyst, and dear friend, Liliane Frey-Rohn, is not alive to share these pleasures. Nevertheless, it is her spirit that informs both my joy and my determination. I know she would be pleased.

Stephen A. Martin, Psy.D., *President*

the figure
of philemon

WHO IS JUNG'S PHILEMON? AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER TO ALICE RAPHAEL

SONU SHAMDASANI

The figure of Jung's Philemon occupies a nodal position in Jung's 'confrontation with the unconscious' and his significance will emerge more prominently following the publication of Jung's *Red Book*. Amongst the issues which invite reflection are the relations between

Jung's Philemon and the figure in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Goethe's *Faust*.

In later years, Jung explicitly linked his Philemon with the figure in the second part of Goethe's *Faust*.¹ On 5 January 1942, he wrote to Paul Schmitt:

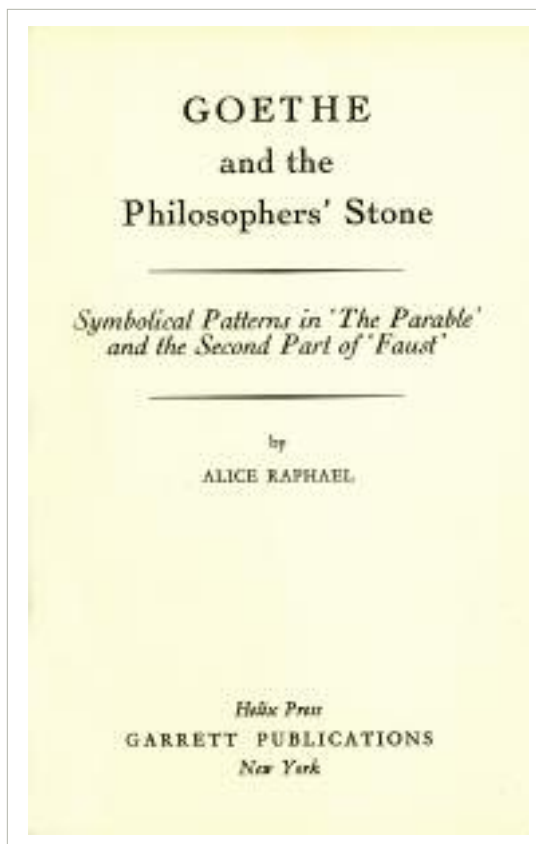
You have hit the mark absolutely: all off a sudden with terror it became clear to me that I have taken over Faust as my heritage, and moreover as the advocate and avenger of Philemon and Baucis, who, unlike Faust the superman, are host of the gods in a ruthless and godforsaken age... I would give the earth to know whether Goethe himself knew why he called the two old people "Philemon" and "Baucis." Faust sinned against these first parents (Φιλήμω² and Baubo). One must have one foot in the grave, though, before one understands this secret properly.³

Here, the Faustian inheritance is redeemed through a movement back to the classical figures of Philemon and Baucis, through Goethe's invocation of them; a movement from Goethe to Ovid.⁴ In *Memories*, Jung recounted:

when Faust, in his hubris and self-inflation, caused the murder of Philemon and Baucis, I felt guilty, quite as if I myself in the past had helped commit the murder of these the two old people. This strange idea alarmed me, and I regarded it as my responsibility to atone for this crime, or to prevent its repetition.⁵

In 1955, Jung discussed the issue of the relation between the figures of Philemon and Baucis in Ovid and Goethe with one of his American students, Alice Raphael.

Alice Raphael (née Eckstein) had been familiar with Jung's writings since 1919, and went to have analysis with him in 1927.⁶ At the completion of her analysis, Jung presented her with a copy of his work, *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Ich und dem*



Unbewussten (The relations between the ego and the unconscious),⁷ with the following inscription in German:

*Heaven above — Heaven below
Aether above — Aether below
Everything above — Everything below
Know all this and free yourself.*

1 Jung, C. G./Aniele Jaffé, (1962). *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, (London, Flamingo, 1983, pp. 261–2.

2 Latin: Philema.

3 C. G. Jung *Letters*, volume 1: 1906–1950, Ed. Gerhard Adler in with Aniela Jaffé, tr. R. F. C. Hull, (Bollingen Series, Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 309–10). See also

Jung to Hermann Keyserling, 2 January 1928, *ibid.*, p. 49.

4 On Ovid's sources, see Alan Griffin, "Philemon and Baucis in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses'", *Greece & Rome*, 38, 1991, pp. 62–74. On Philemon and Baucis in literature, see Manfred Beller, *Philemon und Baucis in der europäischen Literatur*, (Heidelberg, Winter, 1967). On artistic representations, see Wolfgang Stechow, "The Myth of Philemon and Baucis in Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 4, 1940–I, pp. 103–113. On Philemon and Baucis in Goethe and Jung, see Wolfgang Giegerich, "Hospitality towards the gods in an ungodly age: Philemon-Faust-Jung," *Spring: Journal of Archetype and Culture*, 1984, pp. 61–75.

5 *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 260.

6 Information from Alice Raphael, *Goethe and the Philosophers' Stone: Symbolical Patterns in 'The Parable' and the Second Part of 'Faust'*, (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965).

7 (Darmstadt, O. Reichl, 1928).

Tabula Smaragdina.⁸

*In remembrance of joint work in spring 1928.*⁹

In 1930, Alice Raphael published a translation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*.¹⁰ In 1935, whilst



Lucifer, Franz von Stuck, 1890, courtesy of International Foundation, Saints Cyrill and Methodius, Sofia

pondering certain motifs in the second part of *Faust*, she came to the view that it centered around an alchemical problem. The following year, she attended Jung's Bailey Island seminars in Maine. His presentation, in a revised form, became the first part of *Psychology and Alchemy*. At Bailey Island, she had a critical conversation with Jung. As she narrates:

I explained to Dr. Jung that from this day in 1935 I had never lost my conviction concerning the second part of Faust, and he replied:

"But has no one written about this in English?"

"No one to my knowledge; has any one written about this in German?"

Dr. Jung replied, "Only myself."

*We were now sharing an important secret. For an hour Dr. Jung answered my questions and gave freely of his knowledge and wisdom as was his wont when interested. Then, for a little while he was lost in thought before he said: "You have a tremendous task before you."*¹¹

Over the next two decades, she took up the study of the significance of alchemical motifs in the second half of *Faust*. In 1955, she had completed a draft which she wanted to send to Jung. Due to the demands on his time with his eightieth birthday approaching, Jung suggested instead that she send him any specific questions which she had.¹² Alice Raphael's letter to Jung containing her questions has not come to light. Judging by Jung's reply, the first part referred to Goethe's comments to Eckermann concerning the figures of Philemon and Baucis in second part of *Faust*:

*My Philemon and Baucis... have nothing to do with that renowned ancient couple or the tradition connected with them. I gave this couple the names merely to elevate the characters. The persons and relations are similar, and hence the use of the names has a good effect.*¹³

Here follows the text of Jung's reply (the additional notes are mine).

7th June 1955

Dear Mrs. Raphael!

Thank you for your interesting letter, which I will try to answer.

Ad Philemon and Baucis: a typical Goethean answer to Eckermann! trying to conceal his vestiges. Philemon (Φιλεμων¹⁴ = kiss), the loving one, the simple old loving couple, close to the earth and aware of the Gods, the complete opposite to the Superman Faust, the product of the devil. Incidentally: in my tower at Bollingen is a hidden inscription: Philemon sacrum Fausti poenitentia.¹⁵ When I first encountered the archetype of the old wise man, he called himself Philemon.

In Alchemy Ph. and B. represented the artifex or vir sapiens and the soror mystica (Zosimos-Theosebeia, Nicolas Flamel-Péronelle, Mr. South and his daughter in the XIXth Cent.) and the pair in the mutus liber (about 1677).¹⁶ The opus alch. tries to produce the Philosopher's stone sry. with the "homo altus"¹⁷ the ανθρωπος,¹⁸ Hermes or Christ. The risk is, that the artifex becomes identical with the goal of his opus. He becomes inflated and crazy: "multi perierunt in opere nostro."¹⁹ There is a "demon" in the prima materia, that drives people crazy. That's what happened to Faust and incidentally to the German nation. The end was the great conflagration of German cities, where all the simple people burned to death. It will be the death of nations if the H-bombs shall explode. The fire allusions in Faust II are quite sinister: they point to a great conflagration, that leads up to the end of Faust himself. In the thereafter he has to begin life again as a puer and has to learn the true values of love and wisdom, neglected in his earthly existence, whereas the true artifex learns them through and in his opus, avoiding the danger of inflation.

The wanderer in Alch. refers to the peregrination of the artifex (Mich. Majer Symb. Aureae Mensae) through the four quarters of the world (individuation).²⁰ Faust II is a great prophecy of the future anticipated in alch. symbolism. The archetype is always past, present and future.

The puer 1o Knabe Lenker, 2o Homunculus, 3o Euphorion, all three disappear in the fire,²¹ i.e., Faust's own future will be destroyed through the fire of concupiscentia and its madness.

*My best wishes,
yours sincerely,*

C. G. Jung.²²



Memorial Monument to Goethe, Carl Gustav Carus, 1832, Hamburg, Kunsthalle



Self-Portrait with Death Playing the Fiddle, Arnold Böcklin, 1872, courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu, Berlin Nationalgalerie



Thus for Jung, Goethe was an esotericist, simultaneously revealing and concealing his ‘vestiges.’

In her reply of 10 October 1955, Alice Raphael informed Jung that she read his letter to Professor Schreiber, who warmly recalled meeting Jung when he visited the Goethe Museum on the occasion of his Terry lectures at Yale University in 1937. Schreiber’s views were that Goethe’s comments to Eckermann could not be ignored. Raphael commented:

*The concealment, as you put it, ‘of his vestiges’, is based upon the undoubted fact that there was no one, save Schiller, with whom he could have discussed, had he wished to do so, the fact that he was upon an adventurous pilgrimage, during which, as in Italy, many terrific as well as pleasant archetypes must have presented themselves to him. Can one imagine what the result would have been in Weimar in 1803, if Goethe had spoken of his quest of the Philosopher’s Stone? What I have to do, is build a bridge, in regard to the Philemon and Baucis situation, which will sustain your meaning, and yet do no violence to Goethe’s statement.*²³

Her book, *Goethe and the Philosophers’ Stone: Symbolical Patterns in ‘The Parable’ and the Second Part of ‘Faust’* finally appeared in 1965. When treating of this issue there, she simply noted that “one would be tempted to identify” these figures with the classical myth, were it not for Goethe’s comments to Eckermann, which she cited.²⁴ Thus she appears to have been unconvinced by Jung’s argument. More

recently, Albrecht Schöne commented in his commentary to *Faust* that if Eckermann had indeed correctly recalled Goethe’s comments, these appear to have been designed to conceal rather than reveal, as clearly much more was involved than merely a similar name.²⁵ However one views these connections, Jung’s letter does shed light on his understanding of the linkage between these figures, and hence of his own ‘vestiges.’ ✨

8 A citation from the emerald tablet of Hermes Trismegistus.

9 The original copy is in the Speck collection of Yale University Library.

Cited with permission, Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung.

10 (New York, J. Cape & H. Smith, 1930).

11 Alice Raphael, *Goethe and the Philosopher’s Stone*, p. xi.

12 Jung to Alice Raphael, Alice Raphael Papers, 1 April 1955, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

13 6 June 1831, cited in Goethe, *Faust*, tr. W. Arndt, Norton Critical Edition, (New York, 1976, p. 428.)

14 Latin: Philema.

15 Philemon’s sanctuary, Faust’s repentance.

16 Jung makes this point in an expanded form in *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, (1954–5), *CW* 14, § 181, note 317.

17 Old or ancient man.

18 Latin: Anthropos.

19 Many have perished in our work.

20 Cf. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, (1944), *CW* 12, § 457.

21 Cf. *Ibid.*, § 558.

22 Beinecke Library, Yale University, Cited with permission, Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung.

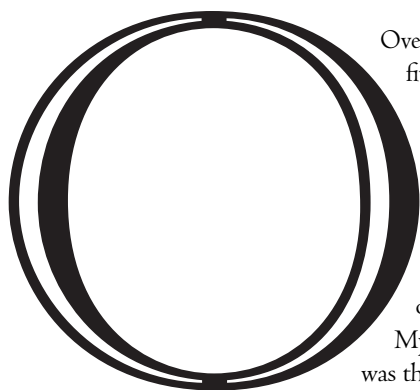
23 Jung archive, ETH.

24 *Goethe and the Philosopher’s Stone*, p. 210.

25 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust. Kommentare von Albrecht Schöne*, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 15, Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994, Frankfurt, p. 711. A similar perspective is taken by Hans Arens, *Kommentar zu Goethes Faust II*, (Heidelberg, Carl Wintre Universitätsverlag, 1989, p. 840).

JUNG'S HERMAPHRODITES AND THE ABSENCE OF OVID

BARBARA ZIPSER



Over a period of five months I worked, in a gap between two projects on medieval medicine, on manuscripts of C.G. Jung. My main task was the collation and transcription of an unpub-

lished (and unfinished) book on alchemy and hermaphrodites (ms. I055:257 ETH). Altogether it is about 180 printed pages long; addenda at the end of the manuscript contain an extensive number of smaller fragments.

Inevitably, not all references between text and addenda match, and it is often difficult to reconstruct where a paragraph was meant to be found. The book is unfinished; Jung moved material from footnotes which he crossed out, to the main text and vice versa, and quite often a few words or even lines of text in different places are identical. Sometimes blocks of text were not only moved but also expanded significantly, which added to the confusion.

However, most editorial uncertainties affect details rather than the overall scope, and the outline of the book is lucid. Its topic is archetypes and their point of origin. Jung argues that many psychological symptoms are in fact a sudden emergence of previously unconscious structures. These he understands to be patterns of thought and understanding which are identical in all humans.

He demonstrates this hypothesis with his own dream of the underground phallus, dreamt when he was three and a half years old. Here, Jung presents the dream anonymously; the “child” dreamt of a meadow with a square hole in it. He walked down a flight of stairs, then he saw a round room with a throne and a strange figure. When he entered the room he heard his mother’s voice warning him of a man-eating monster. Jung adds that years later the “boy” identified the figure as an erect penis.

In the following pages Jung interprets and analyses the dream and points out that the pit is in fact the description of female genitals; and since this is a feature which can be found in myths from several cultural

contexts, the dream proves the existence of archetypal structures which are identical in all humans. He comes to the conclusion that the dream is a description of a *cohabitatio permanens*, a sexual position in which male and female body remain still and finally merge. The result of it could (in modern terms) be called a hermaphrodite.

The rest of the book is a list of mostly mythological examples for joint opposites like male and female. These examples originate from Chinese, Indian, African and native South American sources; but most are Western.

The majority of these Western sources reflect ancient beliefs which of course raises the question of why and when the notion of these joint opposites disappeared in more recent times. Jung then lists a number



Left: *The Fates*, Theodor Baierl, 1920, courtesy of Peter Nahum at The Leicester Galleries, London

Right: *Androgyne and rising spirit*, 16th century, *Spruch der Philosophien*, courtesy of University of Glasgow Library

of lesser known medieval sources, usually alchemical texts, to prove that this archetype lived on to the fifteenth century AD. For this, he relied mostly on secondary literature, which is not very surprising since the sources were not always very well edited. The time-span also reaches from the beginnings to the Renaissance.

The easiest accessible field of study was certainly classical antiquity. Latin and Greek were taught at secondary schools, and, as the manuscript reveals, Jung was fluent enough in both languages to handle original sources without any further difficulty and was familiar with classical literature and mythology from his school days.

From a modern classicist’s point of view, his analysis is diligent and knowledgeable with one exception: several important sources are missing, although we know from other writings that Jung was familiar with them; and this allows us to understand how he selected and grouped material. Sometimes, it is purely common sense. Since his book does not aim to be comprehen-

sive and to list in a lexicon-like manner all material imaginable, it is conceivable that Jung mentions for instance the myth of Attis the priest of Cybele who castrated himself, but not a poem by Catullus (carmen LXIII) as a source, as this has a very literary variant of the story¹. Other texts are more precise and clear in this respect.

The absence of two other works is far more astonishing; one of them is the Hesiodic *Theogony*.² Hesiod is and was a widely read author and qualifies in various ways to be cited by Jung — and Jung actually quotes his *Theogony* elsewhere.³ He is one of the earliest Greek (and therefore also Western) writers preceded only by the Homeric *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Yet in style and content Hesiod is certainly the most archaic. His works



THE MAJORITY OF THESE WESTERN SOURCES REFLECT ANCIENT BELIEFS WHICH OF COURSE RAISES THE QUESTION OF WHY AND WHEN THE NOTION OF THESE JOINT OPPOSITES DISAPPEARED IN MORE RECENT TIMES.

contain a number of myths which cannot be found in any other source, and also some which exist also in Eastern texts. For instance, the account of the ages of mankind in Hesiod's *Works and Days* corresponds to Nebuchadnezzar's dream about the idol with feet of clay and iron in the biblical book of *Daniel*. A direct influence between both texts is rather unlikely, and the similarity is almost certainly caused by a common heritage between East and West, Semitic and Indo-Germanic culture.

The beginning of the *Theogony* (116–136) tells us about the creation of the world starting with Chaos followed by Gaia, the Earth, which then generated Ouranos, the Heaven, on her own. Heaven, a masculine word in the Greek language, and Earth, feminine, then have children.

There would have been an interesting place for this myth in Jung's book, namely where he lists parallels in myths from Polynesia, Tahiti and New Zealand

which tell us a very similar story. Why he just grouped these "Pacific" sources together and left the Western mythology out (and there would have been certainly more occurrences of this motif in other cultural contexts), we are not able to tell.

In another instance we can in fact reconstruct Jung's motives and his lines of thought. Another important text which is strangely omitted in his book — and that is indeed very relevant to the topic — is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a huge epic that starts with the creation of the world and ends at the time it was written, the early first century AD4. It tells the history of the world in a whirl of episodes featuring mythological and historic figures which are elegantly connected and share the *Leitmotiv* of metamorphosis; it is a very polemic work, filled with puns on the emperor Augustus and his "golden" reign.

Although some parts of the *Metamorphoses* were (and are) regarded as suitable to be read at schools, e.g. the story of Daedalus and Icarus, others were (and are still) banned from the curriculum, either because of their sexual innuendo or for their sharp and hardly disguised criticism of authorities.

A central part of the *Metamorphoses* is a sequence of three stories told by old women sitting at home weaving on a religious holiday (IV 1–415). The content of the stories is in sharp contrast to their attitude of old spinsters, and as a punishment for their inappropriate tales the old women are, at the end of the day or rather the night, transformed into bats; they start with the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe (55–166), a love story following the plot that became later on known as "Romeo and Juliet". Only very recent scholarship has dared to decipher (rather obvious) sexual themes in the tale which were overlooked by generations. The text was read at schools and universities as a masterpiece on romantic love in tragic circumstances which had to fail.

Then follows a story (which was, as the subsequent one, certainly not read at school) about Sol, the sun, and his continuous affairs with nymphs (169–270). Again, the life of the gods and especially the sun is at first sight a suitable topic for the conversation; the dilemma the reader sees and which seems to be hidden

1 Cited according to C. Valerii Catulli carmina, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxonii 1958.
2 The commonly used critical edition of the Greek original is Hesiodi Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum, ed. Fr. Solmsen, Fragmenta selecta ed. R. Merkelbach, M.L. West. Third edition, Oxonii 1990. The text has also been translated into a variety of modern languages.





The Legend of Orpheus, Luigi Bonazza, 1905, courtesy of Società SOSAT

from the view of the spinsters is that it is a story of adultery performed by a superior person.

The next story is the one which is relevant to our text; its topic is the hermaphrodite (276–388). In the sequence of the stories, this is the most inappropriate one for the conversations of the old women. It tells us about a nymph, Salmacis, and a young man, who later acquires the name Hermaphroditus; the nymph lives next to a pond. She spots him while he is taking a bath and immediately falls in love with him. Since he does not reciprocate her affections, she rapes him. Both figures merge in the water and become one, half man and half women, and from this time on any man swimming in the pond would lose his virility and become effeminate.

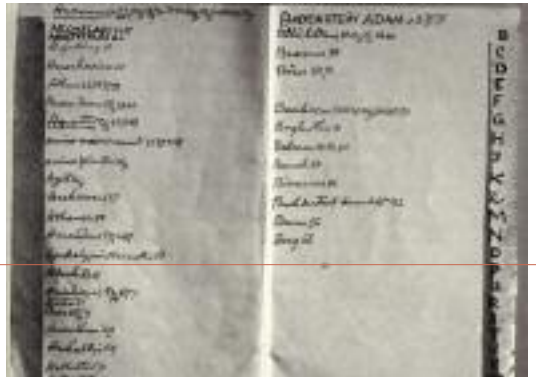
This is the most elaborate account of an hermaphrodite in classical literature, at least if one defines hermaphrodite as a person with both male and female characteristics at equal levels. There are numerous mythological figures which either bear some characteristics of the opposite sex or undergo a complete sex change, like Teiresias who was transformed into a female and then back into a male person⁵. Most of the other ancient evidence of hermaphrodites consists of very short reports, mostly in a historiographical context, and archaeological findings.

The reason however why Jung did not mention the Ovidian tale becomes clearer if one looks at the sources he used, namely Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, an eight-volume lexicon on classical mythology of which he possessed a copy. It is a very good and reliable work which is still in use today, although the first volume dates back to 1884.

The entry "Hermaphroditos" in the first volume (col. 2314–2342) of the lexicon is divided into several subsections and covers literary and archaeological evidence. Roscher divided the textual evidence into two main groups, the earlier and the later version of the myth.

This form of organizing material is typical of nineteenth century secondary literature but is from our modern point of view not entirely justified. For us today, earlier and later are simply criteria of time, so that for instance an earlier text is one hundred years older than another one. Differences in style and content we would rather call archaic as opposed to modern or contemporary.

Back then in nineteenth century, the system was far more complex. Cultures were thought to have an early, a flourishing and a degenerating phase, and innovation



Jung's index of key alchemical concepts with cross-references, courtesy of the Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung

could only take place at a certain point of time. In the case of classical antiquity, even the entire Latin culture was seen as unable to create anything new and original. It was thought that literature, philosophy and arts as such were imported from Greek (the earlier period) to Latin. All the Latin culture did was to re-group, rephrase and to compile content in their own language. And if Latin literature had a different form of a myth than the Greek one, it was just an impure form of the myth, contaminated by later changes.

When Roscher compiled his article on Hermaphroditos, Latin evidence, especially if it had a poetic form, was bound to be later, not original, and so he gave the Ovidian text a place in the chapter on later sources; Jung undoubtedly followed this distinction and did not use the *Metamorphoses*. Whether this was a conscious decision or whether he basically did not follow up the rest of the lexicon entry is another question; he certainly does not cite Latin poetry very often, but the reasons for that might have been the system in his secondary literature mentioned above.

Overall, Jung tends to cite rather obscure and less known texts and briefly mentions others which are certainly more familiar to his audience, as e.g. the Platonic myth about the sphere-shaped ancestors of mankind who were cut in two and lost their other half⁶. Other sources, as Gnostic writings, magical papyri and arcane alchemical writings are dealt with in more detail, most likely because Jung could not expect his audience to be familiar with the texts, and moreover, because this book was clearly intended to be an introduction to his psychological interpretation of alchemy. A study of the references which Jung cited as well as of those which he did not, together with consideration of the presuppositions of the late nineteenth century classical scholarship from which he drew may aid us in understanding how he constructed his work. ✨

3 Jung, *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* (1912), CWB, § 223, § 586.

4 The best complete critical edition of the Latin text is P. Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoses*, ed. W.S. Anderson. Stuttgart/Lipsiae 1993. Again, there are a number of translations into several modern languages; a very clear and readable German translation is Ovid *Metamorphosen*, tr. and comm. M. von Albrecht, München 1994. Jung also cited this in *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*, §449, §535, §681.

5 *Metamorphoses* 316–338.

6 Plato *Symposium* 159 C 2 ff. *Platonis opera* ed. I. Burnet. Vol. 2, Oxonii 1901.

C.G. JUNG'S POSITION AT THE *EIDGENÖSSE HOCHSCHULE ZÜRICH* (*ETH ZÜRICH*): THE TECHNOLOGY, ZÜRICH

ANGELA GRAF-NOLD

Seventy-five years ago, on May 2, 1933, C.G. Jung wrote an informal letter to the president of the *ETH*, the structural engineer and specialist in bridge construction, Prof. Arthur Rohn. On the suggestion of a friend, he wrote that he would like to resume his public lecturing that he had given up twenty years before in 1913. He continued by writing that now he would like to speak not about medical and psychiatric issues, but rather about the subject of modern psychology, a topic not suited for the medical faculty where he had lectured previously. In point of fact Jung was actually requesting that the *ETH* acknowledge his former status as a *Privatdozent* as well as his so-called *venia legendi*, that is, his academic title as lecturer that had been granted at the *University of Zurich* in 1904, but was relinquished in 1913.¹

Prof. Rohn forwarded Jung's application immediately to the *General Department of Optional Courses* (*Allgemeine Abteilung für Freifächer*). The minutes of the general meeting of the *ETH School Council* (*ETH-Schulrat*) that followed on June 24 record that Jung's application was discussed briefly at the end of the meeting and a two person committee from the *General Department*, Fritz Medicus, Professor of Pedagogy, and Eugen Böhrer, Professor of Economy, Finances, and Statistics, as well as a pioneer in Swiss economics, recommended acceptance of Jung's application.

It was decided that Jung was to be informed in writing that his application for lecturing in the field of psychology within the *General Department* of the *ETH* had been accepted, that his status as a *Privatdozent* had been approved by the *ETH*, that he was to start his lectures in the following semester, beginning on October 20, 1933, and finally, that he was required to present an *Inaugural Lecture* (*Antrittsvorlesung*) in order to introduce himself to his colleagues and students.²

At first glance, Jung's decision to affiliate with a so-called technical university creates a puzzling impression given his intellectual and psychological interests. In point of fact however, this decision

brought him to the right place at the right time. Jung's lectures at the *ETH*, and the discussions with both his students and his colleagues, were to be at the center of his intellectual development and lead to the formulation of his late and most significant work.

The *ETH Zurich* was founded in 1855 as a *Federal Polytechnicum*, a school for "advanced studies of the technical sciences and the humanities" by the newly constituted *Swiss Federal State* (*Bundesstaat*) in 1848. The establishment of the *ETH* occurred amidst the context of the industrial revolution and was connected to a national ambition to move Switzerland from an agrarian culture to a state that pioneered modern technology. Originally, the Swiss federal government had plans for a university that encompassed a complete range of academic subjects, but due to the resistance of some cantons in which Catholicism dominated and which fought against the feared predominance of urban Protestant regions such as Berne and Zurich, the range was limited to the above-mentioned subjects.

Nevertheless, the ambitions of the new federal government for this project ran high, and were reflected by the monumental structure of the *Polytechnicum*, designed by the eminent and influential ex-patriot German architect, Gottfried Semper, and situated prominently on a terrace just above the *Alistadt* (*Old City*) of Zurich. Reflective also of these ambitions were the *Polytechnicum's* impressive physical dimensions that surpassed those of any other public building in Zurich and were comparable in magnitude to the *Bundeshaus*, the new Swiss government's central building in its capitol city of Berne. The center of the building is a quadratic court with symmetrical wings on two sides. Nestled between the old city on Lake Zurich and the river Limmat and the new upper quarter of Zurich toward the Zurichberg, the *Polytechnicum's* building contained an axial transverse between these two quarters. The northern façade shows sgraffiti of men of science and art from Aristotle to Michelangelo to James Watt and is adorned with the words: "*It would not have been worth being born without science and the arts.*" (*Non fuerat nasci nisi has scientiae et artes*). Though somewhat controversial in Semper's time, this motto was a reflection of his goal that education not be reduced to mere technical instruction, but should rely upon the broader basis of classical culture.

SSISCHE TECHNISCHE SWISS FEDERAL INSTITUTE OF

At that time, there were two academic institutions in Zurich, the *Polytechnicum* and the *Cantonal University of Zurich*, founded in 1833. In their beginnings, the students of these two institutions shared rooms, facilities, and collections. In 1908 a cantonal referendum in the city and the Canton of Zurich led to the decision to erect a larger, newer building for the *Cantonal University*, to be located just beneath the *Polytechnicum*. This was the occasion for the *Polytechnicum* to reconstitute itself specifically as a “Technical University,” which subsequently resulted in the formalization of the curriculum, and enabled the institution to bestow the title of “doctor.” In 1913, to mark these changes the *Polytechnicum* was renamed *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule* (Swiss Federal Institute of Technology), in the style of technical universities or *Hochschulen* that could be found in other European countries, particularly Germany. Despite this name change the *ETH* is still informally known as the “Poly” throughout Switzerland. This new status of the *ETH* was further reflected in extensive structural extensions and renovations culminating in its gigantic cupola that has become the main entrance of the building that is located side by side with the new *Cantonal University of Zurich*.

In terms of structure, however, the *ETH* remained quite different from that of the old *University of Zurich* and of most other European universities. The *School Council* (*Schulrat*) and the President of the *ETH*, retained far more authority than other academic leaders to make independent decisions concerning appointments and financial matters, thus enabling it to function more like a business than an educational institution.

Jung made his application to the *ETH* at a quite specific historical and political moment. Shortly before Jung’s submission, in January, 1933, Adolph Hitler had become Chancellor of Germany, and the rise of Nazism in that close neighbor was a challenge to the Swiss Federation. At the same meeting of the *ETH School Council* at which Jung’s application was accepted, most of the discussion was about new restrictions imposed upon foreign students, especially those from Germany, by the *Fremdenpolizei* (“the

foreigners police”) of the city of Zurich, the police unit that was responsible for all matters relating to resident aliens. The Cantonal police requested that foreign students no longer be allowed to spend their semester break in Zurich, but rather required that they would have to return immediately to their home countries. Since these restrictions originated on a cantonal, or state level, and not at the level of the Swiss Federal Government, there was some room for discussion. In this context, while the President of the *ETH*, Professor Arthur Rohn protested against this restriction, he nevertheless felt it neces-

sary to post it on the student notice board.³ Rohn obviously felt unsure that he could rely on the support of the Swiss government in this question, and so did not wish to risk challenging the Zurich *Fremdenpolizei*. This pragmatic attitude that also characterized some of his other decisions concerning the employment of German refugees later gave rise to some criticism among historians.



The Main Auditorium, ETH



The Cupola, ETH

1 C.G. Jung, letter to Prof. A. Rohn, May 2nd. 1933, provided by courtesy of U. Hoerni and the Sifting der Werke von C. G. Jung.

2 *ETH-Bibliothek*, Archiv, SR2, Schulratsprotokoll (1933), Nr. 4, June 24th, (1933).

3 *ETH Library Archives*, SR2: Schulratsprotokolle (1933) Nr. 4, June 24, 1933.

Professor Rohn, who headed the *ETH* from 1926 until 1948, was an outspoken proponent of the Swiss political and cultural movement that came to be known as the “spiritual defense of the nation” (*geistige Landesverteidigung* or *défense spirituelle*). It was a movement that began after WWI springing from several sources and founded on the conviction that democratic achievements could be preserved not only by military force, but also by the conscious recognition and strengthening of national cultural values in times of peace. As late as in December, 1938, the Swiss Federal Government made a public “cultural declaration” of these values whose main points were (1) the strong affiliation of the three European cultural regions that comprised the Swiss Confederation (French, German, and Italian), (2) the public acknowledgement and acceptance of cultural diversity, (3) the “federal” (*bündisch*) character of democracy, and (4) reverence for the dignity and freedom of all human beings. According to Rohn and others who agreed with him, these values were to be defended by every single citizen, not only by the state.

Rohn’s ceaseless activities to strengthen the “cultural education” of the *ETH* students and to establish international und inter-institutional collaboration among several departments were designed to support these values, as was his attempt to establish a National Fund for basic research in all disciplines, a goal realized some years after his retirement.

The 1939 *Swiss National Exposition* (*Landesaustellung*) that took place in Zurich was designed to celebrate and underscore the principles

of the “spiritual defense of the nation.”

Accomplishing that and more, the combination of traditional patriotic and national values with modern technical progress, along with introduction of the modern stylistic *ethos* of simplicity and flexibility that characterized the *Landesaustellung*, proved incredibly popular and was to have a long lasting impact on Swiss identity. As any visitor to contemporary Switzerland would attest, visible in this small

country that protects and cherishes its traditional heritage in the form of its architecture, customs and national identity, is a commitment to the highest standards of the modern style and technological and scientific advancements. The *ETH* played a predominant role in the successful realization of the *Landesaustellung*. Most of its departments contributed examples of outstanding achievements; the Department of Geology, for example, installed a relief of Switzerland with a mythical mountain route (*Höhenweg*) through the whole country; the *ETH* physicist Paul Scherrer put on a display of a true technological marvel, the first European “*tensator*” or

particle accelerator; the Department of Electro-technology contributed a cutting-edge prototype of a “television apparatus”; and the Department for Machine Construction presented an ultra high-speed railway.⁴

From the beginning, C.G. Jung was a highly esteemed and well-integrated member of the academic staff of the *ETH*, among whom he had many personal friends. The friend who had encouraged Jung to apply at the *ETH* in the first place, Hans Eduard Fierz, was a Professor of Chemistry there.



Jung speaks at the Paracelsus commemorative in Einsiedeln in 1941



FROM THE BEGINNING, C. G. JUNG WAS A HIGHLY ESTEEMED AND WELL-INTEGRATED MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIC STAFF OF THE *ETH*, AMONG WHOM HE HAD MANY PERSONAL FRIENDS.

He was the husband of Linda Fierz-David, a close friend of Jung and an active member of the Zurich *Psychological Club* that had been started by Jung some time before. It was with Fierz in the late 1920s that Jung had travelled through the Middle East. Jung also had a special relationship to Arthur Rohn, the *ETH* President; Rohn's daughter, Liliane Frey-Rohn, was a former patient, as well as a student of Analytical Psychology and a scientifically active member of the *Psychological Club*. Liliane Frey-Rohn was Jung's assistant in his famous research into the concept of synchronicity. Another personal friend, patient, and colleague, present in Jung's life before his affiliation with the *ETH*, was Wolfgang Pauli, the Nobel Prize winning theoretical physicist. It was with him that Jung would later engage in a highly personal but wide ranging scientific and critical discussion about the nature of the psyche that had a major impact on Jung's formulation of the principle of synchronicity. The most remarkable fact, however, is that it was Eugen Böhler, Professor of Economics and one of the two faculty members of the *ETH* who had recommended Jung's appointment, about whom Jung made the "sweeping statement" (in English in the original) that he was the *first* in Switzerland "who actually immersed himself seriously in my psychology."⁵ Böhler stayed in touch with Jung until the latter's death and speaking on behalf of the *ETH* at Jung's funeral in June, 1961, he eulogized Jung as an eminent humanist and natural scientist, who, often living against the current of the *Zeitgeist*, had made essential contributions to both disciplines with his investigations of the human soul and consciousness.

When Jung began to lecture on October 20, 1933, there were more than 500 people in attendance, an astonishing number. The total student body of the *ETH* was, at the time, about 2,000 students. Although no actual attendance list exists, it is presumed that the audience was composed of mainly three groups of generally equal proportion: interested citizens from Zurich who were required to register as "guest listeners," patients and students from the *Psychological Club* who had to do likewise, and matriculating students and faculty of the *ETH*. Jung gave his official *Inaugural Lecture* about half a year later, on May 4, 1934, and in January, 1935, he was appointed

"professor" after an application had been formally presented by some of his colleagues.

In his first lecture in October, 1933, Jung emphasized the supra-national, intercultural, and general character of his approach to psychology. Referring to his former lectures at the *University of Zurich* from 1904–13, he explained that he had stopped lecturing after he had realized the limitation of his psychological knowledge. He wrote: "I then retreated and travelled around the world, because the Archimedean point is simply missing in our own sphere," and continued by saying, "I do not intend to deal with specific doctrines, but I want to draw a picture that is based on immediate experience, and to show you the development of modern psychological ideas."⁶

In his official *Inaugural Lecture* in May, 1934, Jung specified that, at the end of his tenure at the *University of Zurich* in 1913, he had realized that the medical and psychiatric approach to neuropsychology offered limited insight into the essence of the ill psyche. "It seemed to me as if it were necessary to go back deep into the history of consciousness in order to get a general idea of the essence of the psyche, and also as if it were necessary to enter into the broadness of human experience to correct the limitedness of one's own standpoint."⁷

The significance and relevance of this radical empirical approach to psychology as a basis for science and culture, which Jung developed during his thirteen courses at the *ETH* from 1933 to 1941, remains still to be fully appreciated and is the focus of the current reconstruction of these lectures funded by the Philemon Foundation. ✱

4 Burri, M: *Testfall Geistige Landesverteidigung*, in: *ETHistory* 1855–2005. Baden 2005, p. 38;

And: www.ethistory.ethz.ch (August 18, 2007).

5 C.G Jung-Eugen Böhler. *Eine Begegnung in Briefen*. Zürich: vdf Hochschulverlag an der *ETH*, S. 98

6 *ETH_Archiv* Hs 1068/ 1, p. 1. Cited with permission, Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung.

7 C.G. Jung, *Allgemeines zur Komplextheorie, Antrittsvorlesung*. Aarau: Sauerländer 1934 (CW 8), pp. 109–123.

TRANSLATING JUNG¹

ERNST FALZEDER

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear friends and colleagues,
It is a great pleasure and an honor to be here in London for the first Philemon Foundation Donor Seminar. In particular, I would like to thank Steve Martin, President of the Philemon Foundation and Sonu Shamdasani, its General Editor, who organized this meeting and invited me to come. I would like to say only a few words about what I find unique in the seminars on children's dreams, about the particular challenges they pose to a translator, and also some words about my own experiences and feelings in doing that work.

Five of Jung's seminars have been published so far: the seminar of 1925 (in which Jung gives an account of the development of his work, and thus a very important seminar), the seminar on dream analysis (essentially one case history), on *Zarathustra* (focusing on symbolism), on visions (another case history focusing on active imagination), and the seminar on Kundalini Yoga, edited and with an excellent introduction by Sonu Shamdasani (1996), actually the first attempt at a critical, historical edition.

Now, what distinguishes the seminar on children's dreams? What strikes one immediately is the extremely broad spectrum of topics and fields touched upon. This, of course, is greatly due to the kind of material used — infantile dreams as remembered by adults, to which associations were no longer available — and Jung's method of amplification. Some seminars are like a tour de force, starting with a dream text of sometimes no more than two lines, which lead to a long discussion that touches on just about everything: psychology, medicine, psychiatry, religion, philosophy, logic, linguistics, alchemy, ethnology, politics, everyday experiences and personal

memories, psychotherapy, ancient history, folklore, throwing in quotes and crypto-quotes from Goethe, the *Bible*, the *Gilgamesh Epic*, alchemical texts, Hermetic philosophy, the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, the *I Ching*, and so on and on. One cannot but be impressed by the utter ease and the truly impressive knowledge with which Jung moves between all these fields, while never losing sight of the starting point, the actual dream. He could also count on a well-informed audience, well-versed in the classics. In addition, he used the occasion to demonstrate and explain, on the basis of the dream material, central notions of his theory, to lead the participants to a deeper understanding of these concepts — the collective unconscious, archetypes, animus and anima, shadow, etc. — and to discuss how they could be used in a clinical setting, thus turning these seminars into a kind of group supervision, probably the most detailed account of such supervision by Jung that we have.

Obviously, this is a challenge for both the reader and the translator. Most of us no longer have that kind of humanistic, classical education that Jung could take for granted in the participants of the seminar. Also, there are countless references to areas not covered by that kind of knowledge. As a result, my task became a twofold one: Apart from the actual translation, I tried to give additional information in footnotes, which should enable the reader to follow the text without skipping over some passages or doing research of his or her own. Let me give you but one example. At one point Jung stresses the importance for parents not to burden their children with their own problems, "otherwise the children would have to lead a life that is simply impossible. They are forced to do dreadful things, which are not in their nature at all, but have been taken over from the parents. When we study the history of a family, and investigate the relations between parents and children, we can often see the red thread of fate." And he adds: "Sometimes there is more than one curse on the house of Atreus in a family." Now, honestly, how many of us know, off the top of our heads, to what Jung is alluding here? How many of us would have tended to simply read over that fleeting reference? And how many of us would have consequently missed Jung's insistence on the truly terrible consequences such a behavior might have?



Children's Dreams



Spring, Ludwig von Hofmann, 1895, courtesy of Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Atreus, the king of Mycenae, had a brother, Thyestes, who bitterly resented Atreus' kingship. Thyestes seduced his brother's wife, and in revenge, Atreus invited Thyestes to a "reconciliation dinner," during which Atreus served a stew whose main ingredient was the flesh of Thyestes' own sons. After Thyestes found out what Atreus had done, he pronounced a terrible curse on the house of Atreus — that generation after generation of family members would destroy each other.

I am not a Jung specialist. As somebody once said, it takes some seven years to get at least an overview of a particular field in science, and I'm still a bit short of that. My main area of expertise is Freud scholarship and the history of psychoanalysis, and I underwent a classical Freudian training analysis. I know much more about Freud than I do about Jung. Unlike other "echt" Freudians, however, I've read my Jung, and I had another analysis with a Jungian. So, in translating Jung, I involuntarily compared the two as regards content and language.

Now this is a wide field, some might even say a mine field. So here let me just confine myself to saying that I was struck by what one could call two trends in Jungian and Freudian circles in the late 1930s. Freudians were more and more preoccupied with so-called ego psychology, mechanisms of defense against the unconscious (see Anna Freud's seminal work [1936]), on adaptation, even "conflict-free zones in the ego," as Heinz Hartmann called them (1939). In Freud's later works, you

won't find many references to what he had started out with: everyday phenomena such as dreams (which he had called the *via regia* into the unconscious), slips of the tongue, jokes, and actual sex. The focus is on metapsychology, cultural theory, psychology of religion, social psychology, etc. Jung, on the other hand, seems to have delved even deeper into the unconscious forces, past the defenses that the Freudians so extensively studied. This is particularly evident in the case of children's dreams, which Freud had dismissed as simple, as "dreams in which there was no distortion or only a very little... They are short, clear, coherent, easy to understand and unambiguous" (1916–17, p. 126).

This is clearly not Jung's standpoint, at least as far as "big" dreams are concerned. Another important difference is, in my opinion, that Jung sees the dream as a whole, as a miniature drama complete with introduction, exposition, peripeteia, and lysis, and does not dissect it into its single components, to each of which the dreamer then has to free associate. Free association, as Jung sees it, will always lead you to your complexes, in fact, you could associate to just anything to arrive there, but it will not reveal the secret of that particular dream.

On the linguistic level, I have done a few Freud translations, in particular, I supervised the translation into English of the Freud/Abraham correspondence (2002), which I edited. For a translator, Freud is a tough nut to crack. His German reads very well, is fluent and idiomatic; I think there is no

doubt that he was one of the great writers of the 20th century. But this seemingly effortless fluency, this deceptive simplicity, is precisely the trap into which both reader and translator are in danger of falling. Jung, on the other hand, and I say this at the risk of hurting some feelings, was not a good writer. I have to confess that I have always had trouble in reading him. He does tend to nearly overwhelm the reader with a wealth of information in a sometimes convoluted presentation so that I, for one, often have difficulty not getting lost in the details. It is also sometimes difficult, and again I am only speaking for myself, to grasp what he actually means or is driving at.

Here is where the seminars on children's dreams come in. Here we are presented, not with the end product of a long thought process and experience, but with the actual process of thinking, arguing, exemplifying, reflecting, and explaining, all this in a vivid exchange with others. Here Jung comes through so much more directly, so much more understandably, than in his written works. Here he tells tales of his childhood and his school days, of friends and colleagues, of his travels to America, Asia, and Africa, of his puritan aunt, and of seeing his father naked. Here he is a man of flesh and blood, witty, impatient, authoritarian sometimes, but also wise and understanding, a teacher and a leader, but also vulnerable, uncertain, fallible, and humble vis-à-vis the great mysteries of life. For me it was not only a great pleasure to work with this text, but also an exciting adventure. When Jung asked a question, for instance, I often tried to answer it before reading on. I won't tell you how often I got it wrong, but it definitely was a learning experience.

I think everybody interested in history, psychology, medicine, religion, philosophy, everybody interested in the *conditio humana*, is indebted to the Philemon Foundation and its donors for making this important text accessible to the English speaking public. I can only hope that future readers will get the same thrill and profit out of it as I have. ✨

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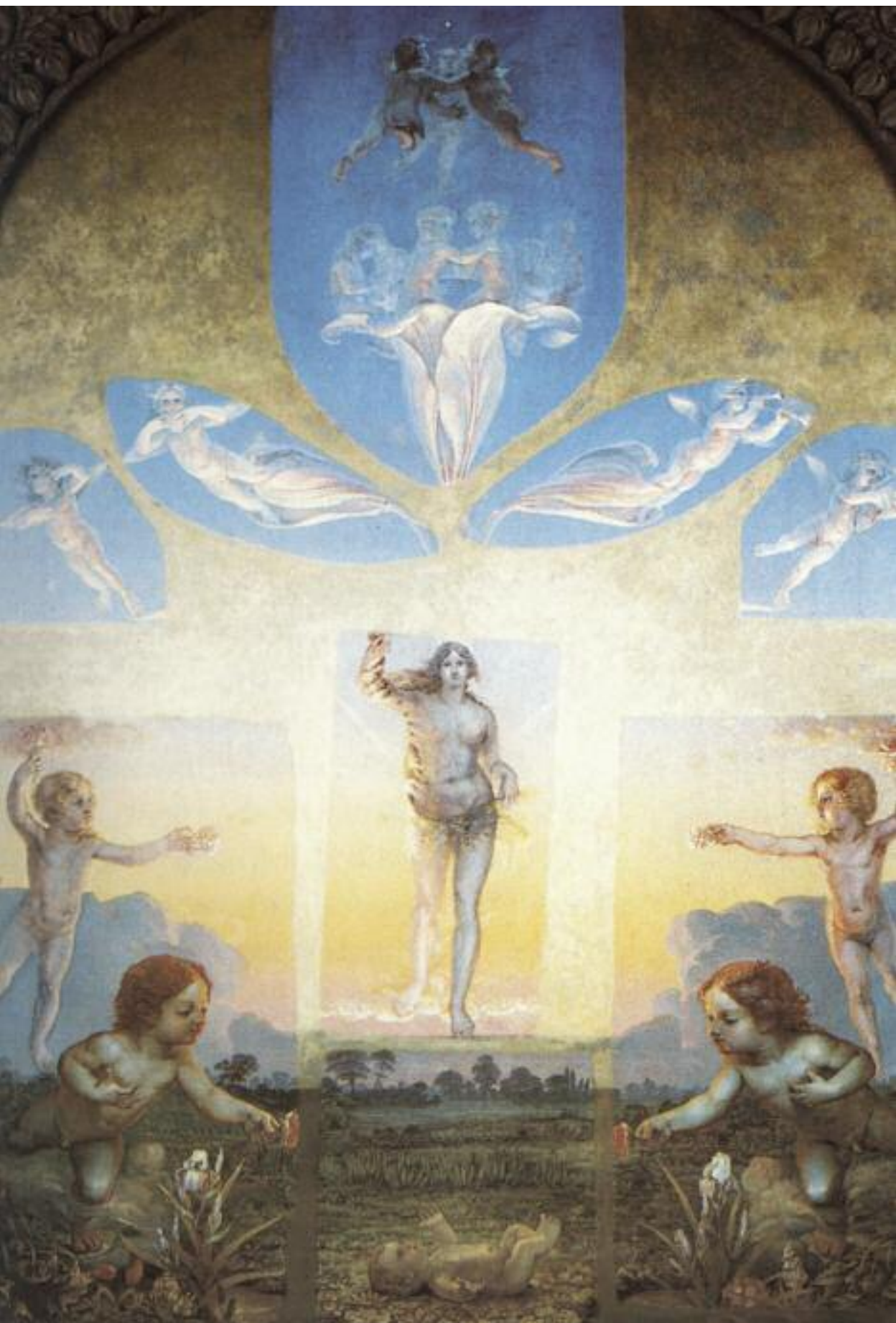
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THE SOURCES OF *SYSTEMA MUNDITOTIUS*: MANDALAS, MYTHS AND A MISINTERPRETATION

BARRY JEROMSON

THE GENESIS OF JUNG'S FIRST MANDALA: UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

This is the second in a series of articles that amplify and probe Jung's first mandala, *Systema munditotius* (*The system of all worlds*, pictured). The first article, which appeared in *Volume 1, Issue 2* of

this journal, established an intimate link between *Systema* and Jung's enigmatic, so-called Gnostic tract, *Seven sermons to the dead*, both completed in 1916.¹ However, the question of where *Systema* came from was left unanswered. What led Jung to draw this symbol when he did? From where did it spring? The purpose of this article is to address these questions of the genesis of *Systema munditotius*.

But in tracing the sources of *Systema* through some of Jung's earliest writings and literature that influenced him prior to 1916 — medical, mystical, mythical, psychological and religious — another question emerges. It results also from the intimate link between *Systema* and *Seven sermons*. It concerns the widely held view that *Seven sermons to the dead* marked Jung as a modern descendant of the Gnostics of antiquity.² Is this view a misinterpretation of these works?

SYSTEMA AND SEVEN SERMONS CONJOINED

Preliminary sketches for *Systema munditotius* occurred just before Jung wrote *Seven sermons*.³ My previous article concluded that *Systema* is a psychocosmological model of *Sermons*, while *Sermons* is a poetic elaboration of the symbolism of *Systema*.⁴ Combined, the two might be seen as mediating Jung's confrontation with the unconscious. At the time, Jung was exploring waking fantasies, a process he later called active imagination. Evidence linking *Systema* and *Sermons* suggests that the former was a gateway to a psychic experience resembling a poltergeist visitation in Jung's home, which he then worked out in the writing of *Sermons*.

MANDALAS, DREAMS AND A LONG GESTATION

Mandalas are integral to Jung's later psychological writings. In Jungian analysis, the appearance of

the mandala in the analysand's dreams is a gradual evolution, occurring at an advanced stage of the process. It may begin life as something only vaguely circular.⁵ It heralds the emergence into awareness of that deeper psychic centre which Jung called the Self. From 1929, after a self-imposed mandala moratorium, Jung's writings contained a rich collection of mandala descriptions, illustrations and analogies.⁶

Jung's own mandala dreams are recorded in *Memories*.⁷ Yet *Systema* appeared prior to those dreams, unannounced and perfectly formed. The impression created in *Memories* is that this symbol arrived almost mysteriously, without warning, demanding to be drawn.

However, *Systema* did not just drop out of the blue. It had a history. Jung's contact with mandalas — fourfold circular symbols as a focus for meditation



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or appearing in dreams and visions — is traceable for more than two decades prior to the emergence of *Systema*. His first mandala had a long gestation.

THE MACROCOSM IN THE ZOFINGIA LECTURES

In Jung's earliest published works, the *Zofingia lectures*,⁸ we catch glimpses of circular psychocosmological symbols. In the fourth lecture, Jung reflects on the existence of an infinite number of worlds relating to each other 'like concentric and eccentric circles'.⁹ Jung's circular worlds are occupied by species with

increasingly complex sensory systems as one moves outwards from the centre. Ultimately, the world of man is reached, contained in turn within the Kantian world of the noumena or things in themselves. There are clear similarities with *Systema*. In both cases, the universe is an infinity of nested spheres, heaven outermost. In *Systema*, Kant's noumenal world becomes the Gnostic pleroma, while the world of man becomes *corpus humanum* (the human body).

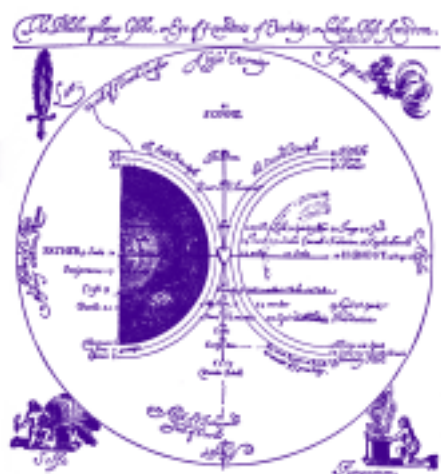
Jung emphasises that the noumenal and phenomenal worlds are not distinct. 'All,' declares Jung, 'is one.' In other words, Jung was describing a macrocosm/microcosm represented by concentric spheres. This is an early Jungian expression of the theme of circular wholeness, which permeates his later works.

The horizontal axis links the Father and the Holy Ghost. The vertical axis links the Son and the Earth or Earth Man. Jung identified the theme of back-to-back semicircles as Boehme's recognition of a split God.¹⁴ In keeping with his pre-1930 mandala silence, Jung did not refer to the mandala pictured here until 1934. However, as the quote from *Zofingia* 4 shows, Jung was aware in 1899 of some connection between mandala symbols and deeply psychic phenomena — Boehme's mystical experiences.

JUNG'S DOCTORAL DISSERTATION AND THE 'PRIMARY FORCE'

Three years later, in 1902, a mandala appears in Jung's doctoral dissertation.¹⁵ This work is a psychological analysis of multiple personalities manifest in the trances of a medium conducting séances in which Jung participated prior to 1900.¹⁶

Jung records that in March, 1900, the medium approached him with a piece of paper on which she had written numerous names in response to messages from her spirits. She asked Jung to draw a



THE PROFOUND AND OBSCURE IMAGES OF JAKOB BOEHME

Also in lecture 4 of the *Zofingia* series, Jung quotes the Christian mystic Jakob Boehme.¹⁰ Then in lecture 5, he talks of mystical union with Christ through the 'profound and obscure images of a Jakob Boehme'.¹¹

According to Manly Hall, Boehme's works contain many descriptions of ornate mandalas.¹² Jung reproduced one of Boehme's 'profound and obscure images' many years later in a study of the role of mandalas in the process of individuation (pictured).¹³

1 Jeromson, B. J., 'Systema munditotius and Seven sermons: symbolic collaborators in Jung's confrontation with the dead', *Jung History*, vol. 1, issue 2, winter 2005–2006, pp. 6–10.

2 'Gnostic' refers to religious sects that proliferated in the Eastern Mediterranean region before and during the early Christian period up to circa 300 AD. They all emphasised 'gnosis' or deep spiritual insight attainable by the individual unmediated by priests. Orthodox Christianity came to regard the Gnostics as heretics (see, for example, Layton, B., *The Gnostic scriptures*, SCM Press Ltd, London, 1987; Rudolph, K., *Gnosis*, Harper and Row, San Francisco, 1987).

3 Shamdassani, S., E-mail message, 8 April 2004.

4 Jung described *Sermons* as a poem perpetrated as a sin of his youth (CW 18, para. 1501).

5 See, for example, CW 12, para. 52, where a round hat is the first manifestation of a mandala in a dream series.

6 While Jung drew and dreamt about mandalas from 1916, he claimed to have neither lectured nor written about them before 1929, so as 'not to prejudice [his] observations' (CW 12, para. 126). This silence was broken in 1929 in his 'Commentary on the secret of the golden flower' (CW 13, para's 31–45).

7 Jaffé, A. & Jung, C. G., *Memories, dreams, reflections*, Vintage Books, New York, 1989.

8 Lectures given by Jung to his student fraternity, the Zofingia Society (1896–1899). Now published as Supplementary Volume A of the Collected Works (CW A).

9 CW A, para. 197.

10 Ibid., para. 202.

11 Ibid., para. 289.

12 Hall, Manly P., *Meditation symbols in Eastern and Western mysticism: mysteries of the mandala*, Philosophical Research Society, Los Angeles, 1988, pp. 209ff.

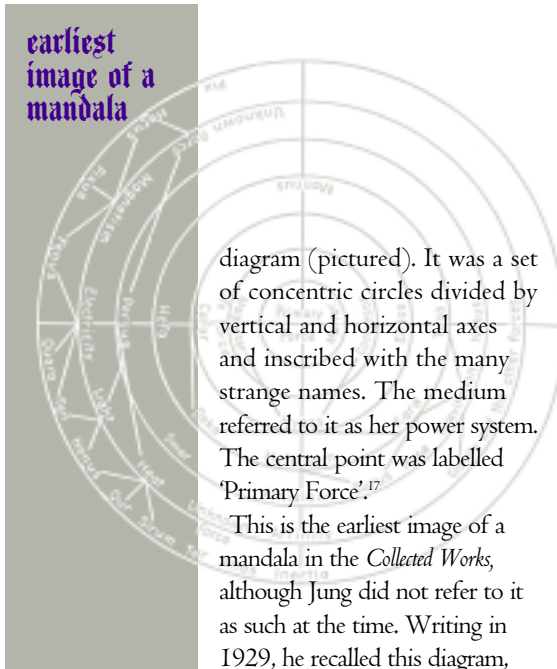
13 CW 9i, para. 535, fig. 1.

14 *Memories*, p. 334.

15 CW I, para's 1–150.

16 Jung's dissertation gives his participation in the seances as 1899–1900 (CW I, para. 36). The 1925 seminar gives the date as 1896 (Maguire, W. (Ed.), *Analytical psychology: notes on the seminar given in 1925 by C. G. Jung*, Bollingen Series XCIX, Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 3).

17 CW I, para. 66.



sonnambulist.¹⁸ He compared the medium's primary force with the white light of the Tibetan Buddhist Bardo and the unity of the Tao.¹⁹ However in 1902, following his mentor Theodore Flournoy, Jung's best explanation for the source of this symbol is cryptomnesia, the emergence into consciousness of a memory-image detached from the event that triggered the memory.

Jung speculates on possible sources of his subject's mandala. He puts the origin of the circle down to forgotten memories of maps in school atlases. In his conclusion, Jung acknowledges searching occult and Gnostic literature for possible sources of his subject's symbolism.²⁰ He records finding *many parallels* (my emphasis), but rejects these as inaccessible to her, ruling them out as sources of cryptomnesia. At this stage, Jung gives no indication of being aware of a psychodynamic that unconsciously organises and structures such trancelike or dreamlike systems as mandalas. But the seed of their psychic significance is sown.

QUATERNITIES IN TRANSFORMATIONS AND SYMBOLS OF THE LIBIDO

We move on now to 1912 and Jung's major work, *Wandlungen und symbole der libido* (*Transformations and symbols of the libido*).²¹ Here, Jung extends Freud's narrow sexual definition of the libido to a more general psychic energy. His comparative method hinges on an extended case study where he draws analogies between symbols that arose in fantasies experienced by the subject of this work, Miss Frank Miller, and those of ancient mythologies and religions.

Throughout *Transformations*, mandalas are neither pictured nor referred to by name. This is not sur-

prising. At this stage, Jung's concept of the Self, symbolised by a circular quaternity, had yet to emerge. And when it did, as we saw above, Jung remained silent about it until 1929. Yet the persistent seeker will find many verbal descriptions of symbols that qualify as mandalas. Several examples follow.

In a long discussion of sun symbolism in *The song of the moth*, Jung reflects on the two-sidedness of the sun, both as a power that beautifies and as a destroyer. He compares it with a similar two-sidedness in the libido symbolised by a moth flying too close to the flame of passion and burning its wings. This discussion is amplified in a footnote containing a circular quaternity:

*The pictures in the Catacombs contain much symbolism of the sun. The swastika cross, for example — a well-known image of the sun, wheel of the sun, or the sun's feet — is found*²²

In *The battle for deliverance*, Jung explores the two-sidedness of the libido implicit in the hero's struggle to break free from the mother, while at the same time being drawn back by love for the mother. The love for the mother is symbolised as a cross to be borne. Jung's amplification includes two successive footnotes, both containing quaternities:

*The cross of Hercules might well be the sun's wheel, for which the Greeks had the symbol of the cross. The sun's wheel on the bas-relief in the small metropolis at Athens contains a cross that is very similar to the Maltese cross.*²³

*The Greek myth of Ixion, who was bound to the 'four-spoked wheel' (plunged him into the underworld) (a wheel continually whirled around by the wind.*²⁴

For Jung, Ixion symbolises humanity tied to the wheel of existence and buffeted by the winds of nature. References to 'heaven' and 'the underworld' in these passages echo notions of the deep unconscious.

An example from 'The dual mother role' is a quote from *The song of Hiawatha*:

*As an egg, with points projecting
To the four winds of the heaven
Everywhere is the Great Spirit
Was the meaning of this symbol.*²⁵

Jung compares this passage with the libido striving outwards from the mother into the world. At the same time, the egg as cosmic woman with child symbolises regression back towards the mother. Once again, the libido is divided.

Also in ‘*The battle for deliverance from the mother*’, Jung discusses the libido symbolism of the horse. The horse’s foot as phallus is transformed into the horse as symbol of fire and light. He amplifies this theme further:

*The supreme God always drives his chariot in a circle. Four horses are harnessed to the chariot (This is a representation of the rotary fire of heaven) The horses also represent the four elements.*²⁶

Jung interprets this fourfold circularity as a symbol of time and compares it with mythologies of the reunification of a divided divinity. In other words, it has an aspect of wholeness typical of his later descriptions of mandalas.

Jung’s association of quaternary symbols with bifurcation and reunification of the libido calls to mind the assertion in my first article of a similar dynamic operating in *Systema*. The primal libido represented by the androgynous Phanes in the cosmic egg moves downward, dividing into the opposites on the horizontal axis. Subsequently, the split is resolved in the Abraxas symbol.²⁷ Examples in *Transformations* of quaternities with similar dynamics lay the groundwork for Jung’s later development of these themes in *Systema*.

Apart from these verbal descriptions of quaternities, *Transformations* contains references to other mythical symbols that appear in *Systema*: Phanes, the child in the winged egg; the tree of life; the sun god; positive and negative aspects of the phallus; the phallus as snake; and the heavenly mother.²⁸ And of course the interplay of sexual and spiritual symbols that underpins the whole of *Transformations* figures in both *Systema* and *Sermons*. Jung’s sources of such symbols and myths are breathtakingly wide-ranging and include Mithraism, Greek mystery religions, The Hindu *Upanishads*, Polynesia, Christianity and Ancient Egypt.

JUNG’S Gnostic SOURCES

Systema and *Sermons* also contain Gnostic elements. Jung wrote *Sermons* under the pseudonym Basilides of Alexandria, a Gnostic leader of the second century

AD. *Sermons* features such typically Gnostic themes as the pleroma, the ‘divine spark’ or star/sun within, Sophia as dove, and a dualist view of the divinity. Both works are dominated by the mythical Abraxas (pictured). In *Systema*, Abraxas oversees the whole from the bottom of the outer circle. He is labelled in Latin as Abraxas *dominus mundi* (lord of the world). In *Sermons*, Jung



describes Abraxas as terrible and as standing above the sun god and the devil. All these aspects are dealt with at length in my first article. How, though, did these themes arise in Jung?

Jung’s references to his Gnostic sources prior to 1912 are vague or nonexistent. As we saw above, Gnostic systems are mentioned, but not identified, at the end of his 1902 doctoral dissertation. In *Memories* Jung is recorded as reading unnamed Gnostic writers in his attempts to interpret his 1909 dream of finding two skulls in the basement of an ancient house.²⁹ Jung mentions the Gnostics fleetingly in a letter to Freud in August 1911.³⁰ But who were Jung’s Gnostic sources?

An obvious starting point for answers to this question is *Transformations*, with all its ancient mythical and religious themes. *Transformations* is poorly indexed; it contains no bibliography, and Gnostic references are sparse. However, a painstaking search unearths glimpses of potential Gnostic sources prior to 1912.

Sprinkled throughout *Transformations* are references to scholarly works by a group of European historians of religion from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The group includes Wilhelm Bousset, Franz Cumont, Albrecht

18 CW 13, para. 31n.

19 Ibid., para. 37.

20 Ibid., para. 149.

21 First published in English in 1916 as *Psychology of the unconscious: a study of the transformations and symbolisms of the libido*, and now Supplementary Volume B of the Collected Works (CW B).

22 Ibid., para. 185n58.

23 Ibid., para. 470n45.

24 Ibid., para. 470n46.

25 Ibid., para. 560.

26 Ibid., para. 430.

27 Jeromson, op. cit., p. 10.

28 For Phanes, see CW B, para. 223. The remaining symbols are indexed, CW B, pp. 425ff.

29 *Memories*, p. 162.

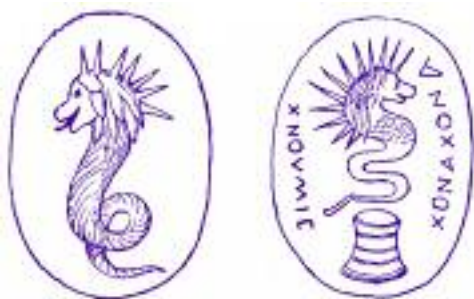
30 Maguire, W. (Ed.), *The Freud/Jung letters*, Penguin Books, London, 1991, p. 235.

Dieterich, Hermann Gunkel, Richard Reitzenstein and Hermann Usener, all of whom addressed to varying degrees the place of gnosis or the Gnostics in the history of Christianity.³¹

Jung cites Reitzenstein's 1910 study of Hellenistic mystery religions, for example, in a discussion of the interplay of sexuality and religion.³² This is a major theme of both *Systema* and *Sermons*. Reitzenstein's work also contains a comparative study of the concept of gnosis.³³ In addition, it draws on the writings of the Gnostic sect, the Naassenes, the subjects of Jung's much later analysis in *Aion*.³⁴

Usener's study of the origins of Christmas³⁵ also deserves mention. The reference to it in *Transformations* concerns sun worship, symbolised in *Systema* as the *deus sol* (sun god). Of greater interest, though, is that Basilides appears in this work. Usener argues that the festival of the Epiphany entered mainstream Christianity by way of the Basilidian Gnostics.³⁶

Outside this group, but potentially significant, is the Theosophist G. R. S. Mead. Jung cites Mead's 1907 *Mithraic ritual in transformations*.³⁷ This invites speculation on whether he also read Mead's 1900 *Fragments of a faith forgotten* before 1916.³⁸ This review of Gnostic writings contains an extensive chapter on Basilides, in which Mead examines critically the role of Abraxas in Basilidian gnosis.³⁹ Jung refers to *Fragments* later in the *Collected Works*, but this is to the 1931 third edition.⁴⁰



Another possible Jung source on Basilides is Charles King's *The Gnostics and their remains*.⁴¹ The 1864 first edition of this work was in Jung's library on the occasion of the 1925 seminar.⁴² Jung refers to it in his first (1921/1923) edition of *Psychological*

types.⁴³ King's survey contains extensive material on Basilides and a set of illustrations of talismanic Gnostic gemstones, some of which depict Abraxas-like figures. Jung reproduced several of these much later in *Psychology and alchemy* (pictured).⁴⁴

Amid all these sources, actual or potential, Albrecht Dieterich stands out. Dieterich's analysis of a Mithraic liturgy⁴⁵ is cited often in *Transformations* and elsewhere in the *Collected Works*. This was the source of the myth of the solar phallus, seen by Jung as primary evidence for his formulation of the collective unconscious.⁴⁶

Of singular importance is Dieterich's 1891 study of Abraxas.⁴⁷ Jung cites this work in *Transformations*.⁴⁸ Dieterich's description of Basilidian cosmology depicts 365 heavens with the outermost dominated by the highest god, Abraxas, in whom all opposites meet.⁴⁹ This parallels Jung's representation of Abraxas on the outer of the infinitesimal sequence of concentric circles in *Systema*, poised below the opposites on the horizontal axis.

JUNG'S ABRAXAS CRITICS

Jung's treatment of Abraxas has been questioned by the Gnostic writer Stephan Hoeller⁵⁰ and the religion historian Gilles Quispel.⁵¹ Both have claimed, on a literal reading of *Sermons*, that Jung's interpretation of Abraxas as the highest god in Basilidian gnosis was historically incorrect.

Certainly, in *Sermons*, Abraxas appears dominant, although a fine-grained analysis of the text might well reveal ambiguities on this point. However, as my first article suggests, it is not wise to read *Sermons* literally. It emerged from Jung's experiments with active imagination. It is a poem associated with a waking fantasy, dreamlike and metaphorical. It is, therefore, unsound to criticise Jung for historical inaccuracy on the basis of this work.

Nor did Hoeller or Quispel take *Seven sermons'* alter ego, *Systema munditotius*, into account, even though it was readily accessible in the *Collected Works* accompanied by a caption identifying its main themes.⁵² In *Systema*, Abraxas is enclosed within the outer circle of the macrocosm and not in the pleroma. Clearly, it has the status of a demiurge, world creator or *dominus mundi* — powerful, but not all-powerful. This status is confirmed in Jung's description of *Systema* published in the Swiss periodical *Du* in April 1955.

JUNG'S RELIGIOUS ALLEGORIES

But the key point here is that Jung was neither writing nor illustrating religious history. He was conducting a psychological experiment. He was struggling with such issues as the dynamics of the libido, the problem of the opposites, particularly that of the conscious and unconscious, and the emergence of archaic symbols from the collective unconscious. These problems had engaged him since before *Transformations*. In the process, his searches for explanation led him to the Gnostics, who appealed to him because 'they were apparently the first thinkers to concern themselves (after their fashion) with the contents of the collective unconscious.'⁵³

Moreover, according to at least one of Jung's sources (Dieterich) one group of Gnostics possessed a symbol (Abraxas) in whom, 'all opposites meet'. When Jung constructed *Systema munditotius*, a stylised map of his own explorations of the collective unconscious, Abraxas was a ready-made symbol in which to resolve the many opposites depicted there. This occurred both on the map and in the intimately related poem, *Seven sermons*.

Admittedly, Hoeller does acknowledge that Jung's use of Abraxas was motivated as much by its psychological as its religious significance. Hoeller likens Abraxas to Jung's concept of psychic energy.⁵⁴ But a second interpretation is equally valid.

In my first article, the dynamic evident in *Systema* is compared with Jung's concept of the transcendent function, also formulated in 1916.⁵⁵ However, if we sharpen the focus a little more, we can see resonances between the transcendent function and Abraxas itself. Jung's comprehensive array of opposites in *Sermons* reconciled in and transcended by Abraxas supports this view. So also does the placement of Abraxas in *Systema*, as the 'third' between each pair of opposites juxtaposed horizontally, and especially between the light of the sun god and the shadow of satanas. As such, Abraxas unites the sunlight of consciousness with the darkness of the unconscious and thus fulfils the requirements of a uniting symbol produced by the transcendent function.

Such comparisons lend weight to the argument that *Systema* and *Sermons* were religious allegories for a psychological process. They strengthen Jung's own claim to be a psychiatrist using symbols from antiquity to amplify his model of the psyche, rather than

some sort of latter day Gnostic. Jung himself affirmed this view resoundingly in his rebuttal of the accusation by the philosopher Martin Buber, that he, Jung, was a Gnostic.⁵⁶

FAUST AND THE SIGN OF THE MACROCOSM

The backdrop to these mandalas and associated symbols experienced by Jung prior to 1916 is Goethe's *Faust*. Its influence predates all the above examples. As a schoolboy, Jung read *Faust* and recalled that it 'poured into my soul like a miraculous balm'.⁵⁷ Multiple references to Goethe and *Faust* appear as early as the *Zofingia Lectures* and continue throughout the *Collected Works*. Nor did Jung

31 Neither Usener nor Reitzenstein appear in the index to CW B. Citation details appear below. For the remainder, see index, CW B, pp. 415–420.
Usener (1834–1905), a classical philologist, taught in the School of the History of Religion at Bonn University circa 1880. Reitzenstein and Dieterich were his students. Dieterich later became Usener's son-in-law.
Cumont followed up the work of Reitzenstein. Gunkel researched the history of pre-Christian Gnostics circa 1900. His work was extended by Bousset after 1900 (see Salvatorelli, L., 'From Locke to Reitzenstein: the historical investigations of the origins of Christianity', *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 22, no. 4, Oct. 1929, pp. 325ff, accessed Oct. 31, 2006, <http://www.jstor.org/>).
32 Reitzenstein, R., *Die Hellenistischen mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910, p. 20, cited in CW B, para. 122n28.
33 Salvatorelli, op. cit., pp. 328–330.
34 CW 9ii, para. 288ff.
35 Usener, H., *Das weihnachtsfest* (Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, part I) 2nd edn, Bonn, 1911, cited in CW B, para. 181n55.
36 Momigliano, A., 'New paths of classicism in the nineteenth century', *History and Theory*, vol. 21, no. 4, Dec. 1982, p. 43, accessed Nov. 13, 2006, <http://www.jstor.org/>.
37 CW B, para. 174.
38 Mead, G. R. S., *Fragments of a faith forgotten*, Kessinger Publishing, USA, 1900/1930.
39 Ibid., pp. 253–284.
40 CW 11, p. 631.
41 King, C. W., *The Gnostics and their remains, ancient and mediaeval*, Bell and Daldy, London, 1864.
42 Maguire, W. (Ed.), *Analytical psychology*, op. cit., pp. 98–99.
43 Jung, C. G., *Psychological types*, (trans. H. G. Baynes), Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1923, p. 289 (English translation of first (1921) German edn).
44 See, for example, CW 12, para. 469, figs 203, 204.
45 Dieterich, A., *Eine mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1903, 1910.
46 See, for example, CW 5, para. 223.
47 Dieterich, A., *Abraxas: studien zur religionsgeschichte des spätem altertums*, Leipzig, 1891.
48 CW B, para. 331n14.
49 Blau, L. & Kaufmann, K., 'Abraxas', in *Jewish Encyclopedia.com*, p. 1, accessed Nov. 1, 2006, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=633&letter=A>. See also Hoeller, S., *The Gnostic Jung*, Quest Books, Wheaton, Illinois, 1994, p. 92.
50 Hoeller, loc. cit.
51 Quispel, G., 'Jung and gnosis', in ed. R. A. Segal, *The Gnostic Jung*, Princeton, p. 235.
52 CW 9i, frontispiece.
53 CW 18, para. 1051.
54 Hoeller, op. cit., p. 96.
55 CW 8, para's 131–193.
56 CW 18, para's 1499–1513.
57 *Memories*, p. 60

confine his appreciation of Goethe's drama to reading it. In a letter to Freud in January, 1911, Jung records 'seeing a performance of *Faust* yesterday.'⁵⁸ *Faust* clearly affected Jung profoundly. And *Faust* contains several allusions to mandalas. One such occurs in a scene in Faust's study. Confronted by hellish spirits, he utters a protective fourfold spell replete with mythical symbolism.⁵⁹ The result of his conjuring is the emergence of the satanic Mephistopheles.

The most significant example, though, occurs early in *Faust* I. On a moonlit night, Faust, empty and despondent despite all his knowledge and academic honours, opens a secret book written by Nostradamus.⁶⁰ While pondering the role of sacred signs to give access to '[m]ysterious spirits hovering near', Faust 'lights upon the Sign of the Macrocosm'. In contemplating this sign, typically a symbol of the cosmos as concentric spheres incorporating the four elements — in other words a mandala — Faust experiences joyous gnosis of healing and wholeness. The comparison with Jung's own later experience of connectedness with the spirit world — the dead of *Seven Sermons* — on contemplating *Systema munditotius* is palpable.

CONCLUSION

Returning to the questions at the beginning of this article, the genesis of *Systema* is now clear. The above account establishes its lineage. For more than two decades prior to 1916, Jung encountered mandalas, and related themes and symbols in many settings: Jakob Boehme's mystical writings, the *Zofingia Lectures*, his doctoral dissertation, the symbols of *Transformations*, his early Gnostic sources and Goethe. He could not help but be aware that these symbols had some deep

psychic connection. It is not surprising, then, that when he came to embark on his own inner journey, like Boehme and Faust, Jung lit upon the sign of the macrocosm, a psychocosmology in the form of *Systema munditotius*, to guide his path.

My first article argued that Jung consciously and deliberately used this mandala in his exploration of active imagination. *Systema*, in other words, was as much experimental as mystical. This second article lends weight to this argument by showing that by 1916 the symbol was, for Jung, 'in the air'. *Systema* emerged at a timely moment to add impetus to a complex psychological dynamic, begun for theoretical purposes, that 'started moving of [its] own accord.'⁶¹

Systema thus marks a seminal point in Jung's theorising about the psychology of the unconscious. When he decided to draw it, he unleashed a symbol that became the foundational model for all his subsequent musings on the nature and dynamics of the psyche.

Moreover, Jung's deliberate use of *Systema* and *Sermons* to explore his psychological theories must question a widely held view that *Sermons* stamps Jung as a Gnostic in the narrower religious sense used here. This view is based on a literal reading of *Seven Sermons*. Yet by juxtaposing *Sermons* with *Systema* and tracing the origins of the symbols used in Jung's first mandala, a different perspective emerges. And it is one that supports Jung's own often stated claims that he was not a Gnostic, but a psychiatrist exploring psychic phenomena.

This historical survey shows that, apart from Abraxas, the pleroma and several lesser symbols, most of the symbols of *Systema*, including the circles and the dynamic, are not uniquely Gnostic. They had many other sources. Jung's use of Basilides as a pseudonym for *Sermons* was rhetorical. It reflected his fascination at the time with the Gnostics, whom he saw as ancient psychologists of the unconscious. But *Systema* and *Sermons* were created for psychological, not religious, purposes. Thus to call Jung a Gnostic solely on the basis of some of the symbols in *Systema* and *Sermons* could be seen as a misinterpretation of the origins, nature and purpose of these two works. ✨

58 Maguire, W. (Ed.), *The Freud/Jung letters*, op. cit., p. 211.

59 Goethe, J. W. von, *Faust I*, trans. Philip Wayne, Penguin, London, 1949, p. 73.

60 Ibid., p. 45.

61 Shamdasani, S., E-mail message, 10 October 2000.



JUNG ON SWEDENBORG, REDIVIVUS

EUGENE TAYLOR

For man in his essence is a spirit, and together with spirits as to his interiors, wherefore he whose interiors are open to the Lord can speak with them. — EMMANUEL SWEDENBORG, *Earths in the Universe*

But at that moment in medical school what psychiatry lacked, Jung thought, was a dynamic language of interior experience. He was, first of all, intrigued at the time, he said, by Kant's *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer*, first pub-

In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, the Swiss psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung recounted that his turn toward psychiatry while in medical school was accompanied by voracious reading in the literature on psychic phenomena. In particular, he was drawn to Kant's *Dreams of a Spirit Seer* and the writing of various eighteenth and nineteenth century authors, such as Passavant, Du Prel, Eschenmayer, Görres, Kerner, and, he said, Emanuel Swedenborg.

The issue at hand for Jung was why the medical literature on psychiatry focused almost exclusively on diagnostic categories of mental illness, evolving a classification scheme that did not even resemble the diagnostic categories of general medicine, while at the same time the psychiatric literature reflected the general orientation of reductionistic science, in which the whole of personality was understood exclusively through the rational ordering of sense data alone. Jung himself remarked that what he was looking for in the psychiatric texts was a psychological language that would express the dynamic aspects of human consciousness in all their vagaries, from the psychopathic to the transcendent.¹

Instead, what he found was an almost exclusive emphasis on pathology. The most popular books in the field at the time were works such as Cesare Lombroso on criminal anthropology, French theories of hereditary degeneration, Richard von Krafft-Ebing's controversial volume, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, and Emil Kraepelin's *Textbook of Psychiatry*, which proposed a reorganization and reclassification of mental diseases based on etiology and diagnosis of actual cases. There were some new developments along the so-called French-Swiss-English and American psychotherapeutic axis, toward which Jung would soon gravitate.

lished in 1766, four years before Kant's own inaugural dissertation.² Kant made a radical separation between the senses and the understanding and then debunked communication with spirit entities. Sense impressions are all that we can know, even though they are only impressions of outward things. The interior life of the ego we cannot know, Kant said, even though this is all that is actually real. He stated the outlines of his philosophy and then attacked the reigning metaphysicians of the time, such as Leibniz and Wolff, by focusing on one particular case, that of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), eighteenth century scientist, philosopher, and interpreter of the Christian religious experience.

Swedenborg had spent the first half of his life mastering all the known sciences of his day. Eventually, he would write the first Swedish algebra, introduce the calculus to his countrymen, make major modifications on the Swedish hot air stove, design a flying machine, and anticipate both the nebular hypothesis and the calculation of longitude and latitude. He also studied with the great anatomist Boerhaave, learned lens grinding, made his own microscope, and assembled a physiological encyclopedia, in which he wrote on cerebral circulation, and identified the Thebeccian veins in the heart.

By the time Swedenborg was forty, he had written numerous books on scientific subjects and been elected a member of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. In his own personal quest, however, he had begun in mineralogy, geology, mathematics, and astronomy, and then proceeded to anatomy and physiology, before turning his attention to sensory and rational psychology, all in search of the soul. When he reached the limits of rational consciousness, he turned within and began an examination of his own interior states. In this, he combined techniques of intensive concentration and breath control with a primitive form of dream interpretation. The



C. G. Jung, circa 1896, © Stiftung der Werke von C. G. Jung

Emanuel Swedenborg, with *Apocalypse Revealed*, by Pehr Krafft, the Elder, 1768

effect became evident in 1744, when he claimed he experienced an opening of the internal spiritual sense, and God spoke to him through the angels, saying that He would dictate to Swedenborg the true internal meaning of the books of the Bible. Swedenborg began immediately to work on this dispensation and set out to write what came to be known as the *Arcana Coelestia*, or *Heavenly Doctrines*. It took him a dozen volumes of his own writing just to cover the first two books of the Bible. The project came to an abrupt halt in 1757, however, when Swedenborg had another vision, this time of a totally transformed Christianity, in which there was a falling away of the denominations and the arising of the Lord's New Church, as described by John in *Revelations*, which would come upon earth.

For the rest of his life, Swedenborg wrote about the new dispensation, publishing more than thirty volumes. His works were studied throughout Europe and had a particularly strong influence on the course of French and German Freemasonry, and occult groups among the intelligentsia variously involved in mesmerism, esoteric Christianity, Gnosticism, and the Kaballah.³ On his death, however, instead of a transformed Christianity, a new Christian denomination called The Church of the New Jerusalem sprang up, with principal centers in London, Philadelphia, and Boston. To this day the ecclesiastical history of the New Church places them as a small, conservative Christian denomination with regular church parishes, weekly Sunday services, ordained ministers, and study of the King James version of the Bible. Notable among their parishioners have been Helen Keller, William Dean Howles, Lydia Maria Child, and others. The transcendentalists read Swedenborg avidly, as did the brothers Henry and William James. Even D. T.

Suzuki was a Swedenborgian, who founded the Swedenborg Society in Japan in 1913 and translated several of Swedenborg's works. Paralleling these developments, Swedenborg's ideas permeated the nineteenth century American scene and became closely allied with spiritualism and mental healing through the works of such men as Thomas Lake Harris, the utopian socialist, and Andrew Jackson Davis, the clairvoyant healer.

In any event, during his own later lifetime, after retiring from Parliament, and from service to the King of Sweden, under whom he had served as the Royal Assessor of Mines, Swedenborg contented himself with gardening and writing about the New Jerusalem. As a member of the Swedish aristocracy, he had numerous encounters with the Royal family and their associates. On several occasions, it had become known that he alleged he could speak with spirits of the dead, and was called upon by a friend of the Queen to locate lost articles of significant value. While he himself tried to keep out of the limelight, Swedenborg drew national attention to himself when Stockholm broke out in a great fire. Swedenborg was 200 miles away at the time, but reported on the exact details of the fire nonetheless to residents of Goteborg, with whom he was staying. When word came two days later corroborating the details, he was briefly investigated as somehow being involved in setting the fire. His exoneration, however, caused unwanted notoriety for his alleged powers.

Eventually, Kant heard these stories and wrote to Swedenborg, but Swedenborg was too absorbed to answer his letters. Eventually, Kant sent a messenger, who spoke with Swedenborg and interviewed others. When asked why he did not answer Kant's letter, Swedenborg announced he would answer him in his next book. But when his next



The Good and Evil Angels, William Blake, 1795/c.1805; presented by W. Graham Robertson 1939

book, came out, however, there was no mention of Kant. We can only imagine Kant's fury, half Scottish and half German, which might account for the harshness of his criticisms of Swedenborg in *Dreams of a Spirit Seer*, but he had reached his great softening by the time he wrote his lectures on psychology and on metaphysics years later.

Kant, in fact, devotes an entire section in *Dreams of a Spirit Seer* to debunking Swedenborg's philosophy. In particular, he takes Swedenborg to task for his absurd descriptions of heaven and hell, the planets and their inhabitants, and the fantastic impossibility of communication with angels. The angels, Swedenborg believed, were the souls of departed human beings once alive, who live in Heaven in the form of their old bodies, and consociate with those whom they have most loved on earth but who now dwell in heavenly societies, the sum total of which was the Grand Man.

Other writers during Swedenborg's lifetime as well as after him had written on the nature of interior states of consciousness. Just glancing at a list of authors Jung said he had read in his medical years one notes : Johann Passavant had written on animal magnetism. Karl Ludwig Du Prel, an advocate of psychic phenomena, was also a commentator on Kant's *Dreams of a Spirit Seer*. Carl Eschenmayer had written on topics such as demon possession, mysti-

cism, and the supernatural, as did Joseph Görres, while Justinus Kerner had described the Seeress of Prevorst, a clairvoyant healer.⁴

In a previous report, it was stated that, while we know Jung read Swedenborg's works at around the

1 F.X. Charet ((1993). *Spiritualism and the Foundations of C.G. Jung's Psychology*. Albany: SUNY Press.) has implied that Jung's motivation for reading this literature had been the recent death of his father, in hopes of communicating with him from beyond the grave. This might be plausible if Charet had more evidence from Jung himself on this point, but it seems even less likely given that Charet's project to link Jung to spiritualism omits a crucial focus on the process of self-realization, of which spiritist phenomena must be considered a mere subsidiary and not a goal in and of themselves. Charet has spiritism as his main focus, with little mention of its relation to the process of individuation. Rather, supernormal powers are an epiphenomenon in the process of self-realization and only indicative of one's progress, at least according to the Yoga texts with which Jung was most familiar. Attachment to them leads to karmic rebirth in a lower plane, knowing that a higher exists, which is worse, the text says, than not knowing that there is a higher interior life at all.

2 Kant, Immanuel (1915/1766). *Dreams of a Spirit Seer, Illustrated by Dreams of Metaphysics*. Tr. E.F.

Goerwitz, ed. By F Sewall. 2nd ed. London: New Church Press.

3 Gabay, Alfred (2005). *The Covert Enlightenment: Eighteenth century counter-culture and its aftermath*. West Chester, PA: Swedenborg Foundation; Taylor, EI. (1999). *Shadow Culture: Psychology and spirituality in America*. Washington, DC: Counterpoint.

4 Passavant, Johann Karl (1821). *Untersuchungen über den Lebensmagnetismus und das Helleben*. Frankfurt am Main : H. L. Brönnner; DuPrel, Karl Ludwig (1970 edition). *Das Rätsel des Menschen*. Wiesbaden: Löwith; Eschenmayer, Carl Adolph (1837). *Konflikt zwischen Himmel und Hölle, an dem Dämon eines besessenen Mädchens*. [Caroline Stadelbauer]. *Nebst einem Wort an Dr. Strauss*. Tübingen, Leipzig, verlag der Buchhandlung Zu-Guttenberg; Kerner, Justinus. (1835). *Geschichten Besessener neuerer Zeit. Beobachtungen aus dem Gebiete kakodämonisch-magnetischer Erscheinungen*. Karlsruhe: Braun. Görres, Joseph von. (1854-55) *La mystique divine, naturelle, et diabolique, par Görres*, ouvrage traduit de l'allemand par M. Charles Sainte-Foi. Paris, Mme Vve Poussielgue-Rusand.

5 Taylor, EI (1991). Jung and his intellectual context: The Swedenborgian connection, *Studia Swedenborgiana*, 7:2.

same time he was reading these other authors, we also had no idea which ones.⁵ Now, due to the investigations of Sonu Shamdasani, we have a list of the books on Swedenborg that Jung, in the middle of his medical training, checked out of the Basel Library during 1898.⁶ The charging records of the Library indicate the following:

January 18 1898 Swedenborg, *Himmelsche Geheimnisse*, [tr. F. Tafel, Tübingen, 1850] [*The Heavenly Arcana*]

September 16 1898 Swedenborg *Vom Himmel und dem wunderbaren Dingen desselben*. [tr. J. C. Lenz, Leipzig 1775] [Heaven and Hell]

October 18 1898 Swedenborg *Die Erdkörper in unserem Sonnensystem, welche wir Planeten heissen*, [tr. E. Hofater, Tübingen 1841] [*Earths in the Solar System*]

October 18 1898 Swedenborg, *Der Verkehr zwischen Seele und Leib*. [Tübingen 1830] [*Intercourse between the Soul and the Body*]

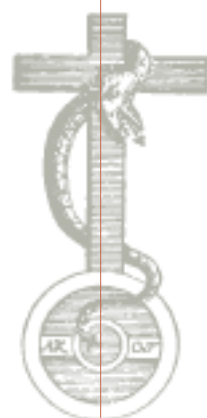
October 18 1898 Swedenborg, *Die Wonnen der Weisheit betreffen die eheliche Liebe*, [tr. T. Tafel, Tübingen, 1845] [Conjugal Love]

From this information we may conclude a number of interesting points. The first work Jung checked out was *The Arcana Coelestia*, Swedenborg's multivolume compendium giving the true internal spiritual meaning of the first two books of the Bible and the

first major work of Swedenborg's visionary era after the original revelations of 1744. The importance of the *Arcana* is that, referring to the opening of the interior spiritual sense, Swedenborg maintains that the images of the Bible must be read symbolically and metaphorically according to the level of spiritual self-actualization of the person. The Bible is fundamentally a map indicating the stages of spiritual consciousness one must go through to reach the final stage of regeneration. One sees, however, into one's own interiors to the level of one's ability. To the literalist, for instance, God created earth and man and woman in seven days. For Swedenborg, each day of creation is the expression of a different stage of consciousness that must be mastered in the process of self-realization. The crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection is the death of the personal, self-centered ego and the arising of the spiritual dimension of personality, expressed as the purification of the soul, which is our link to the Divine while alive and to heaven upon our death. Revelation is not the end of the physical world, but a cataclysmic event in consciousness, an ecstatic, nay, mystical awakening in which the doors of perception are cleansed and we finally see that the natural is derived from the spiritual, not the other way around, and in this way the earth has been transformed.

A period of nine months then intervened, during which time we presume Jung was contemplating the content and meaning of the *Arcana*. Then in September, 1898, he checked out Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell*. *Heaven and Hell* is a work that should

THE ANGELS, SWEDENBORG BELIEVED, WERE THE SOULS OF DEPARTED HUMAN BEINGS ONCE ALIVE, WHO LIVE IN HEAVEN IN THE FORM OF THEIR OLD BODIES, AND CONSOCIATE WITH THOSE WHOM THEY HAVE MOST LOVED ON EARTH...





Far left: Landscape with Philemon and Baucis c.1625 (oil on panel), Rubens, Peter Paul (1577–1640), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, The Bridgeman Art Library

Left: Albion on a Hill, William Blake, 1804–20, courtesy of the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

be read as Swedenborg's communication on the nature of life after death. More importantly, however, it is an expanded statement of his claim that "Heaven is made by the Lord, while hell is created by man out of the misuse of the capacities of rationality and freedom." This would be a description of the angels and their Heavenly societies and their relation to the Lord, which is the Grand Man.⁷ This description takes up most of the book, together with a description of the hells, which come from vanity, self-centeredness, and lust. We see in this work the iconography of a person's interior, phenomenological world view, much as Jung would reconstruct the interior world view of his patients, or ask his clients to reconstruct in their artistic depiction of states of individuation.

Then, a month later, Jung returned to check out *Earths in the Solar System*, *The Soul and the Body in their Correlations*, and *The Delights of Wisdom Concerning Conjugial Love*, all on the same day. Only the general gist of these volumes can be given here. *Earths in the Solar System* presents Swedenborg's view that, not only are their spirits on the after death plane, they also inhabit other planets besides earth. The rationale for this is threefold. First, because the universe is bigger than the earth alone (in other words, consciousness is not defined or even solely made up of the rational waking state), and there is no reason to presume that we are the only entities out there; second, because nearly all cultures on earth report such communications, except those inhabiting western modernist societies; and third, because Swedenborg reported that he was visited by spirits from these other planets and was just chronicling what he had seen and heard.

The Soul and the Body and their Correlations is Swedenborg's restatement of his doctrine of correspondences — that every aspect of the physical world is somehow reflected in the life of the soul. Jung perpetually returned to this linkage with his interest in the mind/body problem, and the personal equation in science; that is, how we simultaneously can know and experience phenomena, a question that formed the basis for his later exchange with the physicist Wolfgang Pauli. *The Doctrines Concerning Conjugial Love* expresses Swedenborg's revelation about the spiritual relation of the sexes in the process of regeneration. Man can only learn to love God through the love he experiences through others,

and again, the essential relation of the opposites emerges. In addition, one cannot help but notice that this is also the controversial volume in which Swedenborg, himself an unmarried man with no apparent consort throughout his life, advocates that it is permissible for a married man to take on a second partner.

In any event, there is more to be said about the nature of the connections between Jung and Swedenborg's ideas. It is sufficient here to indicate that new scholarship in this area is proceeding. ✨

6 Sonu Shamdasani, by permission. Translation courtesy of Ms. Angela Sullivan.

7 Compare, for instance, with *viswavidat svarupam*, the universal form of the cosmic man, in Tantric Hinduism. unmarried man with no apparent consort throughout his life, advocates that it is permissible for a married man to take on a second partner.



Philemon and Baucis, c.1500 (oil on panel), Bramantino, Bartolommeo Suardi (1450/55-c.1536), Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne, Germany, Giraudon, The Bridgeman Art Library



Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis (oil on copper), Elsheimer, Adam (1578-1610), Gemaeldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Germany, © Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, The Bridgeman Art Library

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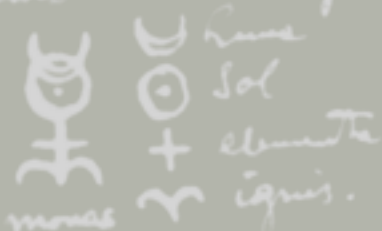
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... linearum periphoras Circularis, in compleme
... ta coniumatio.
... citatis igne exordium (in Aucta).
... huius et sol sua separari volunt Element
... aria vigebit proportio, idque ignis fieri minimis
... bus semicircularis, in communis puncto connexi
... quinoctialis Nycthemerae locus].



211 [praefatio ad regē Maximilianum.]
terrestre quoddam corpus, mores
hieroglyphica, in cetro ceteri latens