



Université d'Ottawa - University of Ottawa

IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE

C.G. Jung's Memories, Dreams, Reflections - A son in search of father

**A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Arts
Department of Classics and Religious Studies
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in Candidacy for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE: C.G. JUNG'S MEMORIES, DREAMS, REFLECTIONS - A SON IN SEARCH OF A FATHER

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The University of Ottawa, 1999.

This thesis examines Carl Jung's autobiography, Memories, Dreams Reflections. Within this text the reader is provided with rich and profound insights into the life of Carl Gustav Jung. This document sheds enormous light on the personality of one of this century's most important figures in the world of psychology and religion. For a generation after Jung's death, scholars have depended almost exclusively on Memories, Dreams, Reflections for their biographical facts about Jung. This text is invaluable for data about his early childhood, and vital for the description of the catastrophic break with Freud.

While the autobiography is a summary of the whole of Jung's life, this work examines that life with an eye to the early years in the vicarage. The writer has a special interest in exploring Jung's relationship to his father, the Reverend Paul Jung, a kinship not only vital and revealing but to this point in time, a relationship which has been largely ignored. To date there has been little data available on the Reverend Paul Jung, and even less research on his influence upon his son, Carl. Within this dissertation the reader will discover new information, fresh insights into Jung's father and his lasting influence upon his quite remarkable son.

Chapter One shows that while the autobiography is anything but a perfect rendering of Jung's life, it nevertheless provides the reader with information that is simply not available elsewhere. Thus, although the text is flawed (errors, omissions, intentional deletions) because it is from Jung himself, the narrative provides critical information to those who want to understand this pioneer in the psychoanalytic field.

Jung begins his life story with the early years in the vicarage. In Chapter Two the writer examines that phase of the biography paying special attention to the analyst's dreams. Jung's depiction of his early childhood memories bears witness to an unhappy childhood. In addition to those disturbing visions, it is argued that it was during this time period that Jung was sexually assaulted, a confession only revealed to Freud a generation later. Much of the anger resulting from this dark and anxious childhood would be born by Jung's father, Paul Jung, the vicar who was seemingly powerless, a man who could do nothing to rectify those unhappy early days.

Upon the death of Carl's father in 1896, life in the vicarage came abruptly to an end. Following Paul's death Jung would embark on a career in medicine which would eventually lead to the study of psychiatry. A decade after Paul's death, Jung began a correspondence with the noted psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud. In Chapter Three, through an analysis of the Freud-Jung letters, the writer shows that in Freud, Jung had discovered a mentor and father figure. For Jung, however, this new relationship brought to the surface tensions and unresolved feelings about a father he had years

earlier dismissed as, "pitiable and powerless." Throughout the letters a pattern develops wherein Jung emerges as a penitent prodigal in constant search for forgiveness from a fatherly Freud. By the mid point of their friendship there are ample signs that the relationship is in trouble and its failure inevitable. In the end, Jung walks away from this encounter, and the turmoil and confusion that results from the split forces Jung into a deep despair. Over the next decade he would search through his early childhood, retracing his steps in the hope that by going home he might find a way to a new beginning.

The key to this search would come mid way through his "confrontation with the unconscious." In Chapter Four this phase of Jung's life is examined and it is contended that in the dream image of Philemon who resembles his father, Paul, Jung begins his journey toward a new understanding of, and eventual reconciliation with his clergyman-father. The separation from Freud had caused a psychic imbalance within Jung but a fresh stability is achieved when the new paternal image of Philemon appears on the scene. Shortly after Philemon erupts from within Jung's unconscious, Jung has a dream of his father, a vision which prompts him first to purchase property in Bollingen and eventually build his Tower, a structure he calls a "shrine for Philemon." This dream which prompted the building of Bollingen is one of four visions examined, all of which are dreams of his father. Through these dreams Jung was led to a deeper and better understanding of his father. In the final dream Jung arrives at an inner reconciliation with his clergyman-father. The transformation of Paul Jung from, "pitiable and powerless" to a scholar who possessed "a mind flooded with profound ideas," was a journey which required most of Jung's life to complete.

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I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professor Naomi Goldenberg who from the beginning has encouraged me to pursue my academic interests. Throughout the writing of this dissertation she has provided valuable scholarly advice and because of her diligence this work has been brought to completion.

A decade ago I enrolled in a reading tutorial on Carl Jung with Professor John Dourley of Carleton University, Ottawa. Through those sessions I caught a fresh glimpse of that remarkable analyst. I thank John for those conversations and his interest in my quest and our questions. To Dr. Sheldon Heath, psychoanalyst, a special word of thanks. As a result of our three year dialogue I began to summon the courage to pursue a life within the academy.

Finally, a word of thanks to those close at home. In his autobiography, Jung wrote that his family life "remained the base to which he would always return," and without this connection he would have been "driven out of his wits." I share those sentiments and am likewise indebted to those at home. To Patti, for her understanding and her encouragement throughout the whole of the doctoral program, my "birthing process," thank you. To Ben and Sean who even as adolescents continue to amaze and delight me daily, thanks for your support and most of all for letting your father spend time with Carl Jung. In My Father's House is in part a story of a son's search for a father and thus it is most fitting that I dedicate this work to my father, Robert.

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IN MY FATHER'S HOUSE:
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PROLOGUE

“My life is a story of the self-realization of the unconscious.” So begins the autobiography of Carl Gustav Jung, Memories, Dreams, Reflections¹. Within this text, I believe we receive rich and profound insights into the personality of Carl Jung. This writing sheds enormous light on an important, if sometimes controversial, figure of the twentieth century. It is here I begin my study, and it is to this work I continually return. The importance of MDR to Jung’s life and thought cannot be overstated. I think Anthony Stevens is absolutely correct in his synopsis of Jung when he says, “to speak of Jung’s psychology is to use an innocent *double entendre*, since the analytical psychology devised by Jung in all important respects grew out of his own psychology.”² Jung believed that psychological theories reflected the personal history of their creators. “Our way of looking at things is conditioned by what we are.”³ There is no better place to view the development of that psychology than as it unfolds throughout his autobiography.

I have chosen to view this autobiographical account as a mystery, one that unfolds gradually as the reader journeys with the analyst through the narrative. By word and image, Jung provides the reader with clues which help to unravel parts of the mystery of this deep, complex life. It is a fundamental

¹ Memories, Dreams, Reflections by C.G. Jung - hereafter referred to as MDR.

² Anthony Stevens, Jung, (New York: Oxford Press, 1994) 5.

³ Anthony Stevens, Jung, (New York: Oxford Press, 1994) 5.

tenet of this study that what Jung accomplishes in this biography is akin to what his patients or analysands revealed through the analytic encounter. In MDR we are listening to the voice of Carl Jung as he tells his life story and, in this monologue, we are told both the stories and the secrets which help us to understand the man. In addition, it was through the scripting of his autobiography that Jung was afforded the means and opportunity of deeper self-understanding.

In analysis, making sense of early life experiences is vital if the patient ever hopes to understand the rest of life. Likewise MDR is fundamental to a deeper understanding of the life and work of Carl Gustav Jung. In analysis, an analysand's narrative reveals deep truths about the narrator, even though, or perhaps in spite of the fact that parts of the story may be missing or inaccurate. What is absent, as well as what is present in the recollection, provides the listener with valuable information. Jung himself often remarked that in the telling of our narrative we are brought to a better understanding of our life. At the end of his life Jung recounted his own story, partly in order to answer some of his own questions, questions that came from within. It is my contention that this autobiography, although flawed, provides an insightful glimpse into, and is an invaluable resource for, the life of C.G. Jung.

As with any analytic encounter, things are not always what they seem at first glance. We need to search the narrative, probing for meaning. To do this is to uncover hidden clues which have always been within Jung's narrative, but which to this point have remained part of the mystery which is Carl Gustav Jung.

While the autobiography is a summary of the whole of Jung's life, I will be examining that life with an eye to the early years in the vicarage. After all, almost a third of the book is devoted to that period of time in his life.⁴ In the first portion of my work, within chapter two, I will examine this early phase of Jung's life. I have a special interest in Jung's relationship with his father, one that is crucial, but one that to this point has been largely unexplored. Until a

⁴ Of approximately 350 pages, about one third (the first three chapters) deals with this period of his life.

decade ago biographers of Jung, when referring to parental influence, dwelt almost exclusively upon the bizarre power of his domineering mother.⁵ An initial reading of the autobiography seems to favour that impression. Upon further study, however, we discover that references to his father, Paul, are both abundant and revealing. It is my contention that in his autobiography, Carl Jung gives the reader a vast amount of information about his clergyman-father, and this is vital for a better understanding of this minister's son. To date, there has been little data available on the Reverend Paul Jung, and even less research on his influence on his son, Carl. Within this dissertation I hope to provide the reader new information, with fresh insights into Jung's father and his lasting influence upon his quite remarkable son.

In A Strategy For a Loss of Faith, Professor John Dourley writes, "the matter with Jung's father is still the matter." I too believe that Carl Jung's relationship to his minister-father continues to be of deep and abiding interest, "both to the religionist and those who search for a more adequate contemporary spirituality."⁶ Yes, the matter with Jung's father, Paul Johannes Achilles Jung is still the heart of the matter. But just what was the matter with the Reverend Paul Jung, and what was the nature of the analyst's relationship with his clergyman father?⁷ Much of what we know of Jung's father comes from his son, and most of those details are to be found only in Carl Jung's autobiography, MDR. This work is written, as Professor Dourley says, "in a compelling style, a dramatic narrative, reading smoothly, engaging one's own religious position and sympathy."⁸

But apart from this assessment of his father within MDR, we have very little else by which we can render a judgment on the senior Jung's character or on the nature of this particular father-son dynamic. Our opinion of Paul Jung

⁵ Anthony Stevens, Jung. (New York: Oxford Press, 1994) 5.

⁶ John Dourley, A Strategy For A Loss Of Faith (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1992) 7.

⁷ While the focus of this study is directed to an examination of the relationship between Carl Jung and his father (directly, and through a variety of father figures), it is manifestly apparent that this father-son dialogue extends beyond the personal, and is reflected in Jung's relationship toward his clergyman-father's religious tradition - Christianity.

⁸ Dourley, 7.

is formed almost exclusively from his son's autobiography, with supplementary materials furnished from a number of Carl's letters. Throughout his narrative Jung displays an ambivalent attitude towards his father. Early in the account, Jung speaks affectionately of his father, recounting that when he was feverish and unable to sleep, "my father carried me in his arms, pacing up and down, singing his old student songs...and to this day I remember my father's voice, singing over me in the stillness of the night."⁹ As an adolescent, Jung could only feel sorry for Paul, a believer "whose faith did not keep faith with him," and for that sad reality, "he was seized with the most vehement pity for his father."¹⁰ Between father and son, there are moments of genuine affection,¹¹ but the general impression given by the narrative is of a son, distant and aloof from his father. Years later however, after the publication of *Answer To Job* in 1952, Jung is irritated by a correspondent's insistence that as a son of a clergyman, Jung might harbor some angry feelings toward a Father-God. The writer, a pastor, suggested that this could be the reason for his angry protests against God in *Answer To Job*. Jung first admits to the possibility of a bad relationship but quickly denies it:

The conjecture that I have succumbed to a personal complex does indeed spring to mind when one knows that I am a clergyman's son. However, I had a good personal relationship with my father, so no "father complex" of the ordinary sort there. True, I didn't like theology because it set my father problems he couldn't solve and which I felt unjustified.

On the other hand I grant you my personal mother complex. ¹²

⁹ Ibid. p.8.

¹⁰ MDR. 55.

¹¹ See for example Jung's moving description of a short holiday with his father to Lucerne. Because Paul Jung could not afford two tickets on the mountain railway locomotive, he gave young Carl the ticket so that he could ride to the peak of the mountain. Jung was "speechless with joy." (MDR p.77) On another occasion (the summer before Paul's death) Carl writes movingly of a fraternity outing when his father accompanied him, and Paul delivered a "whimsical speech, much to Jung's delight." Jung describes this incident as a kind of swan song for his father who was to become bedridden shortly after this event. (MDR. p95.)

¹² *C.G Jung Letters*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975.) p.65. May 28, 1952. To Dorothee Hoch who had sent Jung a copy of her review of *Answer To Job*.

Reflecting on his life while compiling his autobiography, Jung would describe it as “singularly poor in outward events,” but spoke of the “interior happenings” as a realm, rich and abundant. He often referred to this dichotomy, comparing it to the life of a plant, “its true life invisible, hidden in the rhizome.” My study will take Jung’s visions and dreams seriously, and to that end I will probe some of those dreams and visions. For after all, Jung believed that he could only be understood “in the light of inner happenings.”¹³

In the next portion of my dissertation I assess Jung’s relationship with Sigmund Freud, who became a second father for Jung. Throughout his seven year association with Sigmund Freud, both correspondents would speak openly and often of Jung’s ambivalence towards his father, their father-son relationship, and its root in Jung’s “father complex.”¹⁴ The Freud-Jung correspondence, a series of well over three hundred letters, is a record of the conversations of two of the most celebrated analysts of this century. The discovery of these letters and their publication reveals intriguing information about the two figures and their place in the field of twentieth century psychiatry. I will view those letters as a conversation between a father figure, Freud, and his son and heir, Carl Gustav Jung. The seeds of the inevitable breakdown of this celebrated partnership can be traced, in part, to Jung’s relationship to his father, Paul. An examination of the Freud-Jung correspondence from 1906 to 1913 shows clearly this father -son dynamic, and the inexorable consequences of this dynamic for both parties.

The severing of Jung’s relationship with Freud in 1913 was deeply traumatic, particularly for Jung. In chapter four, I will examine the aftermath of this separation. The rupture precipitated a time of severe disturbance, a “confrontation with the unconscious.” At the time of this separation, and for a number of years after, Jung was thrown into a state of confusion and chaos. He

¹³ Anthony Stevens, Jung, (New York: Oxford Press, 1994) p. 5.

¹⁴ The Freud-Jung Letters (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974) ie., 146J, 180J, 182F, 338J.

withdrew from many of his daily routines and activities, choosing instead to probe the depths of his psychic disorder. For a period of about five years Jung listened to the voices, and took note of the images within his many dreams, and was often drawn back to his early childhood. I contend that during this tumultuous time much of Jung's dilemma, a good part of his disharmony, was fueled by his ambivalent feelings toward his father. Passions kindled during his encounter with Freud came to the surface following the separation. His struggle with the father finds psychic expression in Jung's dreams. After a year of psychological anguish, filled with visions and dreams, the image of *Philemon* slowly emerges from Jung's unconscious. Upon investigation we discover that Philemon personifies Carl's father, the Reverend Paul Jung. The arrival of the Philemon vision meant Jung acquired a means of retracing his steps into the past, providing him the means by which he could, in time, seek reconciliation with Paul Johannus Achilles Jung. During this pivotal period of turmoil, Jung experiences a renewal, a kind of rebirth. Erupting from the unconscious, Philemon provided the lens through which Jung viewed his image of his father.

Those years when the rest of the world was engaged in the "first great war," Jung endured a stormy internal battle. Those were years Jung would later describe as,

the most important in my life- in them everything essential was decided. It all began then; the later details are only supplements and clarifications of a material that burst forth from the unconscious, and almost swamped me. It was the *prima materia* of a lifetime's work.¹⁵

Through much of his life Jung wrestled with a "father complex." This is most evident in the dreams Jung has of his father, four of which I shall examine in the concluding chapter. Jung endured the trials of a rigorous self-examination of the psyche, and prevailed in his encounter with the unconscious. In 1922, he launched into new and unexplored territory, inaugurating this process with the purchase of a piece of property at Bollingen.

¹⁵MDR. p.199.

It is from this place, from this sacred space, Carl Jung rediscovers a new place in the field of psychoanalysis.

As Jung matured, his search for God reflected his early childhood search for meaning within the vicarage. From the parsonage Jung learned that if he were to discover meaning in life it would come, not so much from “the outside occurrences” (father, church, family relationships), but instead from within, conveyed by the images communicated through his dreams and visions. So too, if God was, and if God was to be revealed, that disclosure would come from within. Throughout his lifetime Jung was as suspicious of “theology” which manifested itself in persons, churches, and dogmatic statements, as he was of an “anthropology” which failed to take into account the “inner happenings” of human beings. A theology of this variety had been personified in his clergyman-father, the Reverend Paul Jung, with devastating consequences. For Jung then, God was that voice from within, which nourished the soul: a radically immanent Being. Those who heard that voice and listened to those “inner happenings” were nourished by the “good news.” (“Those who had ears to hear, heard.”) Those, like Jung’s father, who did not listen, and chose “stones over bread,”¹⁶ died unsatisfied and spiritually hungry.

The phrase, “In my father’s house”, the title of my dissertation, is meant to capture a particular facet of Carl Gustav Jung, that of the pastor’s son. The house, first of all, was a symbol which appeared in many of Jung’s key dreams. Throughout this study we repeatedly find the house metaphor emerging from Jung’s unconscious in the critical periods of his life. The house image was a

¹⁶ “Stones over bread” is of course, a biblical image. There are at least two references which I want to connect to this phrase, and which I link to Jung’s father. The first, “What man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?” (Matthew 7:9) and “And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread.” (Luke 4:3) In the Matthew passage, Jesus is berating the religious authorities for failing to nurture the faithful, their teachings about as nourishing as stones. There is a personal note here as well- a father that gives a hungry son stones instead of bread is not a good father! The Lukan passage is taken from the temptation narrative. Here, to prove his divinity, the Christ is first tempted to turn stones into bread, a biblical attribute of the Messiah. This could not be accomplished, any more than Jung’s father, Paul, could turn his theological tradition into something which nourished his son, Carl. It is also of interest to note that while Jung complained of the emptiness of his father’s faith, the barrenness of a tradition divorced from the “grace of experience,” his father describes his physical ailment as feeling like he had “stones in the abdomen.” (MDR, 94) I expect that Jung might describe his father’s disease in this manner, that in a sense, his faith only fed him stones, and thus he died early, unfulfilled and unable to pass on to his son, a meaningful faith.

significant one for Jung, and was to play an important part in his memories as they are recounted in his autobiography.

“In my Father's house” is first, a passage of scripture from the Gospel of John: “In my Father's house there are many rooms; if it were not so, would I have told you that I go to prepare a place for you?”(John 14:2) These words were spoken by Jesus, following directly on the heels of one disciple's betrayal (Judas), and the foretelling of another follower's denial (Peter). The passage foreshadows Jesus' leaving (death) and attempts to bring some comfort to those who remain. The verse opens with the admonition, “Let not your hearts be troubled,” reminding the disciples that they can go, eventually, to where he is going now. Thus, they need not worry about being abandoned forever. His Father's house, it seems, has plenty of room(s).

“In my Father's house” also has a para-liturgical meaning. This piece of scripture is an integral part of the burial office, usually spoken during the funeral procession, either in the church or on the way into the cemetery. This sentence was no doubt familiar to Jung's father, Paul, in his capacity as presider at the funeral liturgy. As the pastor, it was part of his liturgical function to lead in the prayers of the burial office. Carl himself refers to the many occasions when his father-pastor solemnly led the funeral procession into the graveyard.

People drowned, bodies were swept over the rocks. In the cemetery nearby, the sexton would dig a hole - heaps of brown, upturned earth. Black, solemn men in long frock coats with unusually tall hats and shiny black boots would bring a black box. My father would be there in his clerical gown, speaking in a resounding voice. Women wept. I was told that someone was being buried in this hole in the ground. Certain persons who had been around previously would suddenly no longer be there. ¹⁷

¹⁷ MDR. p.9.

The phrase, with its ritualistic association, conjures up the dark image of death and burial, of people suddenly disappearing, having been taken by Jesus. The end result of this snatching was burial in a hole in the ground. There is a sinister sense of foreboding attached to this aspect of “father’s house.”

“In my Father's house,” is an accurate description of the reality of vicarage life for children of the parsonage. A vicarage, by definition, is a house placed in the care of the father (the vicar), and when that office is vacated, so too is the house. One is entitled to dwell in or on the premises only through the father’s occupation or profession. If there is any sense of ownership, and that is rarely the case, it is experienced only by the one employed to pastor the congregation; that is, the vicar. The term vicarage, parsonage, or rectory, is a reminder to all those kept within its (vicarage) walls, that the structure and property is without question, father's house.

At an even deeper level one could say of the phrase, “father's house,” that the vicarage is the house of a father, paid to “profess” the Father-God. In a sense then, the parsonage is also Father’s House; that is, God’s House. Hence vicarage, and life in that “religious” space, is permeated with, and reflects images of God. I want to suggest that Jung never really moved out of the “father’s house.” While vicarage life at Klein-Hunnigen may have appeared to have ended upon the death of the Reverend Paul Jung in 1896, Jung’s description of the Burghölzli Mental Hospital in Zurich is a vivid depiction of a spartan life of abstinence under the direction of Eugen Bleuler. His (Jung’s) words invoke images of a monastic community, a place where Jung could test his new found profession.

It (Burghölzli) was an entry into the *monastery* of the world, a *submission* to the vow to *believe* only in what was probable, average, commonplace, barren of meaning, to *renounce* everything strange and significant, and reduce anything extraordinary to the banal...For six months I locked myself within the *monastic walls* in order to get accustomed to the life and spirit of the asylum.¹⁸

In June of 1909, Carl and his wife Emma moved to Küsnacht, to the

house Jung had built. Over the entrance door he had carved in stone: “*Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit,*” which has been translated, “Invoked or not invoked, the gods will be present.”²⁰ These words, big and bold, for guests to see as they enter the house remind both visitor and resident, that there is something sacred about the premises and, by association, something religious about those who abide within.²¹

In 1923 Jung began building another residence at Bollingen, the Tower.²² Over the gate of the Tower Jung inscribed the words, “*Philemonis Sacrum - Fausti Poententia.*” (Shrine of Philemon-Repentance of Faust) This inscription, with its reference to shrine and repentance, invites the visitor to see the Tower as a sacred place. It was no doubt clear to Jung that this home away from home was holy space. In addition, Jung, in his autobiography, relates that the Bollingen property was originally owned by the monastery of St. Gall.¹⁹ Thus even the property was consecrated ground. It would seem that Jung was content to dwell either in a vicarage or a monastery, and thus throughout his lifetime Carl Gustav Jung inhabited “religious houses.”²³ One might revise Jung’s familiar assertion that “religion can be replaced only by religion”²⁴ to read, a religious house can only be replaced by another religious house.

¹⁸ MDR, p. 112.

¹⁹ While it is now clear to me that Jungs moved out of the rectory shortly after the death of the Reverend Paul Jung, one would not get that impression from the account in MDR. (see pp. 96-113.) Richard Noll, in his book, *The Aryan Christ* states that the Jungs moved into a house supplied by Emilie’s brother. “when a new pastor was found in April to replace Paul Jung, the family had to leave the parsonage of Kleinhüningen. Eduard Preiswerk, himself a pastor in St. Leonhard, saved the family from hardship by lacing them in a house he owned in Bottinger Mill...Jung remained there until he moved to Zurich in December of 1900.” (Noll, p. 29.) Noll is correct about Jung moving out of the vicarage in April, 1896. Because Jung does not mention moving out of the vicarage in his account, I believe the force of my hypothesis regarding Jung and “religious houses” (even with this year hiatus remains valid.

²⁰ *The Freud-Jung Letters*: Letter p. 142J.

²¹ Jung explained that he had inscribed those words on the lintel because, “I always feel, in a way, unsafe, as if I’m in the presence of superior possibilities.” James W. Heisig, *Imago Dei: A Study of C. G.*

²³ MDR, p. 223.

²⁴ I have not mentioned here that many of Jung’s memorable experiences, events that left a profound impact occur within the shadow of other “religious houses.” Two significant incidents happened in the shadow of Basel Cathedral, in the cathedral square. The first one, a push that brought on the fainting episodes, and the second, in which God defecates on the Cathedral roof. (MDR, p. 30-39)

²⁵ *The Freud-Jung Letters*, 178J.

INTRODUCTION:

In the generation after Jung's death and the subsequent publishing of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, a plethora of biographies appeared. Beginning with E. A. Bennet's²⁶ book, *C.G. Jung*, published at the time of Jung's death in 1961 and continuing up to this day with the more recent publications of Noll, McLynn and Shamdasani, the life of "the wise old man of Küsnacht" continues to fascinate scholars two generations after his death. Bennet's first book ushered in a host of publications from Jung's disciples. The South -African soldier, explorer and writer, Laurens van der Post (1975) spoke of Jung as the paramount explorer of the deep dark regions of the psyche. Van der Post says of Jung, "I have, I believe, known many of those the world considered great, but Carl Gustav Jung is almost the only one of whose greatness I am certain,"²⁷ Marie -Louise von Franz (1975), a devoted disciple, describes Jung as the creator of the myth for contemporary humankind. Barbara Hannah (1976) and Aniela Jaffé (1971, 1976) two female disciples, one a clergyman's daughter, the other a Jewish refugee, while providing valuable inside information about Jung, can hardly hide their reverence, a respect bordering on sacred awe, and which may have roots in an unrequited love. Hannah, daughter of the Dean of Winchester Cathedral, spoke often of the personal charisma of her mentor: "I realized soon after first getting to know him (Jung) that as wonderful as his seminars and books were, the really convincing thing was Jung himself."²⁸

Some of Jung's early followers found in this analyst an almost God-like quality taking Jung's words as revelation, and reading his works in much the same way as believers read Holy Writ. In his book, *The Creation of Consciousness*, Edward Edinger would say of Jung, "He is an epochal man and² by that I mean he is a man whose life inaugurates a new age in cultural history."²⁹ In the introduction to his study of *Answer To Job*, Edinger writes of the complexity of Jung's work, a complexity that is too often lost on mere mortals. If we fail to grasp Jung's insights it is surely not because Jung is

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unclear, more often than not it is a failure on our part:

We may not be able to appreciate the full meaning of Jung's, *Answer To Job*. In my opinion it will take centuries for the meaning of this work to be assimilated. But a good attitude with which to approach it is one in which you keep in mind its magnitude and when you run across something you don't understand, don't assume it's a failure on Jung's part.³⁰

In the foreward to Edinger's book, *Transformation of the God Image*, Lawrence W. Jaffé, himself a Jungian analyst, concurs with Edinger's prediction, and suggests that Jung's works will one day be read as Scripture is read, "for sustenance for our souls, for moving words that touch us to the heart, for reassurance, guidance and orientation." ³¹

Other biographers such as Vincent Brome (1978) and Gerhard Wehr (1987) who were not disciples of Jung, provide a very full account and description of his life. Vincent Brome refers to the power of Jung's personal presence: "There were many who now regarded Jung as the oracle of an entirely new and fundamentally religious creed in whom elements of the messiah could be detected."³² It was Wehr's book which received the accolades of Franz Jung, Carl's son. Of this biography, Franz Jung said, "Wehr's book is an outstanding work and the best available biography of Carl Gustav Jung. Thanks to the author's skill, it is not only a thoroughly reliable piece of documentation, but also a lively account of my father's life and work."³³ As we shall discover later in the thesis, however, high praise which comes from a Jung family member may be, in the end, a damning criticism.

The difficulties that arise from biographies of this type is that most of them, because they come from the hands of devoted disciples, are simply too close to the source (Jung) to convey anything substantial other than the record of a faithful witness to the exalted Master. By that I mean, while the disciple's portrait provides vital personal reflections, information that can only be

gotten from close personal contact, it may be too narrow and limited a vision. Like the perspective of those who stand closest to the portrait in the art gallery, that very proximity can prevent a balanced viewpoint. These biographies provide wonderful anecdotal material, stories of the good old days with the “wise old man of Küsnacht.” The personal reminiscences do provide material for those who wish to know the innermost secrets of the members of the inner sanctum. Two considerations usually accompany these biographies. First, their biography should always stand alongside Jung’s own, MDR. Second, a good and thorough biography may not be available for at least another generation. This second statement is a reminder that even to this day, there are correspondence, memos, and recorded conversations still under lock and key; a part of the Jung legacy to keep secrets secret, for a long, long time.

Although one of the earliest books to provide biographical information on Jung, Henri F. Ellenberger’s work The Discovery of The Unconscious,(1970) is also one of the best. Ellenberger’s chapter on Jung, running almost one hundred pages, is a balanced presentation, and provides the reader with accurate information, particularly about Jung’s early years. His thorough and fair examination of Jung and analytical psychology is even acknowledged a generation later in the preface to Richard Noll’s controversial book, The Jung Cult.

Not all scholars have written of Jung with such adoration. Paul Stern describes him as, “a small minded, mean little man who hid behind an obscurantist vocabulary, was supported by wealthy but aimless Americans, and wrote for a confused meaning - hungry public” and he argues that Jung’s thought is, “to a considerable extent a massive defense against intrapsychic and intrapersonal conflicts.”³⁴ In, C.G. Jung- The Haunted Prophet, Jung’s life comes under close and critical scrutiny. When compared to the earlier work of Jungian disciples, this biography is biting criticism indeed. For Stern, Jung was a man haunted by a sense of prophetic mission, a mission proclaimed and pronounced with zeal. This proclamation, according to Stern, would end in failure, a failure which mirrored Jung’s lack of integration within his own

personal life. According to Stern, MDR was “ a self-conscious gospel and Bible of the Jungian dispensation, in the form of a parable.”²³ The reason for the autobiography then was not to provide information but so that Jung could create a “ canny propaganda tract promoting the image of the “wise old man” However, while this criticism was deep and forthright, the author could still say that “Jung did have an acute sensitivity for the dilemmas increasingly underlying our culture.”³⁶ Thus, according to Stern, although Jung may not have had the answers to the problems of contemporary culture, he at least seemed to understand the questions posed by the age.

Now, a generation after Jung’s death, there are fewer biographers writing who were acquainted with Jung in his lifetime. As more information becomes available to researchers in this field, and as more of Jung’s vast correspondence comes to light and is made available, biographies still continue to be written. Authors such as Noll(1994,1997), McLynn(1997) and Shamdasani(1998) have brought a fresh, if sometimes challenging approach to the study of Carl Jung. I believe that what Jeffrey Masson accomplished in his book, The Assault On Truth did for the study of Freud, these authors are doing for Jungian research today. In both Noll’s critiques of Jung³⁷ he examines Jung’s cult-like status as a religious prophet, questions the integrity of his research, probes the secretive nature of his personal life, complete with his womanizing tendencies, and draws the conclusion that Jungian studies should be confined to the discipline of religion, and ought thereby to vacate the psychological premises. Noll considers Jung a mystic who, with the help of his disciples, founded a charismatic cult. He describes his initial reaction to Jung’s autobiography as positive. “I remember buying and reading MDR and was intrigued by Jung. I read that book many times in the years that followed. It was fascinating stuff, very confessional.” After a number of readings, however, he writes of the analyst, in less than glowing terms. “Jung, by all accounts, was the epitome of a charismatic leader. The power that a charismatic leader wields over his followers is perceived as coming from a supernatural force and Jung is

³⁷ibid. 16.

reverently portrayed in these terms by Jungians.”²⁴ Noll argues that “MDR is a sacred text which arose in a religious community, and that Jung and his followers deliberately intended to found a charismatic cult.”²⁵ Noll believes that he, like the little boy in the fable who shouted that “the emperor had no clothes,” was only telling the truth about the Swiss analyst. McLynn²⁶ also probes beneath the Jung exterior to expose a man with many faults, an analyst who sought out rich women followers and who was compelled to perpetuate a myth that he was wisdom personified.

The response from the Jungian community has been, to say the least, defensive. Noll, and others of his ilk, are clearly, *persona non grata* in the Jungian universe. The Jungian network is filled with rebuttals to Noll’s books. Sonu Shamdasani, in his most recent publication, Cult Fictions, challenges Noll’s claim that Jung formed a cult and considered himself to be the “Aryan Christ”. In this slim publication, Shamdasani argues, I believe convincingly, that “Noll’s own constructions are unsupported by the documentary evidence.”²⁷ In his “cross examination” of the evidence, he finds little verification to support many of Noll’s claims. This author closes his study with a stinging criticism of Noll’s research methods. Quoting from one of Jung’s letters, he asks, “Why don’t people read my books conscientiously? Why do they gloss over the facts?”²⁸

If in the first generation biographical accounts border on hagiography, portraying Jung in God-like terms, then surely more contemporary researchers show a propensity for demonizing the analyst’s character. All too often the choice, when reading a biography of Jung, is whether one opts for a disciple’s approach, one of adulation, or that of a detractor’s diatribe. To the disciples of Jung, MDR is read as the confessions of a twentieth century spiritual giant.

²⁴ Richard Noll, The Jung Cult (New Jersey: Princeton Press,1994) 17

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Frank McLynn, Carl Gustav Jung, (N.Y: St. Martin's Press) 1996.

²⁷ Sonu Shamdasani, Cult Fictions: C.G. Jung and the Founding of Analytical Psychology, (N.Y: Routledge, 1998.) 84.

²⁸ Ibid. 112.

Seen through the eyes of detractors, Jung's autobiography is propaganda, written and edited to perpetuate the myth of a man with delusions of a god-like status. There does not seem to be any middle ground. And yet both disciple and detractor provide the reader with valuable information about Jung. Both approaches then need to be considered when formulating an opinion about this complex psychoanalyst. To this there is one addendum: while both of these approaches help us come to the truth about Jung, I want to suggest that the well-worn adage regarding the place of biblical commentaries in bible study, holds true when applied to Jung's life-story: "Sometimes the text (MDR) sheds light on the commentaries."(biographies) Within MDR, there are rich insights yet to be discovered. When these are unearthed through a fresh analysis of the text, I will show that Carl Gustav Jung is a man, not only of incredible depth, but an analyst who provided the clues to the mystery of his life within his autobiography .

Opinions have varied regarding the state of Jung's sanity, and whether or not he suffered any personality disorders. In a review of MDR, D.W.²⁹ Winnicott describes Jung as, "a recovered case of infantile psychosis. Jung gives us a picture of childhood schizophrenia. His defenses settled down into a splitting of the personality."³⁰ Michael Fordham, a Jungian analyst and colleague of Winnicott at the Child Guidance Clinic in London for many years, shared Winnicott's analysis but went on to say that, " Jung's childhood memories reveal obsessional symptoms that were hiding a childhood psychosis but had I been asked what the prognosis was, I would have said it was good." Anthony Storr says of Jung, "I don't think Jung was a manic depressive. I think his psychosis or near - psychosis was more of the nature of a schizophrenic episode."³¹ Vincent Brome, however, believes that, "seen in technical terms, Jung was a cyclothymic personality who suffered a manic-depressive psychosis.

²⁹ Michael Fordham, Freud, Jung, Klein: Essays on Psychoanalysis and Analytical Psychology (N.Y. Routledge, 1995) 197.

³⁰ D. W. Winnicott, International Journal of Psychoanalysis: April-July 1964.

³¹ Letter: November 10, 1975.

He did not collapse into schizophrenia.”³² Most of these medical diagnoses and opinions centre around either Jung’s early childhood or the deep crisis which resulted after his breakup with Freud in 1913, both of which are described fully in the autobiography. While opinion is divided in this area, I think John Gedo offers wise counsel when it comes to pronouncements about Jung’s mental state. Although it may be tempting to take a pathobiological approach to Jung’s early years, “it is not Jung’s pathology that was remarkable; rather it was his successful adaptation.”³³ This is not to dismiss the impact of the events and experiences of Jung’s life, but simply to recognize his ability to surmount many of those difficult situations. As we shall discover in our study, Jung had formidable obstacles to overcome, especially in his early years. That he accomplished this, and went on to become one of the premier figures in twentieth century psychology, speaks to the power of his adaptive abilities.

Equally diverse are the evaluations of Jung’s life story, MDR. For instance, in The Saturday Review, published in June of 1963, E.F. Edinger, a Jungian analyst describes the book as a “magnificent culmination of the life’s work of the therapist to modern man.” In his review, Edinger writes:

Memories, Dreams, Reflections pays scant attention to outer events unless they evoke inner meanings. It is the autobiography of a depth psychologist - a new kind of scientist who attempts to study objectively the workings of the soul, especially his own soul. It is the autobiography of a realist (in the sense of medieval philosophy), one who experiences the universal patterns of existence as living, spiritual realities. Finally, it is the autobiography of an introvert, a personality type for whom subjective experience carries more value and meaning than outer events and physical factors. If the reader brings an affinity for such matters, he will find the book immensely rewarding, perhaps a landmark in his life...In this, his final work, Jung magnificently culminates his task as therapist to modern man.³⁴

³² Vincent Brome, Jung: Man and Myth (London: Macmillan, 1978) 168.

³³ John E. Gedo, Portraits of The Artist: Psychoanalysis of Creativity and Its Vicissitudes, (N.Y: The Guilford Press) 272.

³⁴ Edward F. Edinger, Saturday Review: 46: June 23, 1963.

Eric Fromm, noted author and psychoanalyst, writing in Scientific American, was not so kind in his critique of the autobiography. He writes:

Jung ignores the outer events of his life for fear of obscuring the importance of its dreams. In the telling, the dreams become fascinating insights into Jung's thoughts, and the book becomes an adventurous example of the psychoanalytic monologue in which events must be deciphered from the hieroglyphic language of the unconscious. Jung rarely bothers to pursue an idea much past the bellwether dream that gave it birth. The fault of the introvert (a word Jung coined) is a reluctance to consider the significance of life in any terms but his own, and it is a fault that becomes the very spirit of Jung's book. The only encounter of his life he discusses in detail is his stormy meeting with Freud.³⁵

Both these analysts write from a specific psychological perspective. Edinger was a devoted disciple while Fromm believed Jung to have committed heresy upon his separation from Freud. Their evaluations reflect disparate ideologies, and express the range of opinion that Jung's autobiography seems to evoke among scholars. The analyst, Edward Glover, furnishes, I believe, a more balanced and insightful critique. He says:

What renders this book of surpassing (if sometimes aggravating) interest to the psychological historian is not so much Jung's polemic on the nature of psychic energy as the long drawn out account of his 'religious conversion,' his 'varieties of religious experience', and his testament of faith. It is difficult to do justice to the many - sidedness of these concerns... So much, however, is certain: this book of memoirs will continue to be read with fascination by future generations when some of his more formal works are respectively interred in psychological libraries.³⁶

While opinion is divided on the autobiography; whether or not it tells the whole truth about the analyst, I believe that MDR provides the reader a means of gaining a deeper understanding of this psychoanalyst. In the next

³⁵ Eric Fromm, Scientific American-209:283 Spring 1963.

³⁶ Edward Glover, New York Times Book Review: May 19, 1963.

portion of my research I will examine the autobiography, beginning with my first impressions of this book more than twenty years ago.

CHAPTER ONE: MEMORIES, DREAMS, REFLECTIONS

*Home is where one starts from. As we grow older.
The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated.
Of dead and living. Not the intense moment
Isolated, with no before and after, But a lifetime burning in every moment And not
the lifetime of one man only
But of old stones that cannot be deciphered...In my end is my beginning
(T.S. Eliot: Four Quartets 'East Coker')*

PERSONAL REFLECTION

Twenty years ago, as part of a graduate course in “Religion and Literature”, I first read MDR, the autobiography of Carl Gustav Jung. It marked my first encounter with this giant of twentieth century psychology. This work was described as a twentieth - century spiritual classic in the line of disclosures such as Augustine’s, Confessions. I recall the work made a deep impression upon me: it was this text that prompted me to pursue a study of the rest of Jung’s writings. While that first reading was a long time ago, I remember clearly a few distinct impressions , both from the words and the images in the autobiography.

My first text had on its cover a picture of Jung. Here we see him as an old man, “tweed jacketed”, thoughtfully smoking his pipe, and reading what seems to be a manuscript.⁵⁷ The impression I received was that of a trusted grandfather-scholar. Every time I picked up the book this visual image was the first one that was registered, even before I began a new chapter . Because first impressions are significant, the front cover photograph reinforced an idea that herein was the record of a wise, old man, someone whose word I could trust, and in whom I could believe. If the front cover helped me to see Jung in this light, the final pages, devoted to a glossary of Jungian terminology and an impressive, exhaustive description of the complete twenty volumes of The Collected Works, helped me to see Carl Jung as a scholar.

⁵⁷ See appendix 212

In the first hard cover English edition of the autobiography, there is another photograph of interest. The opening frontpiece is of Jung, an old man holding a small candle.³⁸ Here we see an enlightened man, a figure who kept the lamp of knowledge from being extinguished by the darkness of ignorance. This helped to sustain an image of Jung as “the wise old man of Küsnacht.” In a Yosuf Karsh photograph taken in 1958 at the time in which the autobiography was being written, Jung poses in his study at Küsnacht.³⁹ Here he sits at his desk and in the background are three stained- glass windows, forming a kind of triptych such as might be found on a medieval altar .⁴⁰ There is an aura of the spiritual and religious surrounding this portrait. To view this picture is to peer into the pastor’s study and observe Jung as the “vicar of Küsnacht.” Philip Rieff in The Triumph of The Therapeutic says that Jung’s father symbolically moved from the pastorate to the insane asylum⁴¹ (Friedmatt Mental Hospital, Basel.) I would argue, judging from photos such as the Karsh picture that Carl Jung may have moved, symbolically, from the insane asylum (Burghölzli) to the pastorate. (Küsnacht)

Reading MDR, a record of the life and times of a world-renowned analyst, was a little like being invited on a journey: the guide for the pilgrimage was a man whom you could trust, an experienced traveler who

³⁸ See appendix 213

³⁹ Through a conversation with Yosuf Karsh and his agent (Gerry Fielding) ,I was able to learn that the photo session was arranged by a mutual friend from Denmark. The session was something Jung very much wanted to do, and that he was , according to Karsh, very congenial, friendly and it was not long before they were engaged in conversation. Finally, Karsh says that it was Jung who recommended that a picture be taken in the study. (see appendix 246.)

⁴⁰The theme in the window is a religious one: the crucifixion, the death of the son of God. The window itself is a copy of a fourteenth century stained-glass window in the church at Konigsfelden, Aargau, Switzerland. In the left panel Christ is being lashed with whips. On the right, we see the dead Christ with Mary weeping. Two disciples accompany Mary Magdalene , and above is an angel. The centre panel, the crucifixion of Christ with the flaming stigmata, is the focal point of the window. In the centre window below is an elaborate coat of arms dated, 1590. On the right, the arms of Basel dated 1543 (Basilea 1543) The centre light also contains a small round inset of stained glass showing Jesus and the twelve disciples at the last supper. E.A. Bennet, Meetings With Jung (Zurich: Daimon, 1985) 67. See also Jung’s conversation with Walter Uhsadel in his study at Kusnacht in which Jung refers to this window as a copy of one of the stained glass windows in the monastery at Konigsfelden,Aargau,Switzerland. (Letters, vol. 1,236.)

⁴¹ Philip Rieff, The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud, (N.Y: Harper Torchbooks,1966)128.

knew every twist and turn of the road. It was difficult, if not impossible to finish the book without becoming a disciple of Carl Jung. Reading this autobiography in the context of Jung's other writings was a little like reading the Gospels in light of the rest of the New Testament. As in the Gospel account, Jung's autobiography describes the early life of the main character (in this case a renowned analyst) and, while this book gives valuable information about the early days, like the Gospel records, the autobiography was written much later than the rest of the corpus.

I recall early in 1980 having my visual impression amplified as I listened to a five-part CBC radio series on Jung.⁴² This audio presentation was nothing less than mythic: complete with the transcendent music of Wagner, and with commentary by adoring disciples, mostly women, all in praise of this famous man. In addition to this, there were recordings of Carl Gustav Jung in conversation, thus permitting the listener to hear the voice of the Master himself, speaking from beyond the grave. This series renewed my interest in Jung, and I decided to find out as much as I could about the man. The best place to begin this was, of course, the autobiography. The first question that came to my mind was: how did this memoir come to be? I thus began my study of MDR by searching the text itself in order to discover how it came into existence.

The idea for a biography of Jung was first broached at an Eranos conference early in the summer of 1956, as a result of conversations with the American publicist Kurt Wolff. Initially, Jung was hesitant about exposing his personal life to scrutiny and doubtful about the whole enterprise. The venture began to take shape in the spring of 1957 when the designated biographer, Aniela Jaffé, commenced her conversations with the psychoanalyst. There continued to be anxiety and some ambivalence in Jung's mind regarding the task of telling his life story. Jaffé herself insisted that Jung's attitude toward the project was never really settled, moving from "affirmation to rejection" up

⁴² C.G. Jung: A Retrospective- Five part series. C.B.C.-Spring 1980

to the day he died. Part of Jung's reticence had to do with the feelings which were revived when he reflected on his early childhood:

to take up the very first beginnings of my life...it became clear that all the memories which have remained vivid to me had to do with emotional experiences that arouse uneasiness and passion of mind. ⁴³

In a letter to an old college friend, (also included in MDR but the friend was unnamed) who had requested that he write down the memories of his youth, Jung says clearly and unequivocally that he will not. He simply had no desire to do it, and as an analyst who listened to thousands of patient's "life stories," he knew, all too well, the impossibility of accomplishing such a task truthfully:

During the last years the suggestion has come to me from various quarters that I should do something akin to an autobiography. I have been unable to conceive my doing anything of the sort. I know too many autobiographies, with their self-deceptions and downright lies, and I know too much about the impossibility of self-portrayal, to want to venture on any such attempt."⁴⁴

What is perplexing about this statement is that in the very next paragraph he informs Gustav Steiner that he is about to embark on the delicate task of autobiography:

Recently I was asked for autobiographical information, and in the course of answering some questions I discovered hidden in my memories certain objective problems which seem to call for closer examination. I have therefore weighed the matter and come to the conclusion that I shall fend off my other obligations long enough to take up at least the very beginnings of my life and consider them in an objective fashion. The task has proved so difficult and singular that in order to go ahead with it, I have had to promise myself that the results would not be published in my lifetime. Such a promise seemed to me essential in order to assure for myself the

⁴³ MDR.viii.

⁴⁴ C.G. Jung, Letters, December 30,1957.

necessary detachment and calm. It became clear that all the memories which have remained vivid to me had to do with emotional experiences that stir up turmoil and passion in the mind.⁴⁵

One year later Jung continued to speak of his uneasiness and anxiety around this project. In a letter of January 9th, 1958, he wrote:

These days my thoughts were caught in a circumambulation of an entirely new proportion to me, namely an order from within to write up my earliest recollections. This command made necessary a new attitude of mind consisting of a sort of autobiographical interest violently resisted hitherto...I observe a little demon trying to abscond my words and even my thoughts and turning them over into the rapidly flowing river of images, surging from the mists of the past, portraits of a little boy, bewildered and wondering at an incomprehensibly beautiful and hideously profane and deceitful world.⁴⁶

In a letter to Kurt Wolff, director of Pantheon Books in New York, and whose idea it was to create the autobiography, Jung informs the publisher that some of the memories have caused him to play a more active role in the task:

It is indeed true that while I was recounting my memories to her [Anielia Jaffé] I myself got the desire to delve more deeply into them sometime. Often we do not sufficiently appreciate what we are carrying around in us. I realize that in a certain sense I am coming into collision with Frau Jaffé's work, but I think this difficulty can be obviated by our entering into a collaborative relationshi I would contribute my bit, so to speak...I myself don't know how far my preoccupation with my early memories will lead me. At the moment I feel I would like to carry my account of them only up to the point where they join up with my scientific work...I cannot say with any certainty where the boundary line will set itself.⁴⁷

Two years later, Jung seems to have changed his mind about the extent of his involvement in the autobiography. In a letter of early January 1960 ,he

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Letters, January 9, 1958.

⁴⁷ Letters, February 1, 1958.

protests that his contribution is really only a minimal one:

It seems rumors have reached you that I was writing my biography. I have always vowed I would never write an autobiography and in this case have only wetted my feet a little; it is rather Frau Jaffé who is writing a biography to which I have made a few contributions. So I have nothing more to do with it.⁴⁸

In a similar vein Jung writes to his son-in-law, Walther Niehus-Jung, in April of the same year.

I want to thank you for your efforts on behalf of my so called "Autobiography" and to reaffirm that I do not regard this book as my undertaking but expressly as a book which Frau Jaffé has written. The chapters in it that are written by me I regard as a contribution to Frau Jaffé's work. The book should appear under her name and not under mine, since it does not represent an autobiography that I myself have composed.⁴⁹

In rereading MDR , I recall being puzzled at what seemed to me a missed opportunity. In the introduction to MDR the biographer, herself an analyst, wrote that a decisive step was taken one morning, when Jung decided to record childhood recollections himself. Jaffé considered this step to be a sign of Jung's affirmative attitude toward their efforts. It was a move Jung made only after wrestling with a great deal of inner conflict.

After a period of inner turbulence, long-submerged images out of childhood rose to the surface of his mind. He sensed their connection with ideas in the works he had written in his old age, but could not grasp it clearly... It had become a necessity for him to write down his early memories. If he neglected to do so for a single day, unpleasant physical symptoms immediately follow...One morning he (Jung) informed me that he wanted to set down his recollections of his childhood directly...In April 1958 Jung finished the first three chapters on his childhood, school days, and early

⁴⁸ Letters, January 6, 1960.

⁴⁹ Letters, April 5, 1960.

years at the university...These chapters ended with the completion of his medical studies in 1900.⁵⁰

According to Jung, early childhood memories were causing considerable stirrings in his inner world, and there was an emotional uneasiness connected to this time period. Unpleasant physical symptoms arose if he neglected those memories. In response to these psychic stirrings, he decided to chronicle an account of his early years all on his own. The result of this sudden, new development was that he quickly finished the first three chapters in April of 1958. This section of the autobiography begins with his first early memories as an infant, continues through school and student days, and concludes with his father's death and the completion of his studies at the University of Basel. It is this part of the book, the first three chapters of MDR, that D.W. Winnicott refers to as, "genuine autobiography."⁵¹

Jaffé, a trained analyst and one who had observed Jung's discomfort and turbulence with early childhood memories, accepted, without question, Jung's decision to describe those disturbing recollections directly. Only Carl Jung would record that part of the life story. The meaning of those disturbances and the reason for the change of format would not be questioned. This autobiography had now taken a different course. After so much hesitation, reticence and uneasiness on the part of Jung, "the wise old man of Küsnacht" had decided that his early childhood memories could only be described, interpreted and put to paper by the Master himself.

Although unexpected, Aniela Jaffé called this decision gratifying. She interpreted this move as a sign Jung was now truly involved in the project. I wondered why Jaffé had accepted this decision so readily and why, as an analyst, she did not consider Jung's decision to write these chapters as an attempt perhaps to manipulate the story. How could such a conflicted process, one which plainly caused inner discord, forcing Jung to struggle with early life experiences, be ignored by an analyst and editor?

⁵⁰ MDR vi.

⁵¹ D.W. Winnicott, International Journal of Psychoanalysis: vol. 45 April -July, 1964. p450-455.

At this time I read Naomi Goldenberg's book, Resurrecting The Body: Feminism, Religion and Psychoanalysis⁵², which, along with the concerns mentioned above, forced me to reconsider some of my original observations. In chapter eight of her work, "Looking at Jung Looking at Himself: A Psychoanalytic Rereading of Memories, Dreams, Reflections," Goldenberg reveals some of the problems the reader faces if he or she simply accepts Jung's account as it is written, endorsing the author's analysis of an experience as the only interpretation. At this point in my research, I asked: what were other scholars saying about Carl Jung? I wondered if the autobiography were indeed an accurate representation of Jung's life? These were some of the matters I wanted to explore, and it is to those issues I now turn my attention.

⁵² Naomi R. Goldenberg, Resurrecting The Body: Feminism, Religion and Psychoanalysis (N.Y: Crossroad, 1993)

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

For a generation after Jung's death, scholars have depended, almost exclusively, upon MDR for their biographical facts about Jung. This text was especially critical for data about his early childhood and vital for the description of the catastrophic break with Sigmund Freud. MDR has served as a blueprint for all subsequent biographies since its publication in 1963. Scholars and critics who write about Jung, whether favorably or disparagingly, have been dependent upon this autobiography for source material. Until fairly recently, Jung's personal papers in Switzerland, as well as in America, have been relatively inaccessible.

In the last decade, as more personal details have become available, the status of this autobiography, as reliable and accurate, has become suspect. One of the first scholars to document the inconsistencies, gaps and errors within the text, was Alan C. Elms. His book, Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology represents a benchmark in the course of Jungian studies. In chapter four, "The Auntification of C.G. Jung," Elms reveals information which has transformed opinion about MDR. This seminal work has stimulated a new dialogue with Jung, sparking a renewed interest in his life. As a consequence of this publication, a number of books and articles about Jung have appeared over the last few years (i.e. Richard Noll, Frank McLynn, Sonu Shamdasani, Deirdre Bair⁵³).

In this chapter, Elms describes Jung as a man striving to tell his story, but whose efforts were hampered, largely due to the meddling of others. "He (Jung) tried to tell his own personal myth, but his autobiography was then tampered with by others, who remodeled it in ways with which he did not

⁵³ Sonu Shamdasani, Memories, Dreams, Omissions in Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture, 56, 1994. Cult Fictions (1998) Richard Noll, The Jung Cult 1994, The Aryan Christ, 1997. Frank McLynn, Carl Gustav Jung 1997. Deirdre Bair, according to Noll, is in the midst of compiling an important study of Jung.

altogether agree.”⁵⁴ Richard Noll acknowledges Elms’ contribution to the study of Jung.⁵⁵ He was, says Noll, the first to document that MDR was:

less an autobiography than a patchwork of material brilliantly integrated by Anielia Jaffé, Jung’s assistant in his last years, with copious editorial assistance from the American editors at Pantheon, who brought out the first English edition before a German one appeared.⁵⁶

Reading this crucial chapter, “The Auntification of C.G. Jung,” is much like reading a good mystery. With the skill and determination of a sleuth, Alan Elms searches libraries, foundations and archives, and leaves no stone unturned. He conducts personal interviews, tracks down original manuscripts, and pursues friends of Jung; resolutely seeking clues to anything that will help him find the missing parts of the person of Carl Gustav Jung. When this investigator has assembled his research, and thus is in a position to draw some conclusions, he sounds strangely like the detective in the mystery who summons the suspects to the library, in order to name the guilty party. The evidence has been collected, the research has been done, and the investigator lays out his case. He begins, “Let’s consider who is most likely to have contributed to the “auntification” process and why. There were several suspects.”⁵⁷ The search for Jung begins in intriguing fashion with conspiratorial overtones as the author states, “Some interviews appear to have

⁵⁴ Alan C. Elms, Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology (N.Y: Oxford University Press, 1994) 52

⁵⁵ It is important to note here that while Noll credits Elms for the original research on MDR in fact Elms was assisted by Shamdasani, a fact Noll did not acknowledge. In his latest book, Cult Fictions, Sonu Shamdasani draws attention to this error (one of many) and in the final pages of the book responds to this omission by quoting from a letter written jointly by Elms and Shamdasani. He writes, “We conducted our researches independently at the same time. When we learnt of each other’s researches, we exchanged pre-publication drafts of our papers, as the cross-references indicate. Consequently there is no issue of priority.”(111)

⁵⁶ Richard Noll, The Aryan Christ : The Secret Life of Carl Jung (N.Y: Random House, 1997) xiii.

⁵⁷ Elms, 60. Auntification is based on the German word, Tantifizierung, (tanteor aunt) and translated by R.F.C. Hull as auntification - the process of turning a person into a stereotypical maiden aunt. Jung wanted to present himself as blunt, fiercely honest, and intimately self-revealing in his life story, the very opposite of the stereotype of the maiden aunt.(Elms, 57.)

been altogether erased from the record.”⁵⁸ With these words, the mystery unfolds.

Elms first stopped at the C.G. Jung Biographical Archives at the Countway Library, Harvard University, Boston.⁵⁹ Here he found a heavily copy edited manuscript of the first English-language version of the memoir. This had been used by editors, translators and copy editors at Pantheon books to establish the form the first edition of the autobiography was to take. Because of a legal technicality, Jung insisted on the book’s publication first in an English edition rather than in the original German.⁶⁰ This edition was used to translate back into German for the work’s subsequent European publication.

From the Countway Library, Elms next traveled to the Library of Congress in Washington where he stumbled upon some obscure correspondence files, the property of the Bollingen foundation. Several of the same people who had worked on the publishing of the Collected Works had evidently played a role in the evaluation of the biography. This correspondence informed other Jungians of the updates and revisions within the autobiographical work.

From America, Elms journeyed to Switzerland in search of a portion of Jung’s personal papers which were supposedly sitting in a secured archive in Zurich. A discussion with Franz Jung (Carl’s son) yielded Elms permission to see those papers in the ETH Bibliothek. These documents were fragments of the MDR German -language manuscript, some of which was hand-written by Jung, while the rest was typed by Aniela Jaffé, his secretary. This excursion led to a personal interview with Frau Jaffé. Discussion here centered around Jaffé’s

⁵⁸ Ibid.52.

⁵⁹ C.G. Jung Biographical Archives in the Harvard Medical School : These records are an oral history assembled in the late 1960’s and early 70’s by Gene Nameche. Nameche was supported by a Jung-oriented private foundation. (Frances G. Wickes Foundation) The oral history was proposed by two of the foundations board of directors, Henry Murray and William McGuire. As a friend of Wicks and Jung, Murray recommended Nameche as the interviewer. Nameche interviewed everyone he could find who had known Jung well enough to possess first hand memories of the man.(Elms, 53)

⁶⁰ Jung had a long -standing contract with a Swiss publishing house that applied to any of his works first published in the German language. He was not altogether happy with that publisher or with its subsidiary arrangements for publication of his work in other countries. Jung reportedly entertained hopes that the autobiography might gain a wider acceptance through another publisher. The first- edition American publication of MDR was a means of getting around the restrictive Swiss contract.(Elms,57.)

dispute with the Jung family, disagreements about both the title page credits, and more importantly, on royalties she was to receive for co-authoring the publication.⁶¹

While searching through the Bollingen foundation files in the Library of Congress Elms noticed references to a set of Jung “protocols” which were off-limits to scholars. After securing permission from William McGuire at Princeton (executive editor of the Collected Works) he was able to examine these documents. The “protocols” contained additional portions of the German text of MDR. This included materials from which Aniela Jaffé had compiled the text itself. As his search drew to a close, Elms determined that, “substantial portions of MDR’s original manuscript were neither at the Library of Congress nor at the ETH - Bibliothek.”⁶² There was, however, enough material for him to piece together some significant observations.

As a consequence of his research, Elms was able to discover how the idea of an autobiography finally became acceptable to Jung, even though earlier requests had been denied.⁶³ In early 1956, Kurt Wolff approached Jolande Jacobi, a Jungian analyst, to interview Jung, suggesting that a biography be written later, based on this conversation. Years later, in conversation with Nameche, Jacobi spoke of her response to Wolff’s request.

I refused, because I was afraid there would be difficulties with Jung. I knew that he was very moody and difficult to handle. And I also had no time. I wanted to do my own things. I suggested that Mrs. Jaffé should do it with him. She was his secretary and she saw him every day anyway. I went to Jung and told him about Kurt Wolff’s wish for the biography, and was able to convince him. It was difficult to do so, and [to get

⁶¹ According to those familiar with the circumstances, Jung accepted the idea of Jaffé’s doing the authorized autobiography, and receiving the royalties as a way of providing an informal pension for her after he died. Because the book developed in such unexpected ways the pension arrangement was changed. Eventually they (Jaffé and Jung executors) settled on an arrangement in which the profits were shared equally between Frau Jaffé and the Jung estate. (Elms 56)

⁶² Alan C. Elms, Uncovering Lives (N.Y: Oxford Press, 1994) 55

⁶³ As Jung grew older and more famous, individuals friendly to the Jung cause repeatedly tried to develop an official or semi- official biography with his assistance. There was some anxiety that Jung’s priceless memories would be lost when he died. Until 1956 all such attempts to convince him had failed.

him] to accept Mrs. Jaffé to collaborate.⁶⁴

According to Elms, Aniela Jaffé was not an “obvious choice to become the authorized biographer of a world-renowned intellectual figure. While Frau Jaffé had been analyzed by Jung, and had practiced a little Jungian therapy, she was neither a professional scholar nor a prominent member of Jung’s inner circle.⁶⁵ The project thus got off to a shaky start.

The charge of “auntification” came as a result of a conversation between Jung and R.F.C. Hull, the translator of the Collected Works.⁶⁶ Hull described a visit from Jung who, while on one of his recreational drives in the country, stopped by, ostensibly to look over Hull’s “Mysterium” translation. It was at this time that Jung complained about the tone which the autobiography was taking.

The old man turned up on leap-day with Mr. McCormick and Miss Bailey, said he wanted to talk, and talked solidly with me alone for over an hour about the autobiography. I gathered that there was some controversy going on as to the “authentic” text. (At this time I had seen no texts at all.) He impressed upon me, with the utmost emphasis, that he had said what he wanted to say in his own way - “ a bit blunt and crude sometimes”- and that he did not want his work to be “tantiziert” (auntified or, in Jack [Barrett’s] felicitous phrase, “old-maidified.”) You will see what I mean when you get the text...Early in March, Kurt brought the German text of the first three chapters, together with the translation of them by [Richard] Winston....I noted, on reading the German text through, that it contained numerous alterations, and quite a few deletions, as well as a few additions on separate sheets...It soon became apparent that the alterations in the German text were all of a kind which toned down and “old-maidified” Jung’s original words.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Jolande Jacobi , interview by Gene Nameche, C.G. Jung Biographical Archive, Countway Library.

⁶⁵ Alan C. Elms, Uncovering Lives (N.Y: Oxford Press, 1994) 56.

⁶⁶ R.F.C. Hull would likely have been the translator for the autobiography were it not that he was at the time engaged in the translation of Jung’s work, Mysterium Coniunctionis. Kurt Wolff was a little hesitant because of Hull’s rather too formal writing style which he thought might be inappropriate for an informal autobiography. Eventually Richard and Clara Winston were hired to do the translation.

⁶⁷ Alan C. Elms, Uncovering Lives (N.Y: Oxford Press 1994) p57,58. Quoting from an unpublished letter of R.F.C.Hull, July 27, 1960- from the private collection of Birte- Lene Hull.

Hull believed that the alterations ,particularly the deletions, modified the intent of Jung’s narrative, and led to an emasculation of the original text. These charges launched a series of arguments wherein each party argued intensely about what should go into or be taken out or changed in Jung’s autobiography. The scheme even included different coloured pens and pencils for each of the characters in the contest. The participants were, C.G. Jung, Aniela Jaffé, Richard and Clara Winston, R.F.C. Hull , several of Jung’s children, and a host of copy editors at Pantheon books. Elms lists the successes and failures of each member to attain his or her goals, vilifying some, and praising others. The answer to the question: “Who aunted Carl Jung in MDR?” is never really settled. Elms moves from Jung to Jaffé, then to the translators and editors, with a good deal of the discussion centering on the socially conscious and morally sensitive Jung family. While it was clear there had been tampering with the text, (additions, deletions, rephrasing and alterations) it was difficult to determine who did what. In the end, all that can be said for certain is that the original text had been altered, and that each participant had collaborated in the revision. The editorial disputes continued a decade after MDR was first published. The final revised hardcover edition appeared in 1973. According to Elms, “some of those arguments remain unsolved 30 years after the book’s first publication, though they’ve been attenuated by the deaths of most of the principal figures in the controversy.”⁶⁸

Many of the text alterations occurred because of the Jung family’s worry over how Carl Jung and his family might be perceived by others. Parts of the narrative were too forthright, too candid, and just a little too revealing for their “bourgeois respectability” and conventionality. The family, for instance, wished to have sections removed in which Jung complained of his poverty in the early days. In the memoirs, Jung ,as an embarrassed student, described his humiliation, saying, “I became aware how poor we were, that my father was a poor country parson and I a still poorer parson’s son who had holes in his

⁶⁸ Alan C. Elms, Uncovering Lives (N.Y: Oxford Press, 1994) 60.

shoes and had to sit for six hours in school with wet socks.”⁶⁹

The famous vision⁷⁰ Jung had of God defecating on Basel Cathedral was too graphic for family members. In the original version of this story Jung does not speak of a giant ‘turd’, but instead refers four times to “shit.” This crude description horrified the relatives who wanted the whole episode removed. The passage, however, remained, minus the word, “shit.”

More serious than these alterations, and crucial for an understanding of Jung’s religious development, was the family’s request to have the section documenting Jung’s adolescent religious doubts removed.⁷¹ Aniela Jaffé sent a telegram to the publisher and relayed Walther Niehus-Jung’s order to “delete this entire section, nearly twenty pages of manuscript.”⁷²

Elms also refers to a minor omission in MDR, one in which Jung records his seance involvement. This experience would later become part of Jung’s doctoral research.⁷³ Both Elms and, later Richard Noll,⁷⁴ are suspicious of Jung’s scanty account in MDR, and probe the true nature of his relationship to the young woman. Both writers believe that Jung’s brief and sketchy account of the episode conceals more than it reveals. The medium, about whom Carl was to write his doctoral dissertation in 1902, was his first cousin, Helly Preiswerk. Elms suspects there was an erotic relationship between nineteen year old Jung and his cousin, Helly. He writes:

Jung began his “experimentation” with the girl when he was 19 and she was 13.

⁶⁹MDR 24.

⁷⁰MDR 39

⁷¹MDR, p66-78.

⁷² Elms, 63.

⁷³ This is described in MDR, p106, 107.

⁷⁴ Richard Noll’s, The Aryan Christ (N.Y: Random House, 1997) Chapter 2 ‘Summoning The Spirits’, p22-41. Much of Noll’s information comes from Stephanie Zumstein-Preiswerk’s book, C.G. Jung’s Medium, a work based upon unpublished family documents and according to Noll, a more reliable account of Jung’s life between 1895-1903 than Jung’s personal rendering of that episode and time period. Jung fails to mention, for instance, that his mother, Emilie Jung was a member of that seance group. See also F.X. Charet’s, Spiritualism and the Foundation of C.G. Jung’s Psychology.

What was going on between Jung and this medium during the early seances was in reality intimate and highly charged emotionally. Good reason, perhaps, for the relatives later to delete references to their having had any sort of relationshi⁷⁵

Memories, Dreams, Omissions?

“Sometimes we should ask more questions when a dog doesn't bark than when it does.”⁷⁶

In the closing portion of Elms study he refers to other particularly significant omissions from MDR, where the question of deletion, or as is sometimes the case, the utter absence of information, is revealing. Elms wonders, as have many before him, why Jung's autobiography does not speak of his close collaborator, Toni Wolff. Why did he hardly mention his wife? The absence of these characters in the narrative is a signal that we need to begin searching below the book's surface.⁷⁷ He is clearly right.

Jung's family had all parts of several letters from C.G. Jung to Emma, which were included in the original draft, deleted from the final publication. Their argument was that “one doesn't publish one's father's love letters.”⁷⁸ The two omissions, it seems, were related. Elms claims that all but a few references to Emma Jung had been deleted from the preliminary manuscripts,

⁷⁵ Elms, 65.

⁷⁶ Known as the Sherlock Holmes rule. In the final chapter of Uncovering Lives the author lists the criteria established by Irving Alexander for doing good psychobiographical research- in other words what to look for to determine whether the autobiography is accurate. One of the categories determining accuracy, is omission, what significant information has been left out. This rule is deemed the Sherlock Holmes rule, named of course after the famous 19th century detective, a character of Conan Doyle. This allusion is to one of Conan Doyle's mysteries. In order that the case be solved, it was critical to ask, why the dog, which normally barked at strangers, (thus warning the master of possible danger) did not bark on the occasion of the murder of the dog's master. Holmes concluded that the dog did not bark because the intruder was no stranger.

⁷⁷ Elms, 246.

⁷⁸ Elms, 61. from R.F.C. Hull - an interview by Gene Nameche, C.G. Jung Biographical Archive, Countway Library.

and were unable to survive even the first English translation because:

although Emma Jung was important enough to Carl Jung for him to discuss her seriously in his autobiography, the children thought it improper for him to do so, but they had a strategic reason for deleting most references to her. Only by omitting Emma could they also justify every overt reference to an almost equally important woman in C.G. Jung's life: his mistress, Toni Wolff.⁷⁹

Opinions are divided about how much Jung originally wrote about his mistress in MDR. Aniela Jaffé, in an interview with Elms, announced that there was originally a whole chapter about Toni Wolff. While material at the Library of Congress doesn't contain an entire chapter, Elms suggests there is enough content scattered throughout the manuscript to create one. In addition, Wolff had received a considerable number of letters from Jung throughout their affair, but upon her death in 1953, Toni's sister had this correspondence destroyed. While it is clear then that Toni Wolff was Jung's mistress and confidante for over forty years, until the rest of Jung's records (letters, files, diaries) are released, much of what is passed off as factual, is a combination of speculation, rumour, gossip and innuendo.

In addition to the absence of any reference to Wolff and little mention of Emma Jung, there is nothing in the autobiography about an earlier love of Jung's, Sabine Spielrein.⁸⁰ Spielrein, a brilliant Russian who became an analyst, was for a time a patient of Jung's, then his lover.⁸¹ Later she became a friend and a disciple of Sigmund Freud. In a letter to Spielrein, long after the affair had ended, Jung asks for her understanding and acknowledges her

⁷⁹ Elms,64.

⁸⁰ Two publications which discuss this relationship, highlighting the importance of this encounter for Jung are: Aldo Carotenota, A Secret Symmetry and the more recent book, by John Kerr, A Most Dangerous Method. Carotenota's research indicates that Spielrein was erotically involved with Jung during and after her analysis. This is contrary to Jung's many denials in letters to Freud. Spielrein was treated by Jung in 1904, and maintained an intimate relationship with him for many years after. She also trained with Freud and corresponded with both men during their friendship (1906-1913) Working from Spielrein's diary, Kerr details Spielrein's influences on both Freud and Jung. According to Kerr she assisted Jung in the development of his concept of the anima, while contributing to Freud's formulation of the death instinct. Within the The Freud-Jung Letters there are a number of references (although veiled) to Spielrein, both by Freud and Jung. I refer to this relationship, later, in my examination of those letters.

⁸¹ see The Freud- Jung Letters - 144J, 148J, 145F.

influence on some of his thinking. Aldo Carotenota writes:

The love of S. for J. [Spielrein and Jung] made the latter aware of something he had previously only vaguely suspected, that is, of a power in the unconscious that shapes one's destiny, a power which later led him to things of the greatest importance. The relationship had to be "sublimated" because otherwise it would have led him to delusion and madness (the concretization of the unconscious). Occasionally one must be unworthy, simply in order to be able to continue living.⁸²

Commenting on the absence of any reference to Spielrein in MDR , Elms admonishes Jung for his silence. "Jung owed Sabine Spielrein something more in his autobiography than an anonymous and derogatory reference to her as "a talented psychopath."⁸³

There is another glaring omission within MDR, and that is the exclusion of any mention of the sexual assault upon Jung as a child. Only upon the publication of The Freud-Jung Letters did this incident come to light. Later, in this study, I will examine more carefully this episode and its effect upon Jung. This event would have repercussions for Jung, both in his view of sexuality and in his relationship to men. Elms and others have accepted Jolande Jacobi's story, relayed to her by Jung, that this assault happened when Jung was 18, and was perpetrated by a middle -aged friend of the family. I believe this revelation is a little too convenient to be true.

I am suspicious of this disclosure; first, because Jung was hardly a boy at 18, and second, Jacobi's account of "a fatherly friend, trying a homosexual approach towards him one day," hardly corresponds to the boy, who in Jung's account, was the victim of a sexual assault by a man Jung once worshipped. Surprisingly, little has been published about the sexual assault first alluded to, and only cited in, The Freud- Jung Letters, published in 1974. It is somewhat remarkable that, with rare exception, biographies of Jung through the decade after this revelation, failed to speak of this incident, let alone offer any possible

⁸² Aldo Carotenota. A Secret Symmetry (N.Y: Pantheon ,1982) p.190.

⁸³ Elms, 66. and MDR.185

psychological repercussions of this act upon the noted psychoanalyst. Later in my study, I will offer an hypothesis about when and where the assault took place.

In spite of Jung's hesitancy and his misgivings about the autobiography, he accepted and approved the arrangement. Although he was ambivalent about the wisdom of recording his memoirs, he nevertheless sanctioned the biography. His consent was, I believe, related to a number of other events occurring at about the same time as the request for an autobiography.

In 1952, Carl Jung published perhaps his most controversial book, Answer to Job. That this work was still uppermost in his mind at the time of the writing of his autobiography is evidenced by the many references to the book, both in the introduction to MDR and in chapter seven, "The Work." In the ten page introduction to the autobiography, written by Aniela Jaffé, Answer to Job is the only one of Jung's works mentioned specifically by name. In this reference, Jaffé suggests that Jung's hesitancy about the proposed autobiography comes partly as a result of the hostility aroused by the Job work:

He (Jung) rather dreaded the reaction of the public, for one thing because of the candor with which he had revealed his religious experiences and ideas, and for another because of the hostility aroused by his book, Answer To Job was still too close, and the incomprehensions or misunderstanding of the world in general too painful. If the Job book met with so much misunderstanding, my 'memoirs' will have an even more unfortunate fate." ⁸⁴

The chapter entitled, "The Work" concludes with a description of events leading up to the completion of Answer To Job. Of the twenty-two pages in this section, five pages are devoted to this late work. While this chapter is only a survey of Jung's writings, he concludes it with a reminder that "all my writings may be considered tasks imposed from within; their source was a

⁸⁴ MDR.222.

fateful compulsion. What I wrote were things that assailed me from within myself.”⁸⁵ It seems this book was very fresh in Jung’s mind as he began to consider writing his autobiography. Jung feared that he might be misunderstood by his readers, resulting in hostility such as the kind aroused by his book, Answer To Job. Because he dreaded the public’s reaction he remained cautious toward any candid revelations about his life. While it is true to say that the response to Answer To Job made Jung cautious, I think it was also the case that the inner tumult which spawned that creation continued to churn within him. As the “Job book” was a “task imposed from within, the source a fateful compulsion,”⁸⁶ so it would be with the task of autobiography; once begun, that “fateful compulsion” would ultimately give birth to Jung’s life story.

There were two other events of a more personal nature which affected Jung profoundly, and probably led to his commitment to do the autobiography. In 1952 Toni Wolff died. Ms. Wolff came regularly to the Jung household for Sunday dinners, and for many years, Jung spent Wednesday evenings and frequent vacations with her. This relationship lasted for over forty years, and it was Toni Wolff who helped Jung through his psychological breakdown after the separation from Freud. Jung’s wife, Emma, was to say of Toni, that she (Toni) provided her husband with something Emma could not , especially at a time when his psychological state was in peril. An account of a strange triangle consisting of Jung, Emma and Toni is described in Vincent Brome’s biography of Jung:

There was the occasion when Carl awoke in the middle of the night to find his daughter crying, and felt that she was disturbed by his own distressed state. Silently , he dressed and went out into the night and sought the solace of Antonia’s company⁸⁷

In 1955, Emma, Jung’s wife for over fifty years died. She had provided a

⁸⁵ MDR.222

⁸⁶ MDR.222.

⁸⁷ Vincent Brome, Jung : Man and Myth (London: Macmillan,1978) 169.

much needed stability for him particularly on occasions when Jung questioned his sanity, and it was through Emma that Jung was able to hold on to reality. He writes:

The unconscious contents could have driven me out of my wits. But my family , and the knowledge : I have a wife and five children, these were actualities which made demands upon me and proved to me again and again that I really existed ...my family and my profession always remained a joyful reality and a guarantee that I also had a normal existence.⁸⁸

His commitments and obligations to her and his family provided him with a solid foundation. Shortly after her death, in a letter to his friend Erich Neumann, Carl speaks movingly of her loss and the effect it had on his thinking. "Only five days between the final diagnosis and death...but the stillness and the audible silence about me, the empty air and the infinite distance, are hard to bear."⁸⁹ With the publishing of Answer to Job in 1952, Toni Wolff's death in 1953, followed by the death of Emma Jung, Carl Jung gradually, cautiously considered the need to leave a written record of his life.

It is imperative that Jung scholars continue to search the libraries and archives for texts, personal papers, private diaries, paintings of visions, and interviews, so that more can be known about Carl Gustav Jung. As a result of the research already compiled and communicated in the last decade, Carl Jung has emerged as a man of considerable depth; albeit one who shares a good deal more humanity than his "disciples" believed, but who is also a good deal less villainous than his detractors maintain.

In spite of the many unanswered questions and omissions, deletions and editing, I believe that MDR is still a very fruitful resource for understanding the life and work of Carl Gustav Jung. The autobiography reveals salient information about Jung, and because the first three chapters are from the pen

⁸⁸ MDR. 189

⁸⁹ Letters. 284.

of Jung himself, MDR provides crucial insights into the early life of this psychoanalyst. In the next part of my study I will examine Jung's early life in the parsonage. For the first twenty years of Carl's life a vicarage was his home. This home environment helped to mold the life and thought of the future psychoanalyst. There is much to be learned from a study of those early years, and an inspection of that critical period yields remarkable findings.

In my reading of MDR, I return again and again to the Prologue, wherein the author reveals, that for him ,“self understanding can only be realized in the light of inner happenings.”⁹⁰ Those interior incidents are key, not only to Jung's self understanding, but to our perception of the man. It is within that inner life, revealed and expressed in dream, vision and image, we discover fresh insights about Jung. I will later examine some of those inner happenings, but first we will turn our attention to Jung's early life at home in the vicarage.

⁹⁰MDR. 5

CHAPTER TWO: LIFE IN THE VICARAGE

THE SINS OF THE FATHER

The less we understand of what our fathers and forefathers sought, the less we understand ourselves, and thus we help with all our might to rob the individual of his roots and his guiding instincts.¹

Jung's grandfather, his namesake, Carl Gustav Jung (1794 -1864) was a professor of medicine at the University of Basel. According to the accounts of the time, he was, "a man of irresistible charm and a man who won the hearts of all those with whom he came into contact."² He enjoyed a successful career as a physician in Basel, eventually becoming Rector of The University of Basel, and later Grand Master of the Swiss Freemasons. While Rector of Basel he took an interest in the treatment of mental illness, and tried unsuccessfully to promote the endowment of a chair of psychiatry. There was also an unsubstantiated rumour that he was an illegitimate son of Goethe.³ This story of his alleged tie with Goethe no doubt contributed to the elder Jung's legendary status during his lifetime. The rumour was also to have its effect upon the young C.G. Jung in his time. It was said that Jung used to smile when denying this relationship to the great Goethe.⁴ This kinship with Goethe may have struck a sympathetic chord with Jung as evidenced in his later years by the personification of himself as "the wise old man." P a u l

¹ MDR. p.236.

² Henri F. Ellenberger, The Discovery of the Unconscious (N.Y: Basic Books, 1970) p.660.

³ MDR. p.35.

⁴ There are some interesting parallels between Carl Gustav Jung and his grandson, Carl. When, for instance, Carl (jr.) asked Emma to marry him she at first said no. This is similar to Carl senior's experience with Sophie Frey, daughter of the Mayor of Basel, and his third wife. She rejected Carl's first proposal after which he went off to the tavern and married a serving girl. It seems that it was Emma's mother that convinced her daughter to later agree to Jung's proposal. (Stern, p.34) This was, incidentally, the same woman who appears at the vicarage when Paul and Emilie are separated, and whom Jung describes in his autobiography as "the girl who later became my mother-in-law and who admired my father." (MDR. p.9)

Stern captures the heart of this alleged link to the great Goethe when he writes:

In letters and talks with friends Jung often alluded to the great-grandfather as if his blood tie to Goethe were a proven fact. And if, on occasion, he felt called upon to repudiate the legend of his descent as “annoying,” he usually did so in a tone that denied his denial.⁵

In the legendary Jung-Goethe link, I am reminded of a prophesy uttered in The Interpretation of Dreams. In this book, Freud finds it necessary to tell us that, when he was born, an aged peasant woman proclaimed that a “great man came into the world.”⁶ It seems that notoriety, fame and influence are preceded or predicted by signs, wonders, or good breeding!

C.G. Jung the elder was to have thirteen children, some of whom were to cause him great disappointment in his later years. Both Jung’s father, Paul Johannus Achilles and his mother, Emilie Preiswerk were the last children born into large families. Both his parents belonged to the “sacrificed generation”, that is they were born after their respective fathers had become impoverished. In a revealing diary entry, Carl Gustav senior refers both to his financial situation and that of his father-in-law and, in his disappointment, lashes out with a stinging criticism of his sons, writing:

Today I was informed that Papa Frey [C.G. Jung’s father- in-law] has lost everything. Thus I have no hope of an inheritance. It is true that I sometimes spent a lot on a book, but when one considers that I have sons and could have hoped that one would follow in my footsteps...what I have earned goes toward their education. And now, because misfortune has caught up with my father-in-law, because my sons are mediocre brains and cause me worry and anxiety I must provide for their physical well-being after my death. ⁷

⁵ Stern, p. 19.

⁶ Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams (N.Y: Avon Books, 1965.) p.225.” At the time of my birth an old peasant -woman had prophesied to my proud mother that with her first-born child she had brought a great man into the world.”

⁷ Stefanie Zumstein- Preiswerk, C.G. Jung’s Medium, p. 114.

Jung's maternal grandfather, Samuel Preiswerk (1799 -1871) was a distinguished theologian and Hebraist. He became antistes ⁸ of the Basel Church, and was a scholar, composing a number of hymns as well as compiling a Hebrew grammar text. Samuel, a supporter of what would later be called the Zionist cause, believed that Palestine should be restored to the Jewish people. He married twice and with his second wife fathered thirteen children.

According to local tradition, Samuel was a man who had visions, communed with the spirit world, and even reserved a special chair in his study for the spirit of his first wife. Much to the chagrin of Augusta Faber, his second wife, Samuel's first bride made weekly visits to the study. Not to be outdone, Augusta possessed the gift of second sight, while her children were said to have paranormal abilities. One of those children, Emilie, Jung's mother, was required to sit behind her father while Samuel wrote his sermons in order that the "spirits could not read over his shoulder." ⁹

Emilie, Carl's mother, was portrayed as a woman, "very stout, a ready listener...She had a decided literary gift but this remained hidden beneath the semblance of a kindly, fat, old woman, extremely hospitable, and possessor of a great sense of humor." ¹⁰ Throughout his memoirs he continually alludes to his mother's strange, unpredictable character; a woman possessing paranormal psychic abilities, a mother who was down to earth, with common sensibilities. It is a rare occurrence when writing of his mother, that Carl does not speak of her dual nature, alluding to her two personalities, "one innocuous and human, the other uncanny."¹¹

Carl's father, Paul Johannus Achilles Jung(1842-1896), was a Hebrew student of Professor Preiswerk when he first met Jung's mother, Emilie. The Reverend Paul Jung was a student of classical languages and Hebrew, a

⁸ An "antistes" would be the president of the regional community of pastors.

⁹ Ellenberger,p. 661.

¹⁰ MDR. p.48

¹¹ MDR,p.48,49.

graduate of Göttingen, reading for his D.Phil. degree. His dissertation topic was "An Arabic Version of the Song of Songs."¹² Upon graduation, he became a modest country parson, serving in three parishes: pastoring first in Kesswil on Lake Constance, then ministering at Laufen near Schaffhausen on the Rhine Falls from 1876-1879. His final appointment in 1879 was to Klein - Hüningen, a suburb of Basel and he was there until his death in 1896. It was while in this parish that Carl's father became Protestant chaplain at Friedmatt Mental Hospital in Basel. Annual reports from this hospital during the Reverend Paul Jung's tenure (1888 -1896), expressed "high appreciation of his character and services to the patients."¹³ As pastor, Paul Jung had been described as, "a quiet, unassuming man who admirably knew how to preach to peasants and was universally loved and respected by parishioners," although he was considered by his colleagues as "a somewhat boring man."¹⁴ Although Paul was a pastor of the Basel Reformed Church, he was by inheritance, a Lutheran. In an interview with E. A. Bennet, Jung explained the theological and liturgical variations that existed within his father's denomination. These differences were regional, for example, Zurich, effected by Zwingli, was very rational, more so than Geneva which had been affected by Calvin. In the Eucharistic rite, wooden vessels were used and no ornaments. In Basel, the celebration of communion was more ritualistic, more old-fashioned.¹⁵

¹² Paul graduated from the University of Göttingen in 1867. His doctoral thesis was entitled, " Ueber des Karaers Jepheth arabische Erklärung des Hohen Liedes." (Daniel Kress, archivist, University of Basel.)See appendix p.213

¹³ Ellenberger,p.738,

¹⁴ Ellenberger,p.662.

¹⁵ E.A. Bennet, Meetings With Jung (Zurich: Daimon,1985)p.106.

Emilie and Paul were married¹⁶ after Paul's ordination and, in August of 1873, Emilie delivered her first child, named after his father, Paul. Their first born lived only a few days.¹⁷ Their next child, named after Paul's father, Carl Gustav was born on July 26th, 1875, in Kesswil while Johanna Gertrude was born almost a decade later on July 17, 1884 in Kleinhüningen. Carl¹⁸ was born, and lived out his childhood and youth, in a country parsonage. The vicarage, even in Jung's day, was still considered to be, "one of the germinal cells of German culture."¹⁹ From these parsonages, came philosophers and scholars as diverse as Nietzsche and Barth, both of whom were pastors' sons. Within the exhaustive study of the history and evolution of psychiatry, The Discovery of The Unconscious, Henri Ellenberger paints an idyllic picture of vicarage life:

In a quiet spacious house with a large garden, the minister accomplished his ecclesiastical duties, practiced cure of souls, gave an example of domestic virtues, raised his family, and kept some time for contemplation and study.²⁰

For the young Carl Gustav Jung, however, life in the vicarage was not as utopian as this pastoral impression would lead us to believe. In the next portion of our study we will examine more deeply his life in the vicarage.

¹⁶ According to at least one source, Paul and Emilie were married in 1874. If this was in fact the case, then Carl's brother, Paul, born in August of 1873, would be illegitimate. see Aniela Jaffé, Word and Image, (Princeton:1979.)p.22. This error is even found in one of the latest biographies of Jung. (i.e. Robert W. Brockway's, Young Carl Jung). Here the author writes, "In 1873, he (Paul) married Emilie, the thirteenth child of the Rev. Samuel Preiswerk." (p.54) I have, however, succeeded in finding out the date of the marriage from the archives at the University of Basel. According to the archivist (Daniel Kress) Paul and Emilie were married on April 8, 1869. Paul had been ordained in 1867. See appendix p.215

¹⁷ According to archival records in Basel, Paul was born August 18, and died August 23 in Kesswil. Recorded in "Rasbacher," p.13. (Daniel Kress, archivist, Basel University)

¹⁸ According to the Community Register in Basel, the psychiatrist's first name was spelled "Karl," but he always used the older spelling "Carl" that had been that of his grandfather. (Ellenberger, p.738.)

¹⁹ Ellenberger, p.663.

²⁰ Ellenberger, p.663.

OUTWARD EVENTS

Generally speaking, all the life which the parents could have lived, but of which they thwarted themselves, for artificial motives, is passed on to the children in substitute form. That is to say, the children are driven unconsciously in a direction that is intended to compensate for everything that was left unfulfilled in the lives of their parents. ²¹

Jung told me more than once he could never have analyzed me nor understood my dreams had he not been a parson's son himself, and probably it is my being a parson's daughter that gives me any understanding of this aspect of Jung's childhood and the 'ponderables' in the atmosphere that surrounded it.²²

"When I was six months old, my parents moved from Kesswil on Lake Constance to Laufen, the castle and the vicarage above the Falls of the Rhine... My memories begin with my second or third year. I recall the vicarage."²³ These sentences open the first chapter of Jung's autobiography, Memories, Dreams, Reflections. Born on July 26th 1875, Carl Gustav Jung was to spend the next twenty years (half this time as an only child) in the parsonage. He was born to a father, whom Jung himself describes as "reliable but powerless," and a mother whom he felt to be "innately unreliable." Throughout the autobiography Jung makes it clear that towards his mother there was a feeling of closeness, albeit that emotion was combined with some anxiety. Jung's relationship toward his father, however, was at best distant and at times cool. Jung's feelings towards both his father and mother are disclosed in the very first reference he makes to them in MDR. In the first reference to his mother the tone of the description is very warm and positive:

²¹The Collected Works of C.G. Jung (Princeton : 1979) vol. 17, p.533.

²² Barbara Hannah, Jung: His Life and Work (Boston: Shambhala, 1976) p.26.

²³MDR. p.6.

My mother took me to the Thurgau to visit friends who had a castle on Lake Constance. I could not be dragged away from the water. The waves from the steamer washed up to the shore, the sun glistened on the water and the sand under water had been curled into little ridges by the waves. The lake stretched away and away into the distance. This expanse of water was an inconceivable pleasure to me, an incomparable splendor. At that time the idea became fixed in my mind that I must live near a lake; without water, I thought nobody could live at all. ²⁴

In marked contrast to this description we discover in Jung's first reference to his father (once again water) that the images are more frantic suggesting the themes of drowning and death:

Still another memory comes: strangers, bustle, excitement. The maid comes running and exclaims, "The fishermen have found a corpse - came down the falls - they want to put it in the wash house!" My father says "Yes, yes. I want to see the dead body at once." ²⁵

It is of note that in Jung's earliest memories, the first image of a woman was not of his mother, but the first image of his mother was a warm, positive one. In contrast, Jung's first image of a man was of his father, but it was a darker one, with an association of death. To this I would add, the first father reference records a conversation not between his father and mother but between his father, Paul, and the maid.

Likewise, in Jung's description of the final moments of his parents' life, we encounter a similar contrast. In recounting his father's death, Jung is clinical, cool and matter of fact. Although Paul is only 53 years of age and Carl only 20, there is little passion in the narrative. After coming home from the university, Jung went upstairs to see his dying father. And then in detached fashion, he writes of the patient's last hour:

²⁴ MDR. p.7

²⁵ MDR. p.7.

There was a rattling in his throat, and I could see that he was in the death agony. I stood by his bed, fascinated. I had never seen anyone die before. Suddenly he stopped breathing. I waited and waited for the next breath . It did not come. ²⁶

Although Jung was not at his mother's bedside twenty-seven years later when she died, the effect upon him was nothing less than catastrophic. Deeply shaken by the news of his mother's death, he writes that this event was foreshadowed in a dream the night before:

I was in a dense, gloomy forest; fantastic, giant boulders lay about huge jungle -like trees. It was a heroic, primeval landscape. Suddenly I heard a piercing whistle that seemed to resound through the whole universe. My knees shook. Then there were crashings in the underbrush, and a gigantic wolf hound with a fearful, gaping maw burst forth. At the sight of it, the blood froze in my veins. It tore past me, and suddenly I knew: the Wild Huntsman had commanded it to carry away a human soul. I awoke in deadly terror, and the next morning I received the news of my mother's passing. Seldom has a dream so shaken me.²⁷

In the first passage, that of his father's death, Jung describes an "outward event," a circumstance, which seemingly held very little meaning. The second memory, in which his mother's death is foreshadowed, is a good example of an "inner happening" erupting from the "imperishable world which can only be expressed by way of myth."²⁸ In contrast to the father event, this happening is of profound significance. Although the student Jung was at his father's bedside when Paul died he describes this event in a language which is emotionally distant from the experience. His mother's death, however, an event which takes place some distance from where Carl is holidaying, is foretold in a dream, a night terror which shakes Jung to the depths.

Carl paints a very dark picture of his father, Paul, believing that his father's problem involved a struggle with, and eventual loss of, faith. He

²⁶MDR. p.96

²⁷MDR.p.313.

²⁸MDR.p.3.

believed that having lost his faith, Paul lived out his life in bitterness and disappointment. This strife, coupled with an unhappy marriage (a mother who was confined to a sanatorium through some of Jung's early childhood), necessarily meant his father suffered the life of an unhappy pastor. Of his early life experiences at home, Jung was to say later that , "children react much less to what grown-ups say than to the imponderables, in the surrounding atmosphere. It is not surprising that my father's forebodings put him in a state of unrest, which then communicated itself to me."²⁹

Regarding the choice of a profession, Paul told Carl to " be anything, except a theologian." Jung believed his father's student days were the happiest of his life. In one of the few times Jung speaks movingly of his father (perhaps recognizing³⁰ his father's true vocation, that of scholar and teacher), he says:

Once upon a time he too had been an enthusiastic student in his first year, as I was now; the world had opened out for him, as now before me. How can it have happened that everything was blighted for him, had turned to sourness and bitterness? I found no answer or too many. The speech he delivered that summer evening over the wine was the last chance he had to live out his memories of the time when he was what he should have been.³¹

There are hints here that Jung may have guessed the reason for his father's unhappiness. Was Paul Jung perhaps a frustrated scholar who missed the challenges of an academic life? There is evidence that this was the case.

While Paul Jung was able to finish his doctoral studies at Göttingen he did not have the necessary funds for his official qualification in philology. Then something happened that altered the course of Paul's life, and may have affected the way he viewed theology. "A relative died unexpectedly, leaving

²⁹MDR. p.90.

³⁰ Jung often referred to this special ability. " I know things others apparently know nothing of, and for the most part do not want to know...It is important to have a secret, a premonition of things unknown." (MDR p.356.) Another example of this foreknowledge is found in Jung's recounting of a stranger's life story at a wedding. " In the course of life it has happened that I know something which I really could not know at all." (MDR.p.51)

³¹MDR.p.95.

behind a sum of money to be used for the education of a family member who had a desire to become a minister.”³² In an interview with a close friend, E.A. Bennet, at the end of his life, Jung described his father’s predicament, his choice of vocation, and what lay at the root of his dilemma:

Paul had shown promise of a career as a Hebrew scholar. But all this came to an end in the death of his father, for the family found themselves short of money and it looked as if this gifted student must take up remunerative work. Then a relative died unexpectedly, leaving a sum of money for the education of any member who wished to become a clergyman. Mainly as a way out of his financial difficulty, Jung’s father accepted the legacy and turned to the study of theology; in due course he was ordained. When it came to marriage, his choice fell on the daughter of his old teacher of Hebrew.³³

Until this financial crisis, Paul Jung had been pursuing a vocation as a scholar in the academic world. It is this world, Carl Jung believed to be the milieu his father felt most comfortable within, and thus he would write providentially: “His days of glory ended with his final examination. Thereafter he forgot his linguistic talent.”³⁴ It seems probable then that Paul may have begrudgingly moved from his chosen field within the academic world to the study of theology, in order to finish his doctoral studies. For Paul, this change

³² E.A. Bennet, C.G. Jung, p.114.

³³ Bennet, pp.14,15. It is interesting to note the similarities between Paul and Carl with regard to the death of a father and its effect upon their academic careers. Jung writes in MDR that, “with the death of my father difficult problems arose concerning the continuation of my studies. Some of my mother’s relatives took the view that I ought to look for a clerk’s job in a business house, so as to earn money as quickly as possible.”(p.97.) The major difference lay in the fact that Jung’s financial help from an uncle unlike his father’s legacy, came with no strings attached. It could be argued that both father and son married for “convenience.” Paul married his professor’s daughter, perhaps a way of hanging on to the “academic world,” while Carl solved his financial difficulties by marrying into the Rauschenbach fortune. The difference here is that Paul’s legacy which pushed him into theology also imprisoned him in the pastorate. Carl’s marriage, however, freed him from poverty, the result of twenty years of vicarage life.

³⁴ MDR, p.91.

culminated in ordination, with a move then to the profession of ministry.³⁵ This led to what would inevitably become an unhappy, unfulfilled life as a pastor, and all this because he was financially unable to complete doctoral studies in philology! If this were the case, it is no wonder that the Reverend Paul Jung was a melancholy man, a minister who consequently had little interest in theology. Jung was later to say of his father that, "theology had alienated my father and me from one another...I saw how hopelessly he was entrapped by the Church and its theological thinking."³⁶ It seems conceivable that this entrapment began when Paul took that endowment money and set off on a path to ordination.

Paul's detour into the pastorate then may have been due to a lack of money. This inadequacy, not an uncommon plight for prospective pastors, pastors and pastor's children, was to plague Carl for much of his early life. Morton Kelsey, a Jungian analyst and Episcopal priest, alludes to this problem and Jung's early experience as a pastor's son when he writes: "Most Episcopal ministers do not take a vow of poverty: they just live it. The same was true of Swiss ministers."³⁷ I have referred to Jung's impoverished upbringing earlier in this work, a condition which caused him considerable embarrassment as a child. Early in his autobiography, Jung speaks of this humiliation. On leaving the small rural school and entering the larger urban gymnasium he became acutely aware of his poverty. "My father was a poor country parson and I a still poorer parson's son who had holes in his shoes and had to sit for six hours in school with wet socks."³⁸

It was only through the pleading efforts of his father who begged for a stipend for Carl at Basel, that he was able to attend that university. It was not

³⁵ Some of this has been confirmed by the records at Basel University. According to the archivist, Paul Jung finished his theological studies at the University of Basel in 1865. He did not become ordained but instead went to Göttingen University in Germany to do studies in oriental languages. He was not ordained until 1867 when he went to become parish priest at Kesswil. I am indebted to the archivist at Basel University, Daniel Kress, lic.phil. for this information.

³⁶MDR. p.93.

³⁷ Morton T. Kelsey, ChristoPsychology . p.9.

³⁸MDR. p.24.

possible to attend a university other than one in his home town because that education would be too costly. Although it was solely through the pleading efforts of his father that Jung received the monies, Carl was embarrassed by the shame of this need. "My father applied to the University of Basel for a stipend for me, and to my shame it was granted."³⁹ Jung's feelings towards his father on this issue were clearly ambivalent. Without the "begged - for" stipend, this young, ambitious and eager student could not be enriched intellectually at the University of Basel. Acceptance of the scholarship monies, however, meant a humiliating acknowledgement of his poverty.

This concern might also explain the puzzling apprehension behind Paul Jung's dying words. Emilie, Paul's wife, relayed to Carl that in his dying breath, his father asked Carl a final question: "He wants to know whether you have passed the state examination?" I saw that I must lie. "Yes, it went very well." He sighed with relief, and closed his eyes."⁴⁰ Carl at this time was only in his first year of university and not at the end of his medical studies, which would require him to write the "state examinations" in order to receive his doctorate (of medicine). Perhaps Paul feared that unless Carl completed his studies and received his doctorate, he too might end up in a profession he did not want.

Maybe Carl was right. His father was happiest as a student because as a student he pursued his real passion, a life of scholarship, and that profession, not pastoring, would bring fulfillment. Robert Brockway writes that likely the Reverend Paul Jung was "a misfit in the ministry. There was little that he could do to keep up his academic interests in the little Rhenish villages where he spent his life, trying to do something for which he was emotionally unsuited."⁴¹ While it is true that the Reverend Paul Jung may have lost his faith, it may be that he was never really called to practice that faith as a pastor.

Following his father's death and throughout his student years, Carl was

³⁹MDR.p. 86

⁴⁰MDR. p.96.

⁴¹ Brockway,p.56.

to experience a good deal of financial hardship. After his father's death, he received financial assistance through the kindness of a relative, an uncle on his father's side. In this case, however, there was no requirement to serve in the church as a condition of accepting the loan in the amount of three thousand francs.

Later, in 1903, Jung married Emma Rauschenbach, a woman from a fine, old, affluent Swiss family. Through this marriage, Carl was able to move out of the state of poverty experienced as a parson's son. Throughout his career Jung attracted a number of very rich disciples such as Edith McCormick, daughter of John D. Rockefeller.⁴² McCormick was instrumental in founding The Psychological Club in 1916. Paul and Mary Mellon, also wealthy Americans, established the Bollingen Foundation in 1945, sponsoring the publication of the English translation of Jung's Collected Works. In 1948, the C.G. Jung Institute in Zurich was opened, and this enterprise too, was established through the generous donations of a few wealthy benefactors. In Great Britain, Sir Montagu Norman, Governor of The Bank of England from 1917 to 1920, was numbered among Jung's patients. It may have been that because of his vicarage upbringing, the kind of life which sometimes glorifies want as a kind of holy poverty, Jung decided at an early age: whatever his profession, he would not be poor! A marriage to the daughter of a wealthy industrialist helped to secure this goal. Paul Stern alludes sarcastically to Jung's ability to secure riches from his religious outlook when he writes: "A person of less exalted mind might read the fantasy [alchemical change of lead into gold] as pointing to Jung's future adroitness in extracting money from "spirituality." ⁴³

Jung wrestled with what studies he should pursue at university; whether he should work in the humanities or science. He described the solution as one that came abruptly, after a couple of dreams. In response to these dreams Jung wrote, "In this blind alley the inspiration suddenly came to

⁴² See Richard Noll's Aryan Christ, chapter 10: Edith Rockefeller McCormick - "The Rockefeller Psychoanalyst" pp.200-235.

⁴³ Stern, p.34. Stern is specifically referring to Jung's vision of the copper trunk which changed a mysterious substance from the air into gold. (MDR, pp.81,82.)

me that I could study medicine. Strangely enough, this had never occurred to me before.”⁴⁴ Yet, according to one of Jung’s oldest acquaintances, a friend from his youth, Albert Oeri, Jung had decided to become a physician at a very young age. ⁴⁵ Was the ordinary outward event too common and, in the end, forgettable, while in the extraordinary, revelatory world of dreams, visions and inner happenings Jung found signs and portents which pointed to his special destiny?

Toward the end of his university work, Carl had to choose the branch of medicine he would pursue. It looked as if he would work in internal medicine but suddenly changed direction in mid-stream, moving to psychiatry. Upon encountering Krafft-Ebing’s text, Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie, he knew that psychology was to be his chosen profession. Of that ecstatic moment Jung was to write:

Beginning with the preface, I read: “It is probably due to the peculiarity of the subject and its incomplete state of development that psychiatric textbooks are stamped with a more or less subjective character.” A few lines further on, the author called the psychoses “diseases of the personality.” My heart suddenly began to pound...it had become clear to me, in a flash of illumination, that for me the only possible goal for me was psychiatry...The decision was taken. ⁴⁶

Upon closer scrutiny, this vocational decision may have been less “Damascus”-like than he believed. From 1888 until his death in 1896, Carl’s father, Paul had been Protestant chaplain at Friedmatt Mental Hospital in Basel and by most accounts, was held in high regard by the staff and patients. Yet Jung makes no mention of his father’s connection to the world of psychiatry. It seems unlikely that his father would be completely silent about his experiences at the mental hospital, duties which comprised a significant part of his professional life.

⁴⁴MDR. p.85

⁴⁵ Ellenberger, p.78.

⁴⁶MDR. p.109.

Not only did his father have experience in the realm of psychiatry but an uncle of Carl's was a psychiatrist. Shortly before Jung took up his post at the Burghölzli Mental Hospital in Zurich, he paid a visit to his aunt in Stuttgart, Frau Reimer-Jung, whose husband was a psychiatrist.⁴⁷ No mention is made of this relative, someone who might well have informed young Carl about the profession of psychiatry. Once again it seems that, all on his own, Jung receives the revelation to follow the path of psychiatry. In his biography of Jung, Gerhard Wehr indicts Jung for his failure to give credit to those who may have assisted him in hearing the "call" to psychiatry.

In Memories, Dreams, Reflections the autobiographer coyly withheld the name of his teacher, Professor Ludwig Willie, who in 1876 had founded the St. Urban Mental Asylum, but who did not succeed in awakening an interest in the subject of psychiatry.⁴⁸

In Jung's autobiography there is no mention that he was in fact the second child born to Paul and Emilie. Thus Jung was born into what is now sometimes referred to as a bereaved family. Carl's brother, Paul, was born two years before Carl, dying a few days after birth. There could be no doubt this death and subsequent bereavement would profoundly affect Paul and Emilie, thereby altering the dynamics of their relationship and the environment in which Carl would be raised. Reading Jung's description of his childhood, we might assume he was raised as an only child. While this was true for the first nine years of his life, the situation changed with the birth of his sister, Gertrude. Of her birth, Jung was to say: "This sudden appearance of my sister left me with a vague sense of distrust...subsequent odd reactions on the part of my mother confirmed my suspicions that something regrettable was connected with this birth."⁴⁹ In his biography of Jung, Paul Stern speaks of the arrival of Gertrude as an incident which upset Carl, leading to a greater distrust of his

⁴⁷MDR. p.111.

⁴⁸ Gerhard Wehr, Jung: A Biography, (Boston: Shambhala, 1987) p.65.

⁴⁹MDR.p. 25.

parents:

When he was nine, a sister was born, robbing him (Carl) of his place as the only child. This event was most unwelcome to him, so distasteful in fact, that it took him completely by surprise and led him to banish his sister forever after to the most remote corner of his universe. His nervous vigilance had failed to detect the radical changes in his mother's body; and he had asked no questions. When he could no longer ignore what had happened, he was told a story about the stork bringing the baby, which, to this nine-year old boy with the carping mind of a Philadelphia lawyer, sounded like humbug. Subsequent odd reactions on his mother's part made him suspect that there was something untoward about this birth. The whole episode left a sour taste and fed his distrust of his parents.⁵⁰

According to brother Carl, Gertrude had:

a delicate and rather sickly nature, and in every respect different from me...Later she had to undergo an operation that was considered harmless, but she did not survive it...At bottom she was always a stranger to me, but I had great respect for her. I was rather emotional, whereas she was always composed, though very sensitive deep down.⁵¹

Jung's depiction of Gertrude in MDR as "composed", yet "sensitive", seems to me, "composed;" not an account compiled by a brother who imagines himself as, "rather emotional." With no mention of a brother, and scant reference to his younger sister, Carl seems to have lived his life as if he were the only child of Paul and Emilie Jung. I suspect that Robert Brockway comes closest to the truth when he says of the Jung family, "In actuality, Paul and Emilie Jung raised two only children serially."⁵² Later in this thesis I will discuss how both Paul's death and Gertrude's birth had a profound effect upon Carl's early years in the parsonage.

Early in the autobiography, Jung describes Emilie's illness and the effect

⁵⁰ Paul Stern, C.G. Jung - The Haunted Prophet (N.Y: Braziller, 1976) p.29.

⁵¹ MDR, p.112.

⁵² Brockway,p.9.

her absence had upon the Jung household:

I was suffering from general eczema. Dim intimations of trouble in my parents marriage hovered about me. My illness, in 1878, must have connected with a temporary separation of my parents. My mother spent several months in a hospital in Basel, and presumably her illness had something to do with the difficulty in the marriage...I was deeply troubled by my mother's being away.⁵³

As Jung examines his early life, he experiences a series of “overwhelming images”. These impressions were painful reminiscences of his early childhood,⁵⁴ which included the memory of a tumble downstairs and a fall against an iron stove which resulted in a severe head wound. The scar from this injury remained for years after, and this painful recollection revived a memory of another event that almost took his life. It was only through the quick efforts of the Jungs’ maid that his life was saved. If she had not intervened, Carl would have plummeted to the bottom of a gorge, slipping through a bridge railing over the Rhine Falls. These experiences, according to Jung, were either the result of “an unconscious suicidal urge or a fatal resistance to life in this world.”⁵⁵

Jung’s parents slept in separate rooms, with Jung sleeping in his father’s room. He makes mention on numerous occasions of his father’s “irritability” and his mothers “invalidism.” Throughout the early chapters of MDR he speaks of the oppressive atmosphere within the vicarage. Referring to one of his many choking fits, he writes: “At that time I was sick with pseudo-croup, accompanied by choking fits...the suffocation returned in the anxiety dreams. I could see in this a psychogenic factor; the house was beginning to be

⁵³MDR, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Part of the pain associated with these images no doubt comes from the fact that for some of Jung’s early childhood he endured his mother’s absence. His parent’s separation, with the ensuing female replacements caused Jung some emotional turmoil. A black- haired , olive-skinned maid, later to become a component of his anima, and a young, pretty, charming, blue-eyed ,fair- haired girl who admired Jung’s father were two female replacements. The charming girl was in fact later to become his mother-in -law.

⁵⁵MDR. p. 9.

unbreathable.”⁵⁶ According to Jung, both parents tried to live devout lives, but the marriage did not work, and he writes that “there were angry scenes between them only too frequently.”⁵⁷ For young Carl, life in the vicarage was neither a healthy nor secure existence. This house, the atmosphere of which had become “unbreathable,” was a place of sickness, unhappiness, depression and rage. It was home to strange and weird occurrences, nocturnal ghostly visits, and injuries symptomatic of “suicidal urges.” Here in the vicarage, in the dark shadow of an irritable, powerless father and a sick, unstable mother, Carl Gustav Jung first tried to make sense of his world.

If life in the vicarage was less than ideal, the environment outside was no better. “All around lay a danger zone. People drowned, bodies were swept over the rocks.”⁵⁸ Young Carl’s world was one of uncertainty and anxiety, a world where things were rarely what they appeared to be. In order to survive in this space the child began, more and more, to withdraw into himself. Given the “outward circumstances” of vicarage life as Jung describes it in his autobiography, it is no wonder that the young Carl would look for meaning in the “inner happenings” of his interior life. To use Jung’s familiar plant metaphor,⁵⁹ life would have to be lived from its rhizome, that invisible, inner realm which lies hidden, beneath the surface, but which nourishes the fruit of outward circumstances. As we shall see, however, the dreams, secrets, visions, and reflections of the young parson’s son speak symbolically of the dark, troubled life of the Jung household and of a son who cannot find a way to his father. To Jung’s account of life within that sphere, I now turn my attention.

⁵⁶ MDR. p. 19.

⁵⁷ MDR. p.91.

⁵⁸ MDR. p.9.

⁵⁹ MDR. p. 4.

INNERHAPPENINGS

He told me that he (Jung) had been writing his autobiography of the first twenty-five years of his life...he said it was only two years ago while he was working on his autobiography that he suddenly linked the three early episodes of his dream of the cave (man-eater), the priest and the funerals. He saw funerals for the churchyard was near their house; only at these services did the men appear with polished shoes, black clothes and tall hats. In his mind he linked the dream of the cave with the tomb-like Jesus in the tomb and with the priest; he thought the priest was a woman, throughout the years these experiences had been "islands of consciousness" and now he saw the connection between them for the first time.⁶⁰

In this section of my research I want to explore a few of Jung's early recollections. There are a number of early childhood events that the analyst records however I have chosen to concentrate on three significant experiences. Referring to the autobiography's title, I will examine, with the hope of unraveling a memory, a dream, and a reflection.⁶¹ I begin with Jung's first conscious,traumatic memory of "the Jesuit coming down the road." The second, the phallus or man-eater dream, occurred at about the same time as the memory of the Jesuit. These episodes occurred at about the time of his mother's absence when Jung was between three and four years of age. It was at that time Emilie spent several months in a hospital in Basel, and this temporary separation of his parents, according to Jung occurred in 1878.⁶²

In Jung's tenth year he carved a manikin- an activity I term a reflection. The carving for Jung represented "the climax and conclusion of his

⁶⁰ E. A. Bennet , Meetings With Jung, (Zurich; Daimon,1985) p.106.

⁶¹ Jung was to say of reflection that it "should be understood not simply as an act of thought, but rather as an attitude. It is a privilege born of human freedom in contradistinction to the compulsion of natural law. As the word testifies, ("reflection" means literally "bending back") Reflection is a spiritual act that runs counter to the natural process; an act whereby we stop, call something to mind, form a picture, and take up a relation to and come to terms with what we have seen. It should therefore, be understood as an act of becoming conscious."(Psychological Approach To The Trinity; CW. vol.11 65:235.)

⁶² MDR, p.8.

childhood,"⁶³ and was an effort "to give shape to the secret."⁶⁴ This later episode was an early attempt to connect the dream and the memory, and consider their meaning: all this within the safety of the vicarage attic.

In each of these three accounts the male image is dominant: whether the impression be that of a man-eating phallus, "that fearful tree of my childhood dream,"⁶⁵ the Jesuit priest, who by profession is male, (although dressed as a woman), or the manikin (a little man or dwarf), "with frock coat, top hat, and shiny boots, coloured black."⁶⁶ The manikin description is similar to Jung's depiction of his father and his male relatives, for as Jung was to say, "the people who talked most about dear Lord Jesus wore black frock coats, and shiny black boots which reminded me of funerals. They were my father's colleagues as well as eight of my uncles. For many years they inspired fear in me."⁶⁷

In each of these occurrences, Jung moves away from the personal to an abstract or universal explanation of the event. Of the "man-eater" dream, for example, he speaks of "the abstract significance of the phallus, ithyphallically upright" and goes on to interpret "the orificium urethrae as an eye, with the source of light apparently above it." He then speaks of the etymology of the word phallus, a word meaning shiny or bright, concluding that the "phallus of this dream seems to be a subterranean God not to be named." Jung then states incredulously, "I do not know where the anatomically correct phallus can have come from."⁶⁸

In the "Jesuit" episode, Jung tells of his experience of a sinister priest walking down the road, clearly an episode of terror, but then suggests the most significant consequence of this encounter was that it created a phobia of the

⁶³ MDR, p.22.

⁶⁴ MDR, p.22.

⁶⁵ MDR, p.23.

⁶⁶ MDR, p.12

⁶⁷ MDR, p.13

⁶⁸ MDR, p.13.

Catholic church.⁶⁹ “For years after I was unable to set foot inside a Catholic church without a fear of blood and falling and Jesuits.”⁷⁰

Reflecting upon the “manikin episode”, Jung was to write:

the manikin was a little cloaked god of the ancient world, a Telesphorus such as stands on the monuments of Asklepios and reads from a scroll. Along with this recollection there came to me, for the first time, the conviction that there are archaic psychic components (archetypes) which have entered the individual psyche without any direct line of tradition.⁷¹

Here, once again, Jung describes a unique personal experience, one with associations of death and burial. Then, as if to deflect the meaning of that very specific event, he steers our attention to the “archetypal” significance of that life story. Reflection upon that manikin story, according to Jung, was the first life episode which would force him to consider the possibility there were underlying components to the psyche. One’s personal experience was reflected in larger, as it were, universal themes, which are revealed throughout the history of civilization.

In the man-eater dream, the focal point is a male sexual organ, a phallus. In the memory of the Jesuit, the central character is a religious man, specifically a Jesuit priest. The overall impression of the manikin experience, another sinister memory, is one of death and burial. In this memory the frock-coated, top-hatted, black-booted, funereal figure was put to bed in a little, coffin-like pencil case. This was hidden in the “forbidden” attic, forbidden because the floorboards were “worm-eaten and rotten.” These morbid words, the macabre phrases, are the terminology of the undertaker. The contents of this pencil case would only be opened and viewed, when Carl was in “difficult situations;” the outcome of wrong-doings, hurt feelings, or when father’s

⁶⁹ It is of interest to note that Jung’s irrational fear of catholicism only ended when he was in his thirties. It was while visiting Freud in Vienna that he went into St. Stephen’s Cathedral and, from that moment, his phobia ceased.

⁷⁰ MDR, p. 17.

⁷¹ MDR, p. 23.

irritability or mother's invalidism became too oppressive.

Young Carl's reaction to the Jesuit memory was one of terror, the result of which was an "uneasy vigilance." Similarly, with the man-eater dream, Jung was "paralysed with terror," so much so that he was afraid to go to sleep, lest he have the same dream. While the manikin episode did not create terror, but was a response to the "uncertainty and disunion with himself," one has to ask what it was that prompted this anxious need for safety and security. There is also within this story a morbid fascination with dressing up this little man, fitting him into the box, as if he is being prepared for burial.

These three events are vividly brought to life by Jung in his memoirs, three-quarters of a century after they occurred. Religion, male sexuality, and death are themes which run through those early childhood memories.⁷² I will now examine each one of these memories, individually, for I believe that much of Jung's later life can be understood as a response to these deep, dark secrets of childhood.

⁷² For Carl, these three themes were embodied in his clergyman- father who was a male religious whose ministry included the burial of the dead.

A MEMORY

THE JESUIT MEMORY

These ruminations of mine led to my first conscious trauma. One hot summer day I was sitting alone, as usual, on the road in front of the house, playing in the sand. The road led past the house up a hill, then disappeared in the wood on the hilltop. So from the house you could see a stretch of the road. Looking up, I saw a figure in a strangely broad hat and a long black garment coming from the wood. It looked like a man wearing women's clothes. Slowly the figure drew nearer, and I could now see that it really was a man wearing a kind of black robe that reached to his feet. At the sight of him I was overcome with fear, which rapidly grew into deadly terror as the frightful recognition shot through my mind: "That is a Jesuit." Shortly before, I had overheard a conversation between my father and a visiting colleague concerning the nefarious activities of the Jesuits. From the half-irritated, half-fearful tone of my father's remarks I gathered "Jesuits" meant something specially dangerous, even for my father. Actually I had no idea what Jesuits were, but I was familiar with the word "Jesus" from my little prayer.

The man coming down the road must be in disguise, I thought; that was why he wore women's clothes. Probably he had evil intentions. Terrified, I ran helter-skelter into the house, rushed up the stairs, and hid under a beam in the darkest corner of the attic. I don't know how long I remained there, but it must have been a fairly long time, because, when I ventured down again to the first floor and cautiously stuck my head out of the window, far and wide there was not a trace of the black figure to be seen. For days afterward the hellish fright clung to my limbs and kept me in the house. And even when I began to play in the road, again, the wooded hilltop was still the object of my uneasy vigilance. Later I realized, of course, that the black figure was a harmless Catholic priest.

For young Carl the world outside the parsonage was, on occasion, a dangerous one. Over the Rhine Falls came drowned bodies which inevitably meant solemn funerals in the church cemetery. At the centre of this commotion appeared father, in a dark clerical gown, and he would preside liturgically at the ensuing funeral rites. Young Carl had night terrors which he associated with the sudden disappearance of those missing townfolk. Those

who went missing one day could end up buried in the church cemetery the next. These funeral rites with their attending mourners, habited in shiny black boots, tall hats and long frock coats were witnessed by this anxious three-year old, probably from the vicarage window.

What Jung describes as “the vague uncertainties of the night” were partially alleviated by a mother’s bed-time prayer:

Spread out thy wings, Lord Jesus mild,
And to thee thy chick, thy child.
If Satan would devour it,
No harm shall overpower it,
So let thy angels sing.

While this prayer was at first, comforting, it soon raised in Jung some concerns. Young children like himself were little chicks⁷³ and while Lord Jesus “took” them reluctantly, he nevertheless took them. The only difference between Satan and Lord Jesus was Jesus did not like the taste of the little chicks, finding them bitter. Jung then made the connection between the Lord Jesus “taking” the chicks and His taking other people, putting them in a hole in the earth at their burial. The Lord Jesus figure, a benevolent, comforting bird at first, soon became associated with the gloomy, frock-coated, top-hatted, black-booted men he saw at funerals. Did Jung’s mother hope to shield her second son from this “devouring” bird, and afford him a protection which had failed her first born son, Paul? Perhaps the prayer was recited as much for Emilie’s sake, to calm her fears, as it was for the protection of Carl. It may have been that Carl experienced some of his mother’s anxiety, her fear of losing another child, as he was put to bed each evening. Did she tell him about her loss? If so, was Carl afraid that without this bedtime prayer, he too might be devoured, swallowed up by the earth, the same ground which had taken his brother Paul.

It was at this time, as the young parson’s son reflected on these musings, that the “Jesuit” episode took place. Reviewing the narrative, one of the first

⁷³ In a conversation with E. A. Bennet, Jung said that there was a link between the idea of a chicken and a little cake. God would not eat the cake, but the devil would eat any amount of cake like this. The link, according to Bennet, between a chicken and a little cake lies in the German word, Kuchlein, which means both chicken and little cake. (E.A. Bennet, Meetings With Jung, p.111)

things to strike the reader is the mood of dark fear that permeates the episode. Strangely though, this dark element is absent until Jung connects the figure to a conversation he overheard between his father and a colleague. In the description, it is not so much the figure of the man walking toward him that causes fright for it just seemed to be “a man, strangely attired in women’s clothes.”⁷⁴ Upon seeing the long black robe, Jung recalled the earlier conversation about Jesuits. Their wicked activities, inferred from his father’s irate response to the Jesuit phenomenon, caused Jung to be anxious. The young child had no idea what a Jesuit was, but from his mother’s bed-time prayer he knew all too well about this Jesus.⁷⁵ Like Jesus, a Jesuit was dangerous and closely allied with those who put people in holes in the ground. Thus this strange dark figure coming down the road was to be feared, and flight was the appropriate response. Jung had to get away from the figure before he became his victim. The use of woman’s clothes was perhaps only a disguise, one that helped the priest to capture the innocent, trusting child. Once all of this registered with Jung he became terrified, panic stricken and this “hellish fright” would paralyze him for days afterward, causing him to run to the furthest reaches of the attic⁷⁶ for safety.

In Jung’s account of this childhood memory he connects the Jesus of bed-time prayer to the Lord who took people in order to bury them in the earth, linking this to the sinister Jesuit of his apprehensive father’s conversation. Thus, a catholic religious figure, Jung’s clergyman-father and the

⁷⁴ One cannot help thinking of the parallel here between this account and the story of Little Red Riding Hood. After eating Red Riding Hood’s grandmother, the wolf disguises himself by dressing up in the old woman’s clothes. This too was to deceive the little child, so that trusting the wolf (in woman’s clothes) the child would be fooled and eventually devoured.

⁷⁵ Robert Brockway believes the linking of Jesuit and Jesus and Carl’s subsequent distress was because of language. “In German, *Jesuit* and *Jesus* are pronounced “Yayzooʃ” and “Yayzoo,” so that a misunderstanding that would not happen in English could easily happen in German. The German-speaking boy confused them.” (Robert Brockway, *Young Carl Jung*, p. 70.) I would add that Jung’s experience of the bed time prayer was an oral one, that is, it was heard and thus the misunderstanding could easily have happened.

⁷⁶ For Jung, the attic was to be a symbol of safety and sanctuary. Later, in his tenth year, he would carve a manikin and take this to the attic. In his mind no one could touch him there, for this forbidden place was out of reach and he “knew that not a soul would ever find it [me] there.” (MDR, p. 21)

dark, terrifying images of a devouring death(burial) are brought together in the figure of the Jesuit. The coupling of death and religion was created in the mind of this three-year old child of the vicarage. It was father's word and father's fear that dressed death and danger in the long, dark sinister robes of religion.

At about the same time young Carl encountered the Jesuit he would have a dream, a vision, which profoundly influenced him and which stayed with him for the rest of his life. I will now examine the "man-eater vision," and its effect upon the four year old child.

A DREAM

THE MAN EATER DREAM

At about the same time-I could not say with absolute certainty whether it preceded this experience or not-I had the earliest dream I can remember, a dream which was to preoccupy me all my life. I was then between three and four years old.

The vicarage stood quite alone near Laufen castle, and there was big meadow stretching back from the sexton's farm. In the dream I was in this meadow. Suddenly I discovered a dark rectangular, stone-lined hole in the ground. I had never seen it before. I ran forward curiously and peered down into it. Then I saw a stone stairway leading down. Hesitantly and fearfully, I descended. At the bottom was a doorway with a round arch, closed off by a green curtain. It was a big, heavy curtain of worked stuff like brocade, and it looked very sumptuous. Curious to see what might be hidden behind, I pushed it aside. I saw before me in the dim light a rectangular chamber about thirty feet long. The ceiling was arched and of hewn stone. The floor was laid with flagstones, and in the centre a red carpet ran from the entrance to a low platform. On this platform stood a wonderfully rich golden throne. I am not certain, but perhaps a red cushion lay on the seat. It was a magnificent throne, a real king's throne in a fairy tale. Something was standing on it which I thought at first was a tree trunk twelve to fifteen feet high and about one and a half to two feet thick. It was a huge thing, reaching almost to the ceiling. But it was a curious composition: it was made of skin and naked flesh, and on top there was something like a rounded head with no face and no hair. On the very top of the head was a single eye, gazing motionlessly upward.

It was fairly light in the room, although there were no windows and no apparent source of light. Above the head, however, was an aura of brightness. The thing did not move, yet I had a feeling it might at any moment crawl off the throne like a worm and creep toward me. I was paralysed with terror. At that moment I heard from outside and above me my mother's voice. She called out, "Yes, just look at him. that is the man-eater!" That intensified my terror still more, and I awoke sweating and scared to death. For many nights afterward I was afraid to go to sleep, because I feared I might have another dream like that. This dream haunted me for years.

Jung is unclear whether the man-eater dream occurred before or after

the Jesuit episode. This dream, his earliest, was of singular importance to Jung, and is one which was to “preoccupy him all his life.”⁷⁷ The setting for this vision was next door to the vicarage, in the meadow adjacent to the sexton’s farm.⁷⁸ The narrative begins with the discovery of a rectangular hole in the ground. This is no doubt a reference to an open grave, an insight which Jung himself points to at the end of the story. “The hole in the meadow probably represented a grave.”⁷⁹ While the young child had not seen this grave, he had seen open graves before.⁸⁰ The grave into which he peers then becomes the doorway into another reality. While he descends, *via* a stone stairway, his attitude is simply one of curiosity. It is of note that again, the young child is alone, without playmates on this journey into the “underworld.” The journey is now downward, into the depths; the prospective discovery requires the child to descend into the earth. As he descends he becomes a little more anxious, but curiosity overcomes anxiety when he pulls back the curtain leading to the inner chamber. This description sounds like an underground mausoleum, with flagstone floors and a hewn stone ceiling. Here, within this chamber Jung beholds the phallus. Through the middle of this chamber, there ran a red carpet which led to a raised platform on which stood a golden throne. While the throne resembled a king’s throne in a fairy tale, what occupied the throne was anything but what appears in a child’s fairy tale. Upon this throne stood a

⁷⁷ MDR. p.11.

⁷⁸ There is a connection of sexton and cemetery for as Jung writes earlier, “ In the cemetery nearby, the sexton would dig a hole.” This was used for burial.

⁷⁹ MDR.p. 12.

⁸⁰ His description of funeral services conducted by his father, complete with women weeping and solemn men garbed in funereal attire.MDR.p.9

twelve to fifteen foot tree trunk,⁸¹ but one made of skin and naked flesh.⁸² The direction of the child's gaze is toward the top of this fleshy, giant, erect but faceless trunk. The gaze of the single-eyed creature too is upward. It is interesting to note that the dreamer describes the creature as both faceless and hairless on top. His next concern is discover the source of light, given there were no windows or apparent light source within the room. An aura or halo of light bathes the head of this object. Carl is worried that the creature who was large, erect and motionless, just might change its shape; becoming worm-like and creep toward him. This concern terrified the young child. The terror intensified when Jung heard his mother's voice shout, "That is the man-eater." This feeling was intense and chronic, and he feared the night dream would reoccur. Thus he was unable to sleep for many days. Indeed, the dream did "occupy him for many years."

At the heart of this dream stands an erect phallus, a male sexual organ. Perhaps one of the most incredible statements Jung makes here is on the unknown origin of the phallus image. "I do not know where the anatomically correct phallus can have come from."⁸³ It would seem to me that because there were only two males in the Jung household, the source of that phallus image was either his father or himself. Because this dream probably occurred when Jung's mother was away in hospital, at which time Jung slept in his father's room, it seems reasonable to assume that Carl would likely have seen his father's penis.⁸⁴ If so, why is Carl unable to remember this? Instead, he

⁸¹ In this image of a fifteen foot tree trunk, I am reminded of the children's classic tale of Jack and the Beanstalk. In this story young Jack plants little bean seeds which overnight sprout into a giant bean stalk, not unlike the trunk in this dream.

⁸² In E.A. Bennet's biography of Jung, (C.G. Jung) the author says of this episode that, "on it [throne] rested what he [Jung] took to be a tree trunk about 12 inches high. This had a red, fleshy top, a sort of head." (p.10) This description of a trunk 12 inches, not 12 feet high makes the comparison to a penis a little closer. According to Bennet, his information is accurate for in his preface he writes that Jung approved of his biography, and that he made suggestions and corrections in his own handwriting. It may be assumed, therefore, that the statements made are in accordance with his views.(Preface,p.viii)

⁸³ MDR, p. 13.

⁸⁴ Perhaps young Carl saw this male organ in both its "standing" form (erect), and its creeping "worm-like" (flaccid) condition.

moves into the realm of ritual, semantics and abstract significance.⁸⁵ In a feeble attempt to discourage further discussion of this man-eater creature, Jung concludes his narrative with a blustery warning to those who want to propose alternate interpretations. "I know every numbskull will babble on about "black man," "man-eater," "chance" and "retrospective interpretation" in order to banish something terribly inconvenient that might sully the familiar picture of childhood innocence."⁸⁶ While I believe a variety of interpretations possible, including the archetypal one Jung offers, he simply moves far too quickly from the dream image, (a hairless, fleshy, penis) to the more archetypal symbol of the ritual phallus. His semantic dilemma regarding the words uttered by his mother, whether Emilie's warning is, "*that* is the man-eater, or that is the *man-eater*," only serves to muddy the waters. There may be another way of understanding this dream.

The two images that stand out in this dream are first, the phallus, that erect, enlarged male member sitting upon a king's throne and, second the vault within the open hole in the ground. The words used to describe this vaulting structure seem to suggest the female organ, the vagina. It is referred to as a doorway, a round arch whose sumptuous brocade must be pushed aside in order to be entered. Within the vault lay a long, narrow, arched chamber, complete with red carpet. Surely the phallus, a male sexual organ, could not be both "man" and at the same time "man-eater." It is likely that the title "man-eater" more appropriately belongs to that which surrounds, engulfs that phallus. This entity, symbolized by the vault, grave, and the arched doorway, is in fact, I believe, the female organ; the vagina. As the earth swallows the dead at burial, so the female organ ingests the male member during intercourse. In this interpretation it would then be mother, whose voice called from outside and above, who becomes the man-eater.

I do not believe that it was the phallus that terrified Jung so much as it

⁸⁵ Robert Brockway points out an etymological error on the part of Jung. Jung had argued that *phallus* is a Greek word which means "light," and that this explains the aura above the head of the penis. However, the Greek for "light" is not *phalos* but *pharos*." (Robert Brockway, *Young Carl Jung*, p.71.)

⁸⁶ MDR, p.14.

was his mother's voice creating the terror. Throughout his narrative, as Jung describes the phallus-its size, strange fleshy composition-he remains fairly unmoved. It is only when he thinks the creature might crawl off the throne and creep toward him that he becomes upset. Incidentally, this is when he hears his mother's voice ("at that moment"). The terror then intensifies so that he awakes, sweating and frightened to death. One of the questions that continues to baffle me centers upon Emilie's ambivalent response to the phallus. She invites her son to look at the fearful creature, "just look at him," but warns Carl that the beast is "a man-eater," and thus it might devour him. Mother's words within the dream are consistent with her dual nature as experienced by Carl in real life: warm and nurturing, but also dangerous and devouring.

The naming of this dream as the man-eater or phallus dream has helped to confuse the issue. In later conversations, Jung speaks of this vision as, "the childhood dream of the underground chamber," and the "dream of the cave."⁸⁷ While the phallus plays a central role within this vision, the dream is also about death and burial underground. The concept of man-eater more appropriately reflects the anxiety of being taken into the earth, swallowed up, than the fear of being pursued by a large phallus. The connection to sexuality is clearly evident here for during the act of intercourse, the male organ is hidden, engulfed within the vagina. Jung would not be the first child to have witnessed his parents during a sexual encounter. In Jung's earliest dream, I believe a fear was constellated around the male sexual organ, an organ like the one his father possessed. This terror became attached to the father and not the mother, who was, I believe the real man-eater.⁸⁸ If we accept the idea that the focus of this dream is not only the tree trunk (phallus), but is centered on the vault (vagina), then we might make a connection to another part of Carl's

⁸⁷ E. A. Bennet, pp.106,107.

⁸⁸ Jung's mother, Emilie, was the one who sang to him of a chick- eating Jesus. Jung also describes on one occasion seeing a figure coming from his mother's room with its head detached from its neck. This process was repeated six or seven times that night. Jung describes his mother as "strange and mysterious," and this episode frightened him. Jung's image of mother then is one associated with chick eating, man-eating and head- severing. All of these are, I believe, symbolic of castration .

dark, anxious, and mysterious past.

Five years prior to this dream, Paul and Emilie had buried their first born son, Paul. While it is true that he was not buried in the churchyard of the Laufen parsonage, but in the Kesswil church cemetery of his father's previous parish, he was, nevertheless buried underground, in a church cemetery. Had Carl heard his parents talking about his older brother's death and burial? Were they anxious about losing Carl, for after all they had lost one child? Did Paul and Emilie tell Carl about his brother or was it a deep, dark secret; a painful memory only to be shared by grieving parents? Perhaps Carl overheard parts of their tearful conversation, and was able to piece together bits of the narrative: a brother who died, who was put underground, like those missing persons father had buried in the churchyard next door. For all Carl knew, Paul was underground "in a dark, rectangular stone-lined hole in the big meadow back from the sexton's farm."⁸⁹ Maybe Jung's mother continued to talk with the child who had died. Emilie, after all grew up in the Preiswerk family, a household in which father conversed with departed spirits, and where there were weekly visits from the spirit of father's first wife. The dutiful daughter, Emilie, as a child sat in on her father's sermons so that the spirits could not look over Samuel's shoulder. Perhaps mother's "second voice" which Jung refers to so frequently, was the voice used to communicate with the spirits of the past, those like brother Paul, who had been taken so quickly, so mysteriously. The young boy might also be wondering how long it would be before his father put him in a hole. In the context of the burial of the dead, one could say that the earth is the "man-eater," swallowing up the bodies of men and children alike. The only liturgical action in which the Reverend Paul Jung seems to be engaged, at least the only one Carl recalls in the autobiography, is that of the burial office. One might say, facetiously, that both Jung's father and mother seemed to spend as much time with the dead as the living: Paul in burying them and Emilie in conversation with them!

At the end of the first chapter of his autobiography, Jung recalls an

⁸⁹MDR, p.11.

event that occurred when he was but ten years of age; an episode which was to form “the climax and conclusion of [his] childhood.” I will now turn to an analysis of that incident, an event I call “the manikin reflection.”

A REFLECTION

THE MANIKIN REFLECTION

What this meant was revealed soon afterward, in my tenth year. My disunion with myself and uncertainty in the world at large led me to an action which at the time was quite incomprehensible to me. I had in those days a yellow, varnished pencil case of the kind commonly used by primary-school pupils, with a little lock and customary ruler. At the end of this ruler I now carved a little manikin, about two inches long, with frock coat, top hat, and shiny boots. I coloured him black with ink, sawed him off the ruler, and put him in the pencil case, where I made him a little bed. I even made a coat for him out of a bit of wool. In the case I also placed a smooth, oblong blackish stone from the Rhine, which I had painted with water colors to look as though it were divided into an upper and lower half, and had long carried around in my trouser pocket. This was his stone. All this was a great secret. Secretly I took the case to the forbidden attic at the top of the house (forbidden because the floorboards were worm-eaten and rotten) and hid it with great satisfaction on one of the beams under the roof-for no one must ever see it! I knew that not a soul would ever find it there. No one could discover my secret and destroy it. I felt safe, and the tormenting sense of being at odds with myself was gone. In all difficult situations, whenever I had done something wrong or my feelings had been hurt, or when my father's irritability or my mother's invalidism oppressed me, I thought of my carefully bedded-down and wrapped-up manikin and his smooth, prettily coloured stone. From time to time often at intervals of weeks I secretly stole up to the attic when I could be certain that no one would see me. Then I clambered up on the beam, opened the case, and looked at my manikin and his stone. Each time I did this I placed in the case a little scroll of paper on which I had previously written something during school hours in a secret language of my own invention. The addition of a new scroll always had the character of a solemn ceremonial act. Unfortunately I cannot

remember what I wanted to communicate to the manikin. I only know that my “letters” constituted a kind of library for him. I fancy, though I cannot be certain, that they may have consisted of sayings that particularly pleased me.⁹⁰

In the autobiography, the first chapter, describing Carl’s early years, concludes with the description of the manikin in the pencil case. The creation of this little wooden figure was to form the “climax and conclusion” of Jung’s childhood. In an effort to create a feeling of safety and comfort as a child, Carl carved a talisman in the shape of a manikin. Whenever he thought of this little figure he experienced a sense of calm. The duration of this experience was about one year, and the memory would then be forgotten for over twenty-five years. Just prior to Jung’s description of this experience in MDR, he calls to mind a visit to the vicarage of his early childhood some thirty years after the manikin episode. Jung by this time was a psychiatrist, married with children but upon his return to the parsonage became absorbed in the puzzling world of his early childhood. When he returned, he went to the stone in the garden wall outside the vicarage, a stone which was an important link to his early musings as a young child. In front of the garden wall was a slope in which was embedded a stone that jutted out, and this stone was “his stone.” He writes that often when he was alone, he sat down on this stone, thereby beginning a game that faced him with the question.

I am sitting on top of this stone and it is underneath. But the stone also could say, “I” and think: “I am lying here on this slope and he is sitting on top of me.” The question then arose: “ Am I the one sitting?”...the answer remained totally unclear, and my uncertainty was accompanied by a feeling of curious and fascinating darkness. But there was no doubt whatsoever that this stone stood in some secret relationship to me.”⁹¹

Barbara Hannah interprets Jung’s words here as prophetic, the metaphysical musings of a child prodigy who would later wrestle with these deeper

⁹⁰ MDR. p.21

⁹¹ MDR. p.20.

existential dilemmas. Thus she writes:

when he [Jung] puzzled over whether he was the boy sitting on the stone or the stone being sat upon, the child Jung was already unconsciously puzzling over what he called nearly eighty years later, "the thorny problem of the relationship between eternal man and the earthly man of time and space."⁹²

I think, however, these thoughts suggest a splitting, a disassociation taking place within the young child. This disunion, perhaps a personality disassociation, led to, what at the time seemed to Jung, an incomprehensible action; the carving and encasing of a manikin and its placement in the attic of the vicarage.

This experience occurs in Jung's tenth year, which puts it at about the time his mother gave birth to his sister, Gertrude. The description of his sister's arrival into the family is noted in the opening of the second chapter of the autobiography, "School Years." His father's reaction to the birth was one of excitement and pleasure. Emilie and Carl, however, did not share in father's delight. The manikin incident, this "incomprehensible" activity had, I believe, its origins in the surprise arrival of Jung's sister, Gertrude. His mother's bedridden invalidism had hidden the physical signs of her pregnancy and thus Carl was bewildered and astounded when his father presented to this only child, a sister. Like most children in this situation, nine year old Carl was neither "pleased" with, or "excited" by this intrusion. Baby Gertrude's arrival upset Carl's exclusive position, that of the only child, creating a new family dynamic within the Jung household. It is not uncommon for older siblings to resent a new brother or sister; viewing these interlopers as rivals for parental affection. To borrow a phrase Carl used to describe the funeral scene outside the vicarage, he might hope that a "certain person who had been around would suddenly no longer be there."⁹³ His question concerning the stork, which his parents insist brought his sister, has within it the seeds of an

⁹² Barbara Hannah, Jung, p.322.

⁹³ MDR, p.9.

anxious concern for his place in the family. Now there were two, but would it stop at two? "How many more times would the stork have to fly back and forth before the litter was complete?"⁹⁴

I wonder if the birth of his sister did not invoke in Carl's parents memories of their first born child, Paul? If so, then perhaps Carl became aware of what I believe to be the Jung family's unspoken secret: the death of Carl's brother, Paul.⁹⁵ The manikin was, in Jung's own words, a "first attempt to give shape to the secret,"⁹⁶ and the manikin passage is rife with reference to "secret." The word secret is used in this short account no less than ten times. One of the great secrets of the Jung household, one of the "forbidden" topics of conversation, was the fate of Carl's older brother; the infant who mysteriously died, the child who bore the father's name, Paul. Thus I think that the manikin, the little man Carl carved, was a kind of effigy of Carl's infant brother, Paul. Paul, the brother Carl never knew, the same brother who lay buried in the vicarage cemetery. Carl would see that his brother was brought home. He would be carefully, secretly, and reverently bedded down in the yellow pencil case. Into the box, next to the figure of Paul, Carl would place a black stone from the Rhine, as in the ancient burial practice, a payment for the journey from death to life. The box would then be taken to the top of the house, away from the lower regions of the underground vault. Paul would then be brought safely home. Regularly, Carl made visits to view the manikin. On each occasion a scroll of paper would be placed in the box. The placing of the

⁹⁴MDR. p.25.

⁹⁵ I was assisted in my reading of the effect of the death of Paul, Jung's older brother, upon other family members, through my conversations with the Rev. David Wright, B.A., M.Div. Mr. Wright is a psychotherapist in Toronto, and is the pastoral consultant to Bereaved Families of Ontario. The publications and seminars from the International Conference on Death, Dying and Bereavement held annually at King's College, University of Western Ontario, in London have also been a valuable resource.

⁹⁶MDR. p.22.

scroll was marked with appropriate ceremony. Carl had witnessed many of these solemn ceremonies, funeral rites at which father had officiated.

At the end of Jung's commentary on this manikin story he brings together the mysterious images of the Jesuit, phallus and manikin in light of the secret. As we have seen, the thing under the ground appeared in the man-eater dream, but that thing also refers to the secret his parents would keep hidden from Carl. Did Carl wonder about what had happened to his brother? His words chosen to describe the manikin, the dark descriptions in this narrative: the frock coat, tall hat, shiny black boots, worm-eaten and rotten floor boards, the wrapped up figure, the solemn ceremonial, the acts of viewing the contents of the little case, all these are associated with funeral rituals, cemeteries, and the burial of the dead.

Jung claims that he did not know what was being expressed in this manikin incident. I believe that it is related to the birth of his sister, an event which brought to his parent's mind, and likely their conversation, the events around the birth and death of their first born child. This probably stirred up the anxieties of a jealous and insecure ten year old child. This may have found expression in the carving and wrapping up of the manikin. The solemn ceremony in which Carl viewed the remains or contents of the rough box brought him great satisfaction. Could it be that by placing this box in the attic, Carl's brother was safe and secure, back now within the Jung household?

Shortly after the manikin episode, Carl would undergo an experience that would forever change his life. This event is the focus of the second chapter of his memoirs. It is both a dream and a memory, and the aftermath of the adolescent's encounter in the square outside Basel Cathedral would have the

most profound consequences for this parson's son. I will now turn my attention to this fateful event of Jung's twelfth year.

JUNG'S FATEFUL TWELFTH YEAR

A MEMORY AND A DREAM

THE MEMORY

My twelfth year was indeed a fateful one for me. One day in early summer of 1887 I was standing in the cathedral square waiting for a classmate who went home by the same route as myself. It was twelve o'clock, and the morning classes were over. Suddenly another boy gave me a shove that knocked me off my feet. I fell, striking my head against the curbstone so hard that I almost lost consciousness. For about half an hour afterward I was a little dazed. At the moment I felt the blow the thought flashed through my mind: "Now you won't have to go to school any more." I was only half unconscious, but I remained lying there a few moments longer that was strictly necessary, chiefly in order to avenge myself on my assailant. Then people picked me up and took me to a house nearby, where two elderly spinster aunts lived.

From then on I began to have fainting spells whenever I had to return to school, and whenever my parents set me to doing my homework. For more than six months I stayed away from school, and for me that was a picnic...I was growing more and more away from the world...I had the obscure feeling that I was fleeing from myself.⁹⁷

THE DREAM

One fine summer day that same year I came out of school at noon and went to the cathedral square. The sky was gloriously blue, the day one of radiant sunshine. The roof of the cathedral glittered, the sun sparkling from the new, brightly glazed tiles. I was overwhelmed by the beauty of the sight, and thought: "The world is beautiful and the church is beautiful, and God made all this and sits above it far away in the blue sky on a golden throne and..." Here came a great hole in my thoughts, and

⁹⁷MDR. p.30

a choking sensation. I felt numbed, and knew only: "Don't go on thinking now! Something terrible is coming, something I do not want to think, something I dare not even approach. Why not? Because I would be committing the most frightful of sins. What is the most terrible sin? Murder? No, it can't be that. The most terrible sin is the sin against the Holy Ghost, which cannot be forgiven. Anyone who commits that sin is damned to hell for all eternity. That would be very sad for my parents, if their only son, to whom they are so attached, should be doomed to eternal damnation. I cannot do that to my parents. All I need do is not go on thinking."...I gathered all my courage, as though I were about to leap forthwith into hell-fire, and let the thought come. I saw before me the cathedral, the blue sky. God sits on His golden throne, high above the world and from under the throne an enormous turd falls upon the sparkling new roof, shatters it, and breaks the walls of the cathedral asunder.⁹⁸

Shortly after the manikin episode, Jung describes an event that was to hold enormous significance for him throughout his lifetime. This is his vision of God defecating on the new roof of the Basel cathedral. This recollection, I shall refer to, simply as the cathedral-turd experience. A year earlier, on the same spot (cathedral square), Jung was knocked to the curb by a young boy, and this shove brought on a rash of fainting spells. As mentioned earlier, it is my hypothesis that Jung's account of this incident, the shove to the curb, is pretense: he is really alluding to the sexual assault,⁹⁹ mentioned later in a letter to Freud.¹⁰⁰

On October 28, 1907, Carl Jung penned a letter to Sigmund Freud in which he revealed a startling piece of personal information: he had been sexually assaulted as a child. In earlier correspondence, Freud had made references to Jung's "laziness in writing," a lethargy he believed was a sign of his rejection of Freud. The situation was quite the contrary, according to Jung, and he admonishes Freud for thinking that his tardiness hides a rejection of him. Jung then confesses to a "crush" he has on Freud. We need to remember

⁹⁸ MDR. pp.36,37,39.

⁹⁹ In my reading of this event as a sexual assault I have been helped by a number of conversations with Ms. Deborah Hoffman, M.S.W., a therapist who specializes in cases of sexual abuse. Ms. Hoffman was the therapist who worked with the families of the children abused at St. George's Cathedral, Kingston. (1990-1994) The organist/choir master of the cathedral was charged and convicted of sexually abusing a number of boy choristers for over a decade.

¹⁰⁰ The Freud- Jung Letters: 49J.

here that the two have just exchanged pictures of one another, and thus the relationship seems to be deepening.(45F,48J.) In his previous letter, Jung had sought some fatherly advice on the matter of a patient who was making him, “the object of her sexual advances.”¹⁰¹ In his next correspondence he denies rejecting Freud , and confesses:

Actually-and I confess to you with a struggle-that I have a boundless admiration for you both as a man and a researcher, and I bear you no conscious grudge. So the self-preservation complex does not come from there; it is rather that my veneration for you has something of the character of a “religious crush.” Though it does not really bother me, I still feel it is disgusting and ridiculous because of its undeniable erotic undertone. *This abominable feeling comes from the fact that as a boy I was the victim of a sexual assault by a man I once worshipped.* ¹⁰²

This brief reference in a letter to Freud is the only time Jung mentions the incident. We don’t know for certain who sexually assaulted the young boy, nor do we know when and where this occurred. It is my contention that Carl Jung was sexually assaulted at eleven years of age, and the assault took place in the cathedral square in the early summer of 1887. In the second chapter of MDR, “School Years,” Jung describes two incidents, events which I believe to be, the sexual assault and a flash-back reflection on that deeply traumatic episode.

The feelings and thoughts aroused by these two events are of profound consequence to the young child, Carl, and became vitally significant to the man, Carl Jung. Of the sixty pages in chapter two in which these events are recorded, about one fifth of this is devoted to these two experiences; events which took place in Jung’s, all-important, twelfth year. He first details the assault with the ensuing fainting spells. Jung eventually cures these spells, faints which had kept him from school for six months, and he accomplishes this by sheer force of will. “Devil take it, I’m not going to faint,” I told myself,

¹⁰¹ The Freud-Jung Letters, ed. William McGuire-Letter 48J. This was likely a reference to Sabine Spielrein who was at that time a patient of Jung’s.

¹⁰² Freud-Jung Letters, 49J.

and persisted in my purpose.”¹⁰³ He then reflects on the reason for the fainting spells—a neurosis—one for which he was solely to blame. We then hear of an episode while on holiday, in which he was scolded for standing on the stern of a boat, and received a first-class dressing down. The lecture, according to Jung, was well deserved. Out of this, Jung began to believe himself to be two persons: one, an anxious, uncertain schoolboy, the other, an influential and powerful man from the eighteenth century. After a kind of misty digression into the past, he comes back to the very place from which he began: the cathedral square.

In this part of the narrative, the writer seems to be describing an actual experience that has taken place in his life. Once again the event takes place on a fine summer day, at noon, as Jung is coming out of school, and in the cathedral square. The setting for this experience is almost identical to the earlier one in which Jung claims to have been assaulted by a fellow classmate. The focus here, however, is on the cathedral roof upon which the sun sparkles. This bright, sunny day is one in which all things are beautiful, the Creator is pleased with creation, the church is beautiful and God sits on his golden throne in the bluest of skies. Nothing could mar this scene. Or could it? Slowly, there comes a great hole in his thoughts with an accompanying choking sensation. He could no longer permit himself to think along those lines, or else something terrible would happen. Jung then walks home, has a conversation with his mother, who knows something is the matter, and tries desperately to forget the earlier scene in the cathedral square. For the next couple of nights he dreams about this occurrence, and finally on the third night, allows himself to finish thinking through the dream’s conclusion. Relief is the feeling he experiences when the dream finds resolution.

Speaking of this event later, in E.A. Bennet’s biography, C.G. Jung Carl Jung describes the episode, not as an actual incident, but as a dream:

About the age of twelve, Jung had an impressive dream, and at the time he knew it

¹⁰³MDR, p.31.

marked an important change in his outlook. It was perhaps the most significant dream in his whole life. Like that of the underground chamber, it remained clear and fresh in his mind.

This is the dream. I was in the rather gloomy courtyard of the Gymnasium at Basel, a beautiful medieval building. From the courtyard I went through the big entrance where the coaches used to come in, and there before me was the Cathedral of Basel, the sun shining on the roof of the coloured tiles, recently renovated, a most impressive sight. Above the Cathedral God was sitting on His throne. I thought: "How beautiful it all is! What a wonderful world this is-how perfect, how complete, how full of harmony." Then something happened, so unexpectedly and so shattering that I woke up. Then the dream ended.¹⁰⁴

Anthony Stevens interprets the full dream recorded in MDR as an adolescent's struggle with the fear, guilt and shame of masturbation:

To the post- Freudian reader this whole account sounds suspiciously like a schoolboy's battle to overcome his scruples about masturbation. The nights spent struggling with the irresistible urge, the eventual capitulation associated with the fantasy of allowing something obscene to happen, followed by a feeling of unutterable bliss.¹⁰⁵

This view does recognize that Jung was an adolescent struggling with issues of sexuality, something Jung simply refuses to acknowledge. In the "man-eater" dream he cannot understand where the image of a phallus could have originated. In this dream, Jung forgets that it is an eleven -year old boy who is wrestling with bad thoughts, guilty feelings and a God who defecates on a religious house. That this child might have dreamed the dreams of most adolescent boys; thinking the same thoughts of his school friends, which likely included a good bit of anal humor, and that a parson's son might wrestle with issues of God and sexuality, is inconceivable to this analyst. No, for Jung this vision was solely about God turning his back(side) on the church and the

¹⁰⁴ E.A. Bennet, C.G. Jung, p.16.

¹⁰⁵ Anthony Stevens, Jung, (N.Y: Oxford Press, 1994) p. 36.

necessity of experiencing God's grace. Without such an experience of God, the walls of the church come tumbling down. While Stern's interpretation is a reminder of the adolescent dimension to this dream experience, and that the sexual nature of this vision is pivotal, I contend there is an even deeper meaning to Jung's account.

I will argue the dream was a reflection (delayed) on the meaning of the earlier incident at the cathedral square in which Carl Jung was sexually assaulted. I want now to examine that first episode. Jung says that he was pushed by another boy, and this shove knocked him off his feet, causing him to strike his head against the curbstone. The shove then initiated his fainting spells. I, however, believe that something else happened that day. Let us examine the material in the text and to that add also what we know of the personality of young Carl.

In the autobiography, Jung says the effect of the classmate's shove was that, "he lay there a few moments longer than was strictly necessary, chiefly in order to avenge myself on my assailant." Was it in keeping with the pattern of Jung's personality to avenge his enemies by doing nothing, playing dead, in effect, taking it? I do not think so. This does not at all resemble Carl, who described himself at the age of six as a rough little boy from whom those with fancy manners anxiously kept their distance; a tough, rude boy with tattered trousers, holes in his shoes, and dirty hands.¹⁰⁶ This child was not one to take a push without pushing back.

In his biography of Jung, E.A. Bennet writes of young Carl's response to other children in the neighbourhood:

She (Emilie) wanted to be proud of Carl, for he was then the only child, and she thought to stir him up by comparing him unfavorably with the children of a neighbor, who were always clean, and wore nice little gloves and beautiful clothes with bits of lace on the cuffs, altogether admirable. He was irritated with these wonderful children, and when he got the chance he "beat them up." ¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶MDR.p.49.

¹⁰⁷ Bennet,p.15.

That passive, helpless boy who was shoved to the curb bears no resemblance to the fifteen year old who was “inclined to violent rages.” In a conversation with Barbara Hannah, Jung remarked that as a boy he was unusually strong, telling her that, “this was a great help to him all his school days, for being physically stronger than all the other boys in his class, he could always count on being let alone and winning their respect when it came to a fight of any kind.”¹⁰⁸ In the autobiography, Jung illustrates his early physical prowess and fighting ability when attacked by a group of his classmates:

I was involved in a brawl only once...Seven of [my classmates] lay in ambush for me and suddenly attacked me. I was big and strong then-it was when I was fifteen-and inclined to violent rage. I suddenly saw red, seized one of the boys by both arms, swung him around me and with his legs knocked several of the others to the ground...From then on I was left alone. No one dared to attack me again.¹⁰⁹

The young boy who lay still at the curbstone as a means of punishing his assailant, simply does not seem to be the same child who refused to back down from seven classmates. I do not believe that Jung could be as forgiving of his assailant as he suggests. Not only does he refuse to blame the boy who shoved him, but claims that he, himself was the author of his own misfortune! “I saw clearly that I myself had arranged this whole disgraceful situation. That was why I had never been seriously angry with the schoolmate who pushed me over...I had a feeling of rage against myself, and at the same time was ashamed of myself.”¹¹⁰ There are two elements within these phrases that allude to a further reason for assuming this event to have been a sexual assault: Jung’s rage and his shame.

Jung speaks of his twelfth year, the time period which includes both the “shoving” and the “cathedral-turd” experience, as a fateful one. Throughout

¹⁰⁸ Hannah, p.37.

¹⁰⁹ MDR, p.44.

¹¹⁰ MDR, p.32.

the description of these events, as well as in the rest of the adolescent years, the impression given is that of a deeply angry child. Because of his fainting spells the young boy is exempted from school and, during that six month absence, he was free to do whatever he pleased. It was a time when:

I [Jung] resumed my battle pictures and furious scenes of war, of old castles that were being assaulted or burned , or drew page upon page of caricatures. Similar caricatures sometimes appear to me before falling to sleep to this day, grinning masks that constantly move and change, among them familiar faces of people who soon afterward died... I was growing more and more away from the world, and had all the while faint pangs of conscience... I had the obscure feeling that I was fleeing from myself.¹¹¹

One is struck in this passage by Jung's rage: in his fantasies of battle pictures, furious scenes of war, old castles, assaulted or burned. There is anger here. Who or what does Jung wish to battle, and does the young boy hold a furious desire within to assault or burn the object of that spite? And what of those "grinning masks" at bedtime, those nightmares which prevented sleep? Does the phrase, "familiar faces of people who soon afterward died," disguise a wish to see dead, the person who assaulted him? In his attempt to distance himself from an all too familiar, but molesting face, Jung runs away. Yet, he believes that his fleeing is really a flight from himself. He thus begins, gradually, to accept full responsibility for the whole affair which he terms a "diabolical plot." The rage which comes through in his description of the "playing time" becomes internalized so that he becomes angry with himself, an anger which becomes associated with feelings of disgust and shame. "Gradually the recollection of how it all came about returned to me, and I saw clearly that I myself had arranged the whole disgraceful situation...I had a feeling of rage against myself, and at the same time was ashamed of myself."¹¹²

I think that the high degree of anger and shame which remained with

¹¹¹MDR, pp. 30,31.

¹¹²MDR, p.32.

Jung throughout his adolescence, is compatible with the emotional makeup of a child who has been sexually assaulted. The feelings of self-loathing which lead to shame and blaming oneself are all too typical of sexual abuse victims. Throughout the narrative, Jung repeatedly speaks of himself as a person who was: “fleeing himself,” “an instigator of a diabolical plot,” “ashamed of himself,” someone with “feelings of rage against himself,” a “cursed renegade,” someone who “possessed a shameful secret.”

There is some confusion that exists in the telling of the two incidents. In the cathedral-turd episode, we now know to be a dream, Jung’s mother asks upon his arrival home, “what is the matter with you, is something wrong?” In response, Jung thought of confessing to her, “the real reason for his turmoil.” In the end he could not because of the enormity of the sin. It could be that his mother’s anxious concern was expressed on that earlier occasion, the one in which the “shoving” occurred. Perhaps Emilie perceived that something was terribly wrong with her son, and it was not simply a case of bumping his head on the curbstone.

For all his talk about God’s grace, happiness and gratitude, Jung continues to speak of an increase in his inferiority feelings. After the “cathedral-turd” vision he would write of himself, “I often thought of myself as corrupt and an inferior person.”¹¹³ As we have seen, his rage led to at least one school-yard brawl, the consequence of which was that he was left alone for fear the young combatant might go after them all. With this anger there was an accompanying guilty conscience.¹¹⁴ Jung’s mother would say of this period of his life, his adolescence, that during those days, her son was often depressed.¹¹⁵

Reading through the chapter describing Jung’s adolescence, I see an angry boy, given to violent rages; a child with deep feelings of guilt and shame, the consequence of which was that he drew more and more into himself. Jung

¹¹³MDR.p.41.

¹¹⁴MDR.p.44.

¹¹⁵MDR.p.42.

says that these events of his adolescence induced in him “an almost unendurable loneliness,” and he prides himself on resisting the “temptation to talk about it with anyone.”¹¹⁶ The subsequent withdrawal from others meant that Carl distanced himself from those who might have been able to listen to his painful story. He simply could not tell his mother or father of his predicament. Nor were those at school likely to trust this angry child, a boy who in all likelihood had few, if any, friends. Most of his teachers “thought him stupid and crafty,” and one had even accused him of fraud. This was an occasion when Jung says that his rage threatened to get out of control. There was no place to turn to, no one to listen to the voice of this victim of a sexual assault. Yet another secret which needed to be kept. No one would know of the embarrassing, humiliating incident, ever.

There are two features about the reporting of these incidents which stand out in my mind. First, we have seen earlier that the manikin in the attic was for Jung, in part, a symbol of sanctuary. When father’s irritability or mother’s invalidism surfaced, or when Carl had done something wrong, he would go up to the attic and view the contents of the pencil case. Here he was safe and secure, here nothing could hurt him. For no apparent reason, during these turbulent episodes the memory of the manikin in the attic disappeared. A puzzled Jung writes, “Curiously enough, at this time and also during the months of my fainting neurosis I had lost all memory of the treasure in the attic...all memory of the pencil case had vanished.”¹¹⁷ Sanctuary, security and safety, for Jung symbolized in the attic treasure, were obliterated after the assault. Hope and trust, a sense of safety, commodities we have seen within the Jung household to be in short supply became, following the events of the early summer of 1887, almost non-existent.

If vicarage life was closing in on him, the church next door was not much better for it too was gradually becoming a “place of torment.” After the incidents, Jung became doubtful and weary of his father’s sermons. In those

¹¹⁶MDR.p.41.

¹¹⁷MDR. p.33.

homilies his father spoke endlessly of God's goodness and abiding, all-embracing love for humankind. Carl wondered whether his father knew what he was talking about. When speaking of his father's ineptitude and inadequacies, Jung then turns to two biblical stories which I believe are most revealing. Both involve fathers and sons, and each passage features a sacrifice. He first refers to the story of Abraham and Isaac in which a father is prepared to put to death his son. By divine intervention, the son's life is spared. The second excerpt is of the crucifixion in which a father-God does not intervene in the life of a dying son-God. Both stories describe sons who suffer (on an altar or cross), while their respective lives are in the hands of seemingly helpless fathers. Abraham is prepared to murder Isaac if no other sacrifice can be found. God, in the second biblical story, that of the crucifixion, seems to be strangely silent, absent through the suffering of the son. All too familiar to young Carl were *fathers* who were *reliable*, but who in the end were *powerless* to prevent their son's suffering. I suspect that this is the feeling young Carl experienced in his relationship with his father. Paul Jung was unable to prevent Carl's pain, the suffering he endured at the hands of a friend ("a man I once worshipped") when he was sexually abused. Like Isaac and Jesus, this young son had been abandoned by his father. Like the crucified one, Carl might also ask in his distress, "father, why have you forsaken me?" 118

118 Mark 15:34. It is interesting that the stained-glass window in Jung's study depicts this crucifixion scene. This I refer to earlier in chapter one.

“Why did God befoul His cathedral?”¹¹⁹ This is the question Jung asks of the second incident. Through this encounter he had experienced a dark and terrible secret, one which overshadowed his life; a secret which caused him to become deeply pensive. Jung chose to interpret the dream as a sign of God’s displeasure with church, hence He turns his back on it, and defecates on the cathedral, an action which shatters the roof and collapses the walls. The completion of this fantasy, thinking the thought to its conclusion had been vehemently resisted by Carl. Once brought to resolution, however, the ending brought immeasurable relief to him. With this vision Jung had experienced nothing less than the will of God. With this revelation came illumination; things previously not understood now became clear to him. If only his father, Paul, had experienced the will of God as he had, then his life would have been so much better. Because he hadn’t, substituting the traditions of his forefathers, Bible, commandments, and the Church for an “immediate living God”, the words of the Reverend Paul Jung would forever sound stale and hollow, “like a tale told by someone who knows it only by hearsay and cannot quite believe it himself.”¹²⁰ The immediate outcome of this revelation of God’s grace was that Jung now wielded a power over his father. He acquires a new authority, one which convinces him of his superiority over his clergyman-father. During his adolescence Carl would spend many fruitless hours in argument with Paul. In the end he remained convinced that because his father had not experienced or understood grace in the manner he had, he could

¹¹⁹ There is a link between the cathedral-turd vision and the earlier childhood man-eater dream. In both cases thrones play an important part. In the man-eater dream the large phallus sits erect upon a golden throne. It was, according to Jung, “enthroned by itself,” that is “upright.” The phallus was a “king’s throne,” and at the top of the phallus was a “single eye, gazing upward.” Jung points out the etymology of the word phallus, which he mistranslates as shining, bright. (see Brockway, p.71) In the cathedral-turd vision there is likewise a “golden throne” upon which sits God. In this dream there is no phallus, but from “under the throne falls an enormous turd.” In the spirit of Jung I would point out that the word cathedral means “throne” (cathedra). It is the place of the bishop’s throne, the “seat” of his authority. Both dreams then include symbols of male authority (throne) upon which sit god-like characters. It seems in both cases, the god of the underworld and the god of the sky inspire fear as well as awe in young Carl. From this one might infer that males in authority (enthroned) were to be feared by Jung, and this fear could take the form of angry rejection. I believe this occurred with Jung’s father, and we shall see later that this would happen with a father substitute, Sigmund Freud. Jung, as crown prince, was unable to ascend the throne to become king.

¹²⁰ MDR, p.43.

never come to the correct theology(Jung's), nor would he experience the true joy of faith.

In the aftermath of the cathedral-turd vision, Jung records a good deal of information about father and son: their discussions, arguments, differences, and as well we hear of the preparation for Jung's confirmation and first communion. At the end of the discussion, Jung says, I believe with some arrogance, that he understood the tragedy of his father's life. Condescendingly, the son Carl, says of Paul, "I was seized with the most vehement pity for my father."¹²¹ I am convinced that the source of this pretentious sentiment is not the God-defecating revelation, but instead has its origins in the pain, anger, guilt, and fear of a child who has been abused by a man who had been trusted and adored. The rage against his assailant, "a man he once worshipped," would be born by a man of worship, his helpless clergyman-father, the Reverend Paul Johannus Achilles Jung. Hereafter Paul would be pitied, scorned, looked down upon, considered weak and inferior, and this because he was, in Carl's eyes, unable to prevent the humiliating assault upon his son. Perhaps God's rude gesture not only expressed the Creator's response to church and theology, but mirrored also Carl's angry response to churchmen and theologians. Henceforth, at least in the foreseeable future,¹²² he would turn his back on all pastors. There were at least nine churchmen in his family, including his father, and they would all be treated with contempt.

Like Isaac of the biblical story, the son's fate was in the hands of one father or another. Like Jesus of the crucifixion narrative, however, sometimes father was not there to intervene, leaving the son to endure wounds of unbearable and unspeakable anguish. This, I believe is what happened to Carl Gustav Jung. Henceforth, father would pay the price for his "powerlessness." Much of his anger is focussed on his weak, disillusioned father. In Carl's mind, the Reverend Paul Jung, a male religious authority, is implicated by association in the assault. Paul, as father and protector would, in a sense, be held

¹²¹ MDR, p.55.

¹²² This of course would change when Jung began an attempt to reconcile with his father, later in his life. He carried on a lengthy correspondence with a number of pastors throughout his life.

accountable for the incident, sharing in the blame for his son's traumatic and degrading violation. A father who failed to prevent a defilement of this sort was weak, worthy only of pity and disdain. For Carl Jung, this father, while alive was unworthy of his son's forgiveness.

As we have seen, life in the vicarage was anything but idyllic. The first three chapters of his autobiography, originally titled, "The Early Years of My Life," paint a picture of a child, troubled and anxious, who in the light of an absent, sick mother and an irritable, despondent father, sought comfort and meaning in the world of dreams, visions and the imagination. There is a dark despair running throughout the narrative. Jung's father and mother are simply there. Any dialogue that takes place is between Carl and Emilie or Carl and Paul; never do we see conversation, communication between mother and father. Carl's relationship to his parents was an unusual one, but it seems that Paul and Emilie, apart from Carl, have no relationship at all. In Jung's narrative, if father is in the house, mother is absent. If mother is in the room, then father is somewhere else, more often than not, burying someone in the church cemetery. Rare is the instance Carl speaks of father, mother and son engaged in an activity together. The only time Jung mentions his parents together is when he describes the "frequent, angry scenes between them."

Carl lived with a mother who had acute psychiatric problems, perhaps schizophrenia. She clearly favoured her son, Carl over Paul as evidenced by her words following Paul's death. "He died in time for you...you did not understand each other and he might have become a hindrance."¹²³ Jung said that as a child his mother talked to him as if he were a grown-up, and it was plain, "that she was telling me everything she could not say to my father, for she early made me her confidant and confided her troubles to me."¹²⁴ Thus young Carl would be the sole beneficiary of his mother's affection; receiving the

¹²³MDR. p.96.

¹²⁴MDR. p.52.

love which was absent in Paul and Emilie's marriage. Carl's relationship to Paul in the early years at home, combined with Emilie's stories¹²⁵ about her husband, led him, I believe, to develop a negative image of his father. In Carl's eyes, his father Paul, although reliable was weak, often depressed, and irritable.

Jung viewed his father as a man in the wrong profession, a person who lived on the edge of poverty; someone he did not want to become. There was some truth to this assessment. In all likelihood, Paul ought not to have become a pastor but instead should have taught in an academic setting. The marriage was not a happy one, a situation made even more difficult with the death of the couple's first born child. The disappointment of career and marriage, and the loss of a child at the beginning of the couple's marriage would have repercussions for the Jung household. Paul may never have recovered from these losses, and when Carl was born he simply was unable to be a strong and adequate father for his son. Carl's formative years were spent in a house where mother and father were noticeably apart, and Carl was left, emotionally, on his own. If we add to this, the trauma of a sexual assault by a male friend, a humiliating experience which he kept secret, then surely feelings of pity toward his father would eventually grow into anger and disgust. Carl could not, nor would he would not count on his father.

In short, vicarage living was for Carl an unhappy time. From what we have discovered and uncovered in our examination of the early years, Jung's unemotional, detached depiction of Paul's death is consistent with his appraisal of his father's life. In January of 1896 at the age of fifty-three, the Reverend Paul Jung died, but this was not to be the end of father in Carl's life. The whole story was yet to unfold. A decade after his father's death, Jung would once again take up the issue of father through the person of Sigmund Freud. As a young boy Carl perceived his father as a man with many deficiencies. In Freud, Carl hoped to seek a compensation for father's inadequacies, but this expectation would not be fulfilled. Mid-way through this relationship, Carl Jung began to wrestle with the events of his early childhood.

¹²⁵ Jung relates one story about his mother lying about her husband's behaviour when Carl was eleven. MDR, p. 52.

This flashback from the early days in the vicarage marked the onset of a crisis that would erupt fully upon Jung's separation from Freud. In confronting Freud he was encountering his father, and this time he could not be ignored. We will now turn our attention to this relationship, for in that meeting, and out of that encounter, Jung would begin his journey toward a new understanding of father.

Chapter Three- Sigmund Freud: Father returns

For about him till the very end were still
those he had studied, the fauna of the night,
and shades that still waited to enter
the bright circle of his recognition.

They are still alive, but in a world he changed
simply by looking back with no false regrets;
all he did was to remember
like the old and be honest like children.

Of course they called on God, but he went his way
down among the lost people like Dante, down
to the stinking fosse where the injured
lead the ugly life of the rejected.

And showed us what evil is, not, as we thought,
deeds that must be punished, but our lack of faith,
our dishonest mood of denial,
the concupiscence of the oppressor.

If some traces of the autocratic pose,
the paternal strictness he distrusted, still
clung to his utterance and features,
it was a protective coloration

for one who'd lived among enemies so long:
if often he was wrong and, at times, absurd,
to us he is no more a person
now but a whole climate of opinion.

But he wishes us more than this. To be free
is often to be lonely. He would unite
the unequal moieties fractured
by our own well-meaning sense of justice,

would restore to the larger the wit and will
the smaller possesses but can only use
for arid disputes, would give back to
the son the mother's richness of feeling:

but he would have us remember most of all
to be enthusiastic over the night,
not only for the sense of wonder
it alone has to offer, but also

because it needs our love. With large sad eyes
its delectable creatures look up and beg
us dumbly to ask them to follow:
they are exiles who long for the future.

(In Memory of Sigmund Freud: W.H. Auden)

“The first man of real importance I had encountered...no one else could compare with him.”¹

INTRODUCTION:

Upon his father's death, Carl, his mother Emilie, and sister, Gertrude, moved out of the vicarage, and took up residence in a small house in the village of Binningen on the outskirts of Basel. From here Carl could walk to the medical school each day. He resided at this house until the completion of his university career, when at that time he took up his post at the Burghölzli Mental Hospital in Zurich. Chapter three of the autobiography, the final chapter written by Jung himself, concludes as he leaves home to take up his position at the Burghölzli. The next chapter, "Psychiatric Activities," which describes Jung's life at the mental hospital, is, we are told by Aniela Jaffé, "based on conversations between Jung and the young assistant doctors of the Zurich Mental Hospital of Burghölzli in 1956."¹ In this section of the autobiography Jung describes his activities at the hospital and his time as lecturer in psychiatry at the University of Zurich. The narrative material in this chapter is of the case study variety, wherein Jung details his experience with patients, a practice that will help him to view psychiatry in a whole different light. Up to that date, the human personality of the patient, according to Jung, did not matter, instead "the patients were labeled, rubber-stamped with a diagnosis, and for the most part, that settled the matter."² Under the tutelage of Professor Eugen Bleuler, Jung completed his medical dissertation in 1902, a research into the psychology of occult experience. In that same year Jung studied with Janet in Paris, and shortly after this was invited by Bleuler to experiment with the Word Association Test,³ a project

¹ MDR, p.vii.

² MDR, p.114.

³ The success of Jung's work, "Studies in Word Association" would in time lead to an invitation to Clark University and the subsequent awarding of a doctor of laws degree, in September of 1909.

Jung brought to successful completion with a publication in 1906. Bleuler, the director of the Burghölzli, who had chosen Jung to research the test and who, in 1905, appointed Jung his clinical director, a position next in line to the director, strangely, is never mentioned in the autobiography. He had a solid reputation in the psychiatric world, and it seems he encouraged the young analyst, thus the omission of his name in MDR is significant. According to Henri Ellenberger, this may be because of “an acute conflict which had developed between him [Jung] and Bleuler. It was felt that Jung was so involved with psychoanalysis that he neglected his hospital duties, and the two had frequent clashes of opinion.”⁴ An equally significant omission in this chapter is the mention of Jung’s marriage to Emma Rauschenbach, the daughter of a wealthy industrialist of Schaffhausen on February 14, 1903.

The Burghölzli decade was Jung’s apprenticeship, and his interest, the burning question was, “what actually takes place inside the mentally ill.”⁵ This chapter I believe mirrors the single-minded focus and passion of a young, eager doctor anxious to learn everything there is to know in his chosen field of psychiatry. At Burghölzli he buried himself in the psychiatric literature of the day, and listened intently to the patients’ narratives in order to “gain a deeper insight into the psyche in general.”⁶ In this chapter, which outlines his involvement at the hospital, Jung describes the life of a dedicated analyst, one who is preparing for a profession. This is in my opinion, a transitional period; the time between his life in the vicarage and an encounter that would transform his life. By 1906, having published the results of the Word Association Test, Jung began what appeared to be a brilliant career as a university psychiatrist. He was a clinical director, head of the outpatient service, Privat Dozent, at the university where he taught courses on psychiatry and psychotherapy. At the young age of thirty, Carl Jung was destined for an exceptional future in the psychological world. In the spring of 1906, he sent

⁴ Ellenberger, p.669.

⁵ MDR. p.114.

⁶ MDR. p.113.

Sigmund Freud a copy of his “Diagnostic Association Studies,”⁷ thus beginning a correspondence and an association which would transform the lives of both men.

In this section of the research I will examine Jung's relationship to the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. Jung himself devotes one full chapter in MDR to Freud, the only person given that kind of attention within the autobiography. Every Jung biography includes a section on his alliance with Freud, each author theorizing why the two psychologists discontinued their friendship, parting with such antipathy. In many of these accounts, Freud is predictably described as thwarting the younger man's creative genius. Similarly, in biographies of Freud, mid-way through the study, the reader is likewise introduced to Jung and his effect upon Freud. For example, in Ernest Jones' biography, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, there is a segment on Jung, and this is titled, “opposition,” “dissensions.”⁸ In Peter Gay's biography, Freud: A Life For Our Time, the author writes of Jung as both “the crown prince” and “the enemy.”⁹ Expressions like enemy or dissension, when used to introduce the reader to Jung and his influence upon Freud, plainly prejudice the nature and impression of Jung's contribution to the joint venture. Many authors, some supporting Jung, some contending Freud had a better portion of the truth, have helped to broaden our understanding of what happened throughout the life of this relationship. With the discovery and publication of their correspondence, however, we now have the resource to deepen our

⁷ As a result of his Association experiment under Bleuler's supervision, Jung observed that the words in the list which produced a disruption, when examined together tended to form a cluster. When the subject was questioned, it was revealed that there was a hidden conflict or traumatic memory to which the words pointed. This charged cluster he termed, the complex. A complex was for Jung, “a conglomeration of psychic contents characterized by a peculiar or perhaps painful feeling-tone, something that is usually hidden from sight.” (Benjamin B. Wolfman, International Encyclopedia of Psychiatry, Psychology, Psychoanalysis and Neurology, N.Y: Aesculpius Publishers Inc.) p.290. For Jung this was evidence of repression at an unconscious level, an insight which reinforced Freud's theory. The concept of complex was central to Jung's psychology. After his separation from Freud in 1913, when a new name was needed to identify his brand of depth psychology, distinguishing it from Freud's psychoanalysis, Jung initially chose the term “complex psychology.”

⁸ Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, (N.Y: Penguin Books, 1961) pp. 380,395.

⁹ Peter Gay, Freud: A Life For Our Time, (N.Y: Doubleday, 1989) pp.197,225.

understanding of that dialogue while appreciating the effect and magnitude of the encounter for both participants. The unearthing of those letters was serendipitous. Through these writings, I believe we can learn much about both correspondents, but most especially for this study, we witness the overwhelming effect Freud had upon Carl Jung. In light of my investigation, it makes sense to view that correspondence as the communication between a father and a son. Before examining that correspondence I will provide a history and background to the letters and their eventual publication.

It had long been assumed that Jung's correspondence with Freud had not been preserved, that these letters had been destroyed by Freud. In March of 1954, however, Dr. D. R. Eissler, secretary of the Sigmund Freud Archives in New York, wrote to Dr. C. A. Meier, director of the Jung Institute in Zurich, of an amazing discovery: "To my very great joy I can tell you that I have just been informed by Miss Anna Freud that the letters from Professor Jung to Professor Freud have been found. I am sure that Miss Freud will have no objection to sending copies, as she had originally agreed to this in case they should be found."¹⁰

In October of 1955 Dr. Meier, having examined the entire exchange, asked Professor and Mrs. Jung about the possibility of publishing the letters. The answer was no. By August of the next year, Jung stipulated that his letters to Freud could be published, at the earliest, twenty years after his death. Soon after this, in August of 1958, Jung altered his plan and worked out an agreement in principle to publish the letters. One of those persons who helped move Jung to this position was Kurt Wolff, the American publisher who convinced him to write his autobiography. Once again, however, Jung changed his mind about the correspondence, asking that the letters not be published in his lifetime. After Jung's death eventually these letters were published. After very involved conversations with the Freud and Jung families, in December of 1969, the legal counsel for the Jung estate wrote, "My clients have taken a decision of considerable importance. They have come to the conclusion that

¹⁰ The Freud/ Jung Letters, ed. William McGuire, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) Introduction, p. xxii)

this question must not be decided on the basis of the late Professor Jung's various and possibly contradictory statements but in the light of the situation as it presents itself now."¹¹ Five years later the correspondence was published. The discovery of these letters revealed many of the confessions and secrets of these two giants of the twentieth century analytical world. The analyst, Robert Steele has described the Freud-Jung correspondence as, "a minimally censored account of a significant collaboration and a momentous alienation of affections."¹² As with his autobiography, Memories, Dreams Reflections, Jung did not want the Letters published in his lifetime, and as with his autobiography there was a great deal of indecision. Eventually, both documents went to press considerably earlier than Jung had originally intended.

The uncertainty and indecision Jung exhibited around the publication of his correspondence with Freud reflects the ambivalence running throughout his seven year relationship with his mentor. In this section of the thesis, I will examine Jung's relationship to Freud, an alliance that was literally an affiliation, based on a father-son dynamic. Given Jung's relationship to his father, Paul Johannus Achilles, in time, this association could only end in disastrous failure. I will begin with Jung's final words to Freud, for within this phrase, the last, dying words of Prince Hamlet, I believe we will discover what lay beneath the surface of this influential, captivating relationship.

¹¹ Freud/Jung Letters, Introduction, p.xxiv.

¹² Robert Steele, Freud and Jung: Conflicts of Interpretation (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982) p. 192.

THE FLIESS CONNECTION

“In my end is my beginning.”

(T.S. Eliot: Four Quartets- ‘East Coker’)

“The rest is silence.”¹³ With these words, Carl Jung severed his relationship with the founder of psychoanalysis. Their correspondence began in April of 1906 when Freud penned a brief letter of three sentences thanking Jung for sending him a copy of his “Diagnostic Association Studies.” Freud’s letter was to begin a correspondence that was to last seven years. More than three hundred fifty letters would be written, wherein theories and ideas were shaped, organizations founded, and criticisms leveled. Within these letters we see a relationship begin, develop, blossom and finally rupture, with the result that upon dissolution, neither correspondent would have any dealings with the other. Jung’s quote from Shakespeare’s Hamlet was a profoundly prophetic allusion, and was for Freud a highly significant reference. It brought to mind the early days of his psychological discoveries, but would call to mind also another unhappy and disastrous relationship.

The first reference to Hamlet in Freud’s published works is found in The Interpretation of Dreams. This work was published in 1900, and in chapter five, titled, “Material and Sources of Dreams”, Freud wrote:

Being in love with the one parent and hating the other are among the essential constituents of the stock of psychical impulses which is formed at that time and which is of such importance in determining the symptoms of the later neurosis...This discovery is confirmed by a legend that has come down to us from classical antiquity: a legend whose profound and universal power to move can only be understood if the hypothesis I put forward in regard to the psychology of children has an equally universal validity. What I have in mind is the legend of King Oedipus and Sophocles’ drama which bears his name...King Oedipus, who slew his father Laius and married

¹³ 344J.

his mother Jocasta, merely shows us the fulfillment of our childhood wishes.¹⁴

After putting forward this explosive thesis, one that was to become the very cornerstone of psychoanalysis, Freud connects the Oedipal myth with Shakespeare's tragic masterpiece, Hamlet.

Another of the great creations of tragic poetry, Shakespeare's Hamlet, has its roots in the same soil as the Oedipus Rex...In the Oedipus, the child's wishful fantasy that underlies it is brought into the open and realized as it would be in a dream. In Hamlet it remains repressed; and just as in the case of neurosis we only learn of its existence from its inhibiting consequences...Hamlet is able to do anything except take vengeance on the man who did away with his father and took that father's place with his mother, the man who shows him the repressed wishes of his own childhood realized. Thus the loathing which should drive him on to revenge is replaced in him by self reproaches, by scruples of conscience, which remind him that he himself is literally no better than the sinner whom he is to punish.¹⁵

Freud concludes this section with the observation that Hamlet was written by the bard shortly after “ the death of Shakespeare's father; that is, under the immediate impact of his bereavement and, as we may assume, while his childhood feelings about his father had been freshly revived.”While Freud's insights here regarding Shakespeare's father and the creation of the play are important, equally significant is the fact that Freud himself first proposes his Oedipal theory shortly after his own father's death. In a letter to Wilhelm Fliess, a friend and confidant from 1887 to 1902, Freud speaks movingly of his father's death, a loss which brought deep emotional upheaval:

I find it difficult to put pen to paper at the moment...the old man's death affected me deeply. I valued him highly and understood him very well indeed, and with his

¹⁴ Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams (N.Y: Discus Books, 1965.) p.294, 296.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.298,299.

peculiar mixture of deep wisdom and imaginative light heartedness he meant a great deal in my life. By the time he died his life had long been over, but at death the whole past stirs within me. I feel now as if I had been torn up by the roots.¹⁶

Freud's father had died on October 23, 1896. Seven months after this letter, in a draft page enclosed within a letter to Fliess, we find the first hint of what would later become the Oedipus complex. Freud writes. "Hostile impulses against parents (a wish that they should die) are also an integral part of neurosis...It seems to me as though in sons this death wish is directed against their father and in daughters against their mother."¹⁷

In another letter to Fliess, October 15th, 1897, a year after the death of his father, Freud was to refer for the first time, to the Oedipus complex. In this letter, Freud speaks of the importance of his self analysis, and while this analysis was a painfully slow and difficult process, the procedure was beginning to yield a few fertile insights:

Only one idea of general value has occurred to me. I have found love of the mother and jealousy of the father in my own case too, and now believe it to be a general phenomenon of early childhood, even if it does not always occur so early as in children who have been hysterics. If that is the case, the gripping power of the Oedipus Rex, in spite of all the rational objections to the inexorable fate that the story presupposes, becomes intelligible, and one can understand why later fate dramas were such failures...the Greek myth seizes on a compulsion which everyone recognizes because he has felt traces of it in himself. Every member of the audience was once a budding Oedipus in fantasy, and in dream fulfillment played out in reality causes everyone to recoil in horror, with the full measure of repression which separates his infantile from his present state. ¹⁸

In the very next paragraph, Freud connects the Oedipal myth to Hamlet:

¹⁶ Sigmund Freud, The Origins of Psychoanalysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess (N.Y: Basic Books, 1954) p. 170.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 207. This was enclosed in the May 31st letter.

¹⁸ Letter 71, p.223,224.

The idea has passed through my head that the same thing may lie at the root of Hamlet...How better than by the torment roused in him by the obscure memory that he himself had meditated the same deed against his father because of passion for his mother. His conscience is his unconscious feeling of guilt¹⁹

In Wilhelm Fliess, as with Carl Jung a generation later, Freud would find at first a necessary friend, then later, an enemy. He began his correspondence with Fliess in 1887 when he was thirty-one years old, Fliess being two years his junior. Coincidentally, Carl Jung was also thirty - one when the two analysts struck up their friendship in 1906. By this time, however, Freud was fifty, twenty years Jung's senior. Freud and Fliess, however, were of similar age;²⁰ two scholars pursuing fresh insights, and experimenting with new, untried theories in the realm of medicine, neurology and biology.

Wilhelm Fliess was an ear, eye, nose, and throat specialist originally from Berlin who had come to Vienna in 1887 for further study.²¹ It was here, upon advice from Joseph Breuer,²² he attended some of Freud's lectures in neurology. Upon his return to Berlin he received the first of many letters from Freud. Freud begins this first communication with a confession. "I have a strictly business motive for writing to you today, but I must start with the confession that I hope to remain in contact with you, and that you have left a

¹⁹ Letter 71, p.224.

²⁰ While Freud and Fliess were, in a sense, peers, the later letters suggest Freud saw Fliess in the role of a father. This may well have been because of the death of his father in 1896.

²¹ Wilhelm Fliess was the author of a number of theories, three of which were significant in his relationship with Freud. First, he posited that there was a relationship between the nose mucosa and the genital organs. Second, he was the first to speak about the concept of the bisexuality of human beings. Finally, he believed that in each individual there was what he termed a "double periodicity," a feminine one with a cycle of twenty-eight days, and a masculine one with a cycle of twenty-three days. (Ellenberger, p.444) In 1894, Freud was treating a woman for hysteria, and he asked Fliess whether there might be a connection between the patient's symptoms and a possible nose condition. Fliess saw the patient and operated on her. The patient subsequently developed complications, and these were the result (discovered later after another surgeon performed surgery) of Fliess's having left a long piece of surgical gauze in the patient's nose. The woman was in critical condition for a number of months, and it was clear this was because of Fliess's error. In spite of this, Freud continued to believe that Fliess was an excellent doctor!

²² Joseph Breuer with Sigmund Freud published, Studies on Hysteria in 1895.

deep impression on me, which might lead easily to my telling you frankly in what class of men I place you.”²³ Their relationship blossomed and Freud would later say of Fliess, “You are the only Other, the alter.” Freud confided to him the state of his health, telling him in April of 1894 that “he was suffering from chest pains and arrhythmia,” a condition he would reveal to no one else. In referring to this problem, Freud would say that not even “his wife was a confidant of his death deliria.” Not only was Fliess sole confidant in issues of health but as well, Freud would also disclose to him personal information about himself and his wife, Martha. For instance, he informed Fliess that, “they were now living in abstinence.”²⁴ This, according to Peter Gay, was the sort of thing a decent bourgeoisie would only reveal to a confessor or analyst.²⁵ Freud even wanted to name a son after Wilhelm Fliess but this plan was thwarted in 1893 and 1895 with the arrival of two daughters, Sophie and Anna, at the Freud household.

In his letters to Fliess (Fliess’ letters have not survived) we discover Freud at the height of his powers and at the most productive period in his life. Through the years of this correspondence (1887-1902) Freud wrote three of his greatest works: Studies on Hysteria (1895), The Interpretation of Dreams²⁶ (1900), The Psychopathology of Everyday Life (1901). It is with good reason that his published letters to Wilhelm Fliess is titled, The Origins of Psychoanalysis. In these letters we discover the seeds of Freud's later ideas, concepts that would effect so profoundly the way human beings understand the human psyche. Ernst Kris in his introduction to the Freud/Fliess correspondence says:

His (Freud's) letters to Fliess permit us to date his first efforts at this more exactly, and actually enable us to see him in the grips with the Oedipus complex. That this was

²³ The Origins of Psychoanalysis p. 51.

²⁴ Ibid. p.82.

²⁵ Peter Gay, Freud: A Life For Our Time (Doubleday: N.Y: 1988) p. 59.

²⁶ It is of note that the front piece motto for The Interpretation of Dreams, “Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo” from Virgil's Aeneid - If I cannot bend the Higher Powers, I will move the Infernal Regions- is first mentioned in a letter to Fliess of December 4, 1896. (The Origins of Psychoanalysis, Letter 51)

the central theme of his self-analysis is not merely the impression one receives from his letters; it is confirmed by Freud himself when he says in his introduction to the second edition of The Interpretation of Dreams that “the book was, I found a portion of my own self analysis, my reaction to my father's death- that is to say, to the most important event, the most poignant loss, of a man's life.”²⁷

Freud was always anxious to hear Fliess' opinion on his scientific work, disappointed when he did not receive his evaluation, and troubled when Fliess was slow in responding to Freud's requests.²⁸ He was particularly apprehensive about Fliess' opinion of his “Oedipus/Hamlet insight,” a theory he had revealed only to Fliess:

You have said nothing about my interpretation of Oedipus Rex and Hamlet. As I have not said anything about it to anyone else, because I imagine in advance the hostile reception it would get. I should be glad to have some short comment on it from you.²⁹

By 1897, thanks to a successful self analysis, Freud had become less dependent on Fliess for confirmation of his theoretical observations. By the time he had completed his magnum opus, The Interpretation of Dreams, late in 1899, the friendship, as evidenced by his diminished correspondence, was coming to an end. By 1902, their relationship had ended. In the chapter titled, “The Fliess Period,” within his monumental study of Freud, Ernest Jones summarizes the influence of Fliess upon Sigmund Freud:

There were only two things of high importance to Freud at this time: his approaching exploration of the unconscious, and his remarkable dependence on Fliess...Ultimately, as we know, the path ended in the unexpected discovery of his (Freud's) deeply buried hostility to his father. And what more inviting protection against the dark terror can there be than to find a father-substitute to whom one can display the utmost affection, admiration, and even subservience, doubtless a repetition of an early attitude to his own father! Only, unfortunately, such false cures

²⁷ Sigmund Freud, The Origins of Psychoanalysis (Basic Books: N.Y.) p.31.

²⁸ We encounter a similar anxiety with Freud in his dealing with Jung's tardy correspondence.

²⁹ Origins of Psychoanalysis, p.229.

never succeed for long. Always the latent hostility³⁰ gets transferred also, and the relationship ends, as here, in dissension and estrangement.³¹

Jones' description of the Freud-Fliess collaboration, bares a foreboding similarity to the Freud-Jung alliance, a friendship that would likewise end, "in dissension and estrangement."

The first reference to Wilhelm Fliess in The Freud/Jung Letters is in a letter of February 17, 1908. At the end of this piece, Freud writes about paranoia and the relationship of the homosexual component of a patient's behaviour to a paranoid response. Freud continues, "My one time friend Fliess developed a dreadful case of paranoia after throwing off his affection for me, which was undoubtedly considerable...One must try to learn something from every experience."³² This is also the first letter in which Freud "casts off" the opening salutation of "Dear friend and colleague," changing instead to the less formal, more personal, "Dear friend." This change is gushingly acknowledged by Jung in his next letter:

I thank you with all my heart for this token of your confidence. The undeserved gift of your friendship is one of the high points of my life which I cannot celebrate with big words. The reference to Fliess was surely not accidental and your relationship with him impels me to ask you to let me enjoy your friendship not as one between equals but as that of father to son.³³

A year later in March of 1909, Freud speaks of his anxiety when he does not

³⁰ Peter Swales puts forth the theory that not only did Freud harbor personal animosity toward Fliess, but that he had a plan to murder him. It was Fliess' claim that Freud intended to push him over a precipice at Achensee in 1906. Freud's murderous intentions were, it seems, because of envy based upon his plagiarizing of Fliess' ideas on bisexuality. While Swales makes a good case for Freud benefiting from Fliess's prior research and earlier suggestions to Freud regarding bisexuality, the grounds for Freud harboring murderous intentions and wishing to act out those feelings, are weak. Fliess claims that while Freud wanted him to accompany him on a walk through the mountainous region at Achensee, Fliess, suspecting Freud's intentions, declined the invitation. There are too many problems with this theory; there is absolutely no corroboration from sources other than Fliess.

³¹ Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud (Markham: Penguin Books, 1961) p. 266.

³² The Freud/Jung Letters, F70.

³³ 72J.

receive Jung's letters, regularly and "on time" or when the correspondence lessens.

Many thanks for your telegram and letter, which put an end to my anxiety. I evidently still have a traumatic hyperaesthesia toward dwindling correspondence. I remember its genesis well (Fliess) and should not like to repeat such an experience unawares.³⁴

In the very next letter Jung hastily replies. "I must answer you at once... You may rest assured, not only now but for the future, that nothing Fliess- like is going to happen...Except for moments of infatuation my affection is lasting and reliable."³⁵

In a letter of December 18, 1910, Freud refers to the stirrings within him, old reminders of his relationship to Fliess. "I have had to fight off complexes within myself (Fliess)"³⁶ The final reference to Fliess is in a letter of December 22, 1910 in which Freud tells Jung of the effect of the rift between himself and Adler, pointing to some of the possible origins. "The only reason the affair (Adler mutiny) upsets me so much is that it has opened up the wounds of the Fliess affair."³⁷ Freud here voiced his fear that there was a pattern in his life wherein his disciples turned on him, abandoning him, to be left on his own. Harold Bloom, in Omens of The Millennium, in a thoroughly Freudian description, alludes to this unconscious dread :

Unlike so many of his disciples, Freud was not so susceptible to being seduced by his patients (Jung, Ferenczi, Jones), but had a dread, perhaps only partly conscious, that endless Jung and Adlers would rise up against him in the primal horde he had fathered.³⁸

34 134F.

35 135J.

36 225F.

37 228F.

38 Harold Bloom, Omens of The Millennium (p.107.)

Both Freud and Jung knew the story of Fliess, and both were anxious that the pattern established in that relationship not find expression in their friendship. Freud's pattern, first of close relationship and then an inevitable betrayal is elucidated most profoundly in his own words:

My emotional life has always insisted that I should have an intimate friend and a hated enemy. I have always been able to provide myself afresh with both, and it has not infrequently happened that...friend and enemy have come together in a single individual. ³⁹

In Carl Jung, Sigmund Freud would find first, an intimate friend of the first order, but in a few short years that same acquaintance would become an enemy to be feared and reviled.

³⁹Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, (N.Y: Basic Books, 1965) p. 521

FREUD AND JUNG: FATHER AND SON

In his first brief letter to Jung written on the eleventh of April, 1906, Freud set out the terms of reference for the relationship: that of professor to student, master to disciple. "I am confident that you will often be in a position to back me up." Jung was to play the supportive role, "backing up" the lead character of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud. In his first letter to Freud in October of that same year, Jung thanked the professor for sending him a collection of his papers, and dutifully promised to send him a copy of his latest book, The Psychology of Dementia Praecox. Here, within this first dispatch, he also expressed some hesitancy about Freud's sexual theory. For Jung, the genesis of hysteria might be "predominantly" sexual, but surely it need not be "exclusively" so. This reservation, this caveat, was to be a thorn of difference that would plague the whole of their association. In the early stages of their relationship, Jung would raise the issue carefully and cautiously in a subtle and delicate manner:

Do you regard sexuality as the mother of all feelings? Isn't sexuality for you merely one component of the personality (albeit the most important one)...Are there not hysterical symptoms which, though co-determined by the sexual complex, are predominantly conditioned by a sublimation or by a non sexual complex? ⁴⁰

Freud responded that, "for the present he did not believe that anyone is justified in saying that sexuality is the mother of all feelings," ⁴¹ and while he understood Jung's motives in trying to "sweeten the sour apple," he pointed out the danger of attempting to diminish the role of sexuality in psychoanalysis. In an earlier letter, Freud gently chastised Jung, writing:

Perhaps you are underestimating the intensity of these resistances if you hope to

⁴⁰ 39J.

⁴¹ 40F.

disarm them with small concessions. We are being asked neither more nor less than to abjure our belief in the sexual drive. The only answer is to profess it openly.⁴²

Within his first letter to Freud, Jung boasted of his championing of the psychoanalytic cause. He defended the cause against Aschaffenburg⁴³ who had been critical of Freud's views at a congress in Baden-Baden in May of 1906. In addition to being Freud's champion he was also an able apostle for the master. In the close of this letter he tells Freud that the director of the Burghölzli, Jung's chief, Eugen Bleuler, initially skeptical, is now, "completely converted" to the Freudian viewpoint. This conversion was due, in good part, to the proselytizing efforts and apostolic zeal of Carl Jung. Jung himself would later speak of his travel and venture in defense of the Freudian perspective as, "my apostolic journey."⁴⁴ In time, Freud would write of Jung, "you seem better fitted than anyone else I know to carry out this mission."⁴⁵

Reading through the letters of the first year, I am struck by the "dance-like" rhythm that exists through the correspondence. Usually it is Freud who takes the lead and Jung who responds to his wishes. While the relationship begins slowly, gradually the two correspondents begin to broach a variety of subjects, some of which are professional, but more and more the letters take on a more personal tone. Within a year of their initial correspondence, Jung began to confide in Freud, especially his fantasies and his indiscretions. In a letter written in July of 1907 he introduces these episodes with the question, "Would you mind my boring you with some personal experiences?"⁴⁶

Often the tone of Jung's letters was confessional. On occasion, such as when he wrestled with "the Spielrein affair," he would speak as a penitent speaks to a priest. In a letter of June 21, 1909, Jung complained to Freud of a

42 18F.

43 This is found in, "A Reply to Aschaffenburg", Collected Works vol. IV. pp.3-9.

44 41J.

45 106F.

46 35J.

former patient, Sabine Spielrein,⁴⁷ writing that she “was systematically planning seduction...Now she is seeking revenge. Lately she has been spreading a rumour that I shall soon be getting a divorce from my wife and marry a certain girl student.”⁴⁸ Jung had offered friendship, patience and support, and only when things had become difficult did he break with her, making what he called, a “clean break.” Just three weeks later, however, Jung would disclose:

When the situation had become so tense that the continued perseveration of the relationship could be rounded out by sexual acts, I defended myself in a manner that cannot be justified morally. Caught in my delusion that I was the victim of the sexual wiles of my patient, I wrote to her mother that I was not the gratifier of her daughter's sexual desires but merely her doctor, and that she should free me from her. In view of the fact that the patient had shortly before been my friend and enjoyed my full confidence, my action was a piece of knavery which I very reluctantly confess to you as my father.⁴⁹

Having confessed to “Father Sigmund,” he then asked him to write this patient, telling her that he, Freud, had been apprised of this matter and how much Jung had regretted sending the letter to her mother. Jung was concerned that both Freud (father) and Spielrein (lover) know of his “perfect honesty.” He concludes his reference to the “Spielrein affair” by asking Freud for absolution. “I ask your pardon many times, for it was my stupidity that drew you into this imbroglio.” Although Jung had clearly acted outside the bounds of trust (sexual relationship with a patient), and violated the confidence of a patient’s confession, (revealing information to Spielrein’s mother) Jung’s confession was met by fatherly counsel from Freud. He philosophized about Jung’s dilemma, offering the wisdom of his own fatherly experience:

Such experiences [Spielrein] though painful, are necessary and hard to avoid...I myself have never been taken in that badly, but I have come very close to it a

⁴⁷ See earlier chapter on Sabine Spielrein.

⁴⁸ 144J.

⁴⁹ 148J.

number of times and had a narrow escape...the fact that I was ten years older than you when I came to psychoanalysis has saved me from similar experiences. But no lasting harm is done...The way these women manage to charm us with every conceivable psychic perfection until they have attained their purpose is one of nature's greatest spectacles.⁵⁰

In time, Jung began to trust Freud, revealing to him many of his deeply held secrets. He not only confessed to him what was going on in the present but also spoke about his past. In a letter, referred to in chapter two, Jung begins his confession by acknowledging his deep admiration of Freud, writing:

Actually, and I confess this to you with a struggle, I have a boundless admiration for you both as a man and a researcher, and bear no conscious grudge...it is rather that my veneration for you has something of the character of a "religious" crush. Though it does not really bother me, I still feel it is disgusting and ridiculous because of its undeniable erotic undertone.⁵¹

This feeling of intense love and admiration for Freud, moves the narrative to a deeper level, that of a religious confession. That Jung trusts Freud implicitly is clearly evidenced in what follows next in the letter:

This abominable feeling comes from the fact that as a boy I was the victim of a sexual assault by a man I once worshipped...I fear your confidence. I also fear the same reaction from you when I speak of my intimate affairs.

Jung anxiously awaited Freud's response to this revelation with all the anxiety of a penitent standing before the confessor. "I am suffering all the agonies of a patient in analysis, riddling myself with every conceivable fear about the possible consequences of my confession."⁵²

From the outset, Jung looked upon Freud as the father and founder of

⁵⁰ 145F.

⁵¹ 49J.

⁵² 50J.

psychoanalysis, and initially, at least, he was in awe of the man. Freud's trip to the Burghölzli in September of 1908, had such an effect upon Jung that he could only begin his next letter to Freud with a biblical paraphrase: "*Magna est vis veritatis tuae et praevalabit.*"⁵³ -Great is the power of your truth and it shall prevail. As a parson's son, the depth of his awe was often captured biblically. In an earlier letter in which he suggests that it is Freud who brings the true gifts of knowledge to the table, he would write. "I rejoice every day in your riches and live from the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table."⁵⁴ When Freud's correspondence became more personal, Jung is elated with this sign of friendship. He believes, however, this friendship is undeserved, thus insists humbly, if it is to be a friendship it could not be one of equals. "Let me enjoy your friendship not as one between equals but as that of father and son."⁵⁵ One can hear in this statement a faint echo of the unworthy prodigal's self-effacing words upon returning home. He hopes to be accepted back into the fold, not as an equal, but as a servant.

While Jung was not the only disciple of Freud, he was clearly the favoured son. Even though this was true, Jung was still annoyed when he did not receive the Master's full attention. He was quick to admit his jealousy of his rivals, the other analysts who were also disciples of Freud. Writing of Karl Abraham, a fellow analyst, for instance, Jung would say: "I admit at once I am jealous of him (Abraham) because he corresponds with you."⁵⁶ His position as the favoured son is entrenched in April of 1909 in a letter in which Freud speaks of "adopting him (Jung) as the eldest son and anointing him as his successor and crown prince."⁵⁷ Again, in a letter of March, 1910, Freud opens

⁵³ 113J- A rewording of the biblical quotation from the Apocryphal book of Esdras-4:41

⁵⁴ 29J. The biblical reference here is to the beggar, Lazarus in Luke 16:21- "And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table." Jung, like the beggar, Lazarus, is only too happy to survive on the little nourishment that falls from the rich man's (Freud) table. One could suggest, as this biblical narrative does, that it was not enough for Jung (or for Lazarus), and that there would, in the end, be "a great gulf fixed between them" (Freud/Jung)

⁵⁵ 72J.

⁵⁶ 39J.

⁵⁷ 139F.

the conversation by first scolding Jung for not having disposed of resistances arising from his father complex, but then goes on to reassure him. "Just rest easy, dear son Alexander, I will leave you more to conquer than I myself have managed."⁵⁸

Although Freud saw Jung as his successor he continued to be anxious about his father complex. This concern was shared by Jung, a problem he felt lay behind much of his resistance to Freud. "I am in good shape and still have resistances to writing you at the right time...The reason for the resistance is my father complex, my inability to come up to expectations (one's own work is garbage, says the devil)."⁵⁹

A few days after Jung's explosive revelation, wherein he mentions the sexual assault, he interprets a dream that he had while staying with Freud in Vienna.⁶⁰ Here, within this dream, although very early in their friendship, I believe we see the seeds of its collapse. In Freud's opinion this dream showed a rivalry complex between the two men. In the dream, Jung saw Freud, "walking beside him as a very, very frail man." This perception of Freud as an old, frail, dying man would haunt Jung later, and would be the cause of fainting spells for Freud. This dream was a foreshadowing of what would later be a clear desire for the "ending" of Jung's secondary, supportive role in the relationship, and the son's inherent need to succeed the father. This desire to overthrow the master would appear to run deep within Jung and was evident early in his relationship with Freud. In fact in his very first visit to see Freud in Vienna in 1907, Ludwig Binswanger who accompanied Jung on that occasion, relates that in analyzing Jung's dreams, Freud interpreted them as attempts to dethrone him. The day after their arrival, Freud questioned Jung and Binswanger about their dreams. Binswanger goes on to say, "I do not recall Jung's dream, but I do recall Freud's interpretation of it, namely that Jung wished to dethrone him and take his place."⁶¹

⁵⁸ 182F.

⁵⁹ 180J.

⁶⁰ 50J.

⁶¹ Sheldon T. Selesnick, Psychoanalytic Pioneers, p.67.

Throughout the early years of their relationship⁶² both Freud and Jung seem to be like a couple on a honeymoon. Potential problems are ignored or simply considered inconsequential. It seems that any differences of opinion were slight, no issues were insurmountable, and with good will, even those minor difficulties could be brought to a successful resolution. Forgiveness was the order of the day, but was, I believe, granted at a high cost. For example, Freud in a letter to Jung writes, "I knew that our views would soon be reconciled, that you had not, as I had feared, been alienated from me by some inner development deriving from the relationship with your father, and the beliefs of the Church but merely by the influence of your chief[Bleuler]." ⁶³ A year later, a contrite Freud would insist there were no more further misunderstandings between them. Despite Jung's "rampages of fantasy" which were clearly directed at him, and were the cause of personal irritation, nevertheless, he would write, "we are united by personal sympathy and [we are still] pulling on the same cart." Although Jung was restless, Freud would leave to him so great a legacy in psychiatry that Jung could then go on to surpass Freud. Jung, the crown prince, would become greater than the reigning monarch. While Freud promised to Jung a bright future as his rightful successor, he nevertheless was aware of his ambivalence toward him, ambivalence which came from Jung's father-complex. With regard to their misunderstandings, he would write. "I am merely irritated now and then-I may say that much, I trust- that you have not yet disposed of the resistances arising from your father-complex."⁶⁴ In both these instances, I think that while Freud was hoping, wishing otherwise, he knew their relationship was affected by Jung's father. This would not be the last time that Freud would speak of Jung's father complex and its effect upon their friendship. Despite the good intentions of both parties, and their insistence that their differences were

⁶² From 1907-1909 as seen in the first third of their correspondence, in the first hundred letters.

⁶³ 99F.

⁶⁴ 182F. Jung would fully acknowledge this ambivalence in the relationship later as it came to an end. In letter 338J, for instance, one filled with father-son images, he writes angrily, "I admit the ambivalence of my feelings towards you."

trifling, the relationship by 1909 was beginning to show some signs of coming apart. In the next portion of my study I will examine two letters which anticipate the collapse of the friendship. Between the first letter in the spring of 1909 and the second in February of 1910, the two analysts traveled to America together. This seven week journey would weaken the ties of their alliance. Throughout their relationship, but particularly during 1909, Jung struggled with the issue of his father complex; a pivotal strand in his tie to Freud, but one which would in the end, provoke the unraveling of that very same bond.

1909 : THE TURNING POINT

Describing his years with Freud in chapter five in the autobiography, Jung was to write, “the year 1909 proved to be decisive for our relationship.”⁶⁵ Upon examining the letters written from 1906 to 1913 one can see a sharp decline in their number in 1909. When graphed⁶⁶ we see the number of letters written steadily increases until that year, then sharply decreases. There is an increase in 1910, with the correspondence reaching a peak in 1911, before trailing off through 1912 and 1913. I think the sharp decline in the number of letters written in 1909 was a first indication of what would later become a complete breakdown in communication between the two analysts.⁶⁷ In 1909, I believe Jung began to distance himself from Freud, a position which is reflected in a dwindling exchange on his part and correspondent anxiety on Freud’s. Because Jung looked to Freud as a father model, and because he suffered from a father-complex, Jung harboured ambivalent feelings toward Freud. Jung responded to Freud in a way he had earlier reacted to his father, Paul. This ambivalence was revealed in Jung’s conflicted desire for both intimacy with, and separation from, Freud. Nowhere is this ambivalence more evident than in Jung’s letters to Freud. In the first years, Jung becomes “infatuated, “affectionate,” and “filled with boundless admiration” for Freud. The year 1909 marks his first attempt at disengaging himself from this father figure. The separation will not occur at this time, in part because Freud soothes Jung’s resentment, and is at least, temporarily, able to bring him back into the fold. Let us now look at a letter written by Freud in the spring of 1909. Here, within this communication, there begins a first step in a process which finds

⁶⁵MDR. p.156.

⁶⁶ See appendix p.216

⁶⁷ I do recognize that 1909 was the year that Freud and Jung went to the U.S.A., and hence, during that month away, had no need to communicate by letter. Nevertheless, the decrease over that year is substantial, even when this is taken into account- a third less correspondence (from 66 to 47) from 1908 - 1909.

completion in the dissolution of the relationship.

This is one of three letters from Freud (and the longest—the other two more like short notes) which was included in the appendix of MDR. It was important enough to the compilers of the autobiography to include within the book, and it does, I believe, hint at the reason for the pair's eventual parting. In early March of that year the first edition of "Jahrbuch"⁶⁹ was published. Jung's article, entitled, "The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual" was one of five papers to appear in that first edition (Freud, Abraham, Maeder and Binswanger providing the other four.) In a letter to Freud (117J) in December, while in the midst of writing the article, he referred to that work as, "my paper on the father complex." It is fascinating that the first article Jung submits to a journal established by Freud, is on the significance of the father. This is especially so because Jung was insistent that their friendship was not to be, "as one between equals but as that of father and son." ⁶⁹

During the last week of March, Carl and Emma visited the Freuds in Vienna. This trip was part of a celebratory time because Jung had just finished at the Burghölzli, and after his holiday was to move into his new home. They would, however, because of delays, have to wait a few months before they could move into the house at Küsnacht. This trip was the occasion of the famous "cracking of the bookcase," an experience described in the autobiography,⁷⁰ and to which Freud referred at great length, in his letter of April 16th.

In the weeks leading up to Freud's letter of the sixteenth, the name of Fliess appears in the correspondence of both men. In early March, Freud wrote of his continued anxiety about Jung's "dwindling correspondence." This

⁶⁹ The "Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen" was the first psychoanalytic periodical. This was created to foster closer cooperation between the many different voices within the analytic movement, and was the result of a small international congress in Salzburg in 1908. Freud and Bleuler were named the directors of the periodical while Jung became the editor. (Gay, p. 215.)

⁶⁹ 72J.

⁷⁰ MDR, p. 155. This holiday is briefly described in the Freud- Jung Letters, p. 215.

anxiety, according to Freud, has its origin in his old friend and correspondent, (and, it seems, his nemesis) Wilhelm Fliess. Freud writes, "I evidently still have a traumatic hyperaesthesia toward dwindling correspondence. I remember its genesis well (Fliess) and should not like to repeat such an experience unawares."⁷¹ Jung answered at once, in order to assure Freud that he could be at ease, he had nothing to worry about. The long delays in writing did not mean what he (Freud) thought they meant. No, Jung was not rejecting him nor wishing to abandon their friendship. He promised Freud that, "nothing Fliess-like is going to happen....Except for moments of infatuation my affection is lasting and reliable."⁷² Freud had in the past brought to Jung's attention his "laziness in writing" (49J), a pattern which Freud believed masked some deeper, hidden feeling. In that same letter in which Jung apologizes for his "laziness in writing,"(49J) he suggests that his tardiness is not because of a "conscious grudge" but because of his "boundless admiration." Once again, it seems Jung is called upon to profess his "infatuation, affection and reliability." Freud again becomes anxious, reading into Jung's waning correspondence, hidden motives which disguise a thinly veiled threat to their continued cooperation. It seems that on occasions in which Freud feels either ignored or attacked by Jung, he panics-in two instances he faints. For his part, Jung, when he feels seductively approached by Freud, simply withdraws. I will now examine a letter which, while written in the early years of their friendship, nevertheless, alludes to an impending disruption in their relationship.

71 134F.

72 135J.

LETTER 139F⁷³ : A FATHER'S DEATH

In the first paragraph Freud confesses that Jung's last letter(s) "has aroused feelings," and perhaps it would be better if this letter didn't reach Jung for a while. During the Jungs' last visit (to Vienna), Freud was ready to appoint Jung the "crown prince", that is, his successor in the psychoanalytic movement. According to Freud, Jung not only declined that invitation but did so, "with considerable pleasure." The cause of this conflict was rooted in the "poltergeist business." Freud concludes this portion of the letter with some fatherly advice:

I put on my fatherly horn-rimmed spectacles again and warn my dear son to keep a cool head...I shall receive further news of your investigations of the spook complex with the interest one accords to a charming delusion in which one does not oneself participate.

A year later in Vienna Freud would attempt to extract a commitment from Jung, a promise that he would not abandon the sexual theory in favour of his pursuit of occultism, what Freud later referred to as that "spook complex" or "poltergeist business."

In the second half of this correspondence, Freud brings together three significant themes: Hamlet, death and Wilhelm Fliess. In the first instance he quotes two passages from Shakespeare's, Hamlet. Both are used to help defend Freud's skepticism of Jung's "poltergeist business." The first quotation, a paraphrase. "I become garrulous and speak of one more thing "between heaven and earth that we cannot understand."⁷⁴ This phrase introduces Freud's recounting of a long-held belief, one in which he feared he would die, " between

⁷³ Appendix p. 217

⁷⁴ " There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,

Than are dreamt of in your philosophy." (Hamlet Act 1, scene 5: line 166,167.)

the ages of 61 and 62” a fear that at one time seemed a long time away but today is only eight years off. The key to understanding this irrational fear for Freud was its link to his book, The Interpretation of Dreams. As the answer dawned on him, “suddenly method entered into my madness.”⁷⁵ Freud then made a connection between his death and his monumental opus, The Interpretation of Dreams. He writes that, “with The Interpretation of Dreams, I had completed my life work, hence there was nothing more for me to do, and I might as well lie down and die.” Thus, Freud says, if examined rationally, this premonition of dying at 61 or 62, is no longer a woolly mystery requiring a mystical interpretation, but one that has a logical base. “You will admit that after this substitution it no longer sounds absurd.” Following this description of his death anxiety, for which there was rational explanation, Freud concludes: “Moreover, the hidden influence of W. Fliess was at work; the superstition erupted in the year of his attack on me.”

This letter is a highly significant one. Freud had interpreted Jung’s interest in the “spook complex” as a rejection of his invitation to become the crown prince, next in line to the throne. This rejection, one that “divested Freud of his paternal dignity” was a gesture which gave Jung “much pleasure.” This stance forced Freud into a fatherly role, causing him to issue a warning. Jung’s interest (obsession) with the “black tide of occultism” caused Freud to reflect on another “crown prince” (Hamlet) who had wished for a king’s death and that association brought to mind another battle with a former ally, now an enemy, Wilhelm Fliess. Could the constellation of these themes, brought on by Jung’s refusal to accept the kingdom, thereby rejecting the king, be a foreshadowing of the eventual severing of the ties between the two men? I believe it was.

One of the key elements in Freud’s letter has to do with his fear of dying

⁷⁵ “Though this be madness, yet there is method in’t.” (Hamlet Act 2, scene 2- line 205,206.)

between the ages of sixty-one and sixty-two .⁷⁶ He goes on at length to explain this obsession. Another equally significant part of the narrative has to do with the role Freud has been forced into when Jung refuses to accept the mantle of authority offered to him-that of father. This is evidenced in his choice of words: "paternal dignity," "father role," "fatherly horn-rimmed spectacles." We see here a conversation between an aging father and an unruly son. For Carl Jung, the parson's son, there would be echoes of another father-son encounter, discussions in which he would be chided for not "keeping a cool head." While Freud used the example of his fear of dying at sixty-one to show that there were rational explanations for seemingly irrational fears, I believe that Jung unconsciously heard another message. The underlying inference here was that Freud, in three weeks time would be turning fifty-three." Today it [the fear of dying at 61] is only eight years off."⁷⁷ This is significant because that is the age at which Jung's father, Paul, died. As Freud had taken on the mask of Jung's father in the early years of their relationship, now after Freud's allusion to death while approaching the age of fifty-three, this father too was mortal, like Paul before him. In Jung's experience a father who turns fifty-three soon dies. Jung would now look for a way to leave the relationship.

Freud, in this letter, refers to Jung as "the eldest son, the anointed one, his successor, the crown prince." But it was not the eldest son Jung wished to emulate. To use a biblical metaphor, one which will soon surface in Jung's correspondence, he had no desire to inherit the role of elder brother. If the truth were known, the part of the prodigal, who wished to get out from under father's authority, was more in keeping with his wish to leave this father's house.

As we have seen, and as Freud commented upon a number of times, Jung

⁷⁶ This age of 61-62 is not the age which Fliess had predicted that Freud would die. Using "periodic theory" Fliess predicted Freud would die at age fifty-one. Freud would write to Fliess expressing the wish that he "would hold out until that famous age limit of 51." One wonders why Freud had mistakenly remembered the age as 61. In addition to this error, it should be pointed out that Freud and Jung met for the first time in 1907 just prior to Freud's 51st birthday. It was on this occasion that Jung relayed to Freud his dream in which Freud appeared as a very old and frail man. Could it be that Freud said 61 instead of 51 in order to deny that in meeting Jung, Freud had met a rival who would bring about his death?

⁷⁷ 139F. Freud would celebrate his fifty-third birthday on May 6th.

is often tardy in responding to his letters. Like a good penitent he continually begs forgiveness of Freud. In a letter of May 12, 1909,(the first after Freud's "fatherly scolding" in 139F) he begins,"I must make amends for the sin of omission. Once more you haven't heard from me for a long time." A month later, again apologizing for his tardiness, in the language of biblical parable he writes:

to tell myself this because my father-complex kept on insinuating that you would not take it as you did but would give me a dressing down more or less disguised in the mantle of brotherly love. For actually it is too stupid that I of all people, "*your son and heir,*" *should squander your heritage so heedlessly,* as though I had known nothing of all these things. ⁷⁸

Within this letter he tells Freud that he has been hindered from writing because he believed that he would be lectured by Freud for his difficulties with Sabine Spielrein.⁷⁹ Jung, however, had come to his senses, realizing that it was his father-complex causing the difficulties. He, the "son and heir" to the psychoanalytic inheritance, should realise his father's (Freud) response would not be a dressing down. Prodigal sons, according to the parable, were welcomed, not scolded by father. Five months after this correspondence, Jung starts his letter with a quotation from the gospel of Luke, taken directly from the parable of the prodigal son. He begins, "Pater, peccavi"-it is indeed a scandal to have

⁷⁸ 146J.

⁷⁹ In a previous letter Jung had informed Freud of the Spielrein affair. He had written Spielrein's mother to assist Jung. See earlier work on Spielrein letters.

kept you waiting 25 days for an answer. ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ While the parable of the prodigal son is a story with many facets, it is in part a tale about a son's desire to leave his father's home. I believe that these biblical references were expressions from within Jung, of a deep wish to separate himself from, or take leave of, the father. In letter 139F, Freud had set in motion a process which would culminate in Jung's searching for a way out of the relationship.

Within letter 146J, Jung remarks how good it will be to go to America with Freud, now that both were to receive degrees from Clarke University in the fall. Freud and he would be sailing together from Bremen in August. Although Jung spoke of this honour as "splendid news," providing them an opportunity to spend time together, this trip was to prove anything but good news for their relationship. In August of 1909, Freud and Jung left for the U.S.A., sailing to the "new world," and Jung would move a step closer to leaving this father's house.

The trip to America where both analysts were to receive honorary degrees from Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts is described in Jung's autobiography in the chapter on Sigmund Freud. Both Freud and Jung had been invited by Stanley Hall, a prominent American psychologist and

⁸⁰ 162J.

⁸¹ In each of these letters, the theme is related to the Prodigal Son story. In 140J, which is incidentally the last letter Jung writes to Freud from Burghölzli (142J is from his new house at Küssnacht) Jung begins apologetically. He wants to make amends for failing to write back to Freud. This delay Freud could not help but take as a slight, given that in Freud's letter (139F) the father-son, King-crown prince language is overwhelming. In this letter, Freud is playing the role of a disappointed father who scolds his disobedient son for turning his back on him at the very moment Freud wishes to make him his successor. The delay of almost one month would have made Freud extremely anxious. At the end of the letter, Jung reminds Freud that, he is, after all still involved in his "house building", which has taken up his time. One month after Jung's letter, he writes again and this letter (146J) with its reference to, "Son and heir, and squandering a heritage heedlessly" continues with the theme of the Prodigal son. Jung was worried that Freud might greet this prodigal, not with acceptance but with a "dressing down." In a later letter, of November 15, Jung opens with an apology for a 25 day delay. The words are straight from the Prodigal narrative. "Pater, peccavi" - Father, I have sinned, and am no longer worthy to be called your son. (Luke 15:21) This "Prodigal Son" theme is one that Jung will act out over the next two years; Freud plays the Father, while Jung acts out the part of the younger son, who will eventually leave the father's house, venturing off on his own. One could extend this metaphor to say that Jung's journeying to a "far off country," complete with his fall from grace, (ends up feeding the pigs) is his "confrontation with the unconscious." Finally, his return home, his father's greeting and his brother's righteous anger, is a good description of his renewed vision of the deity, and his future relationship to his "brother" believers, the Church.

president of the university. This was a trip Freud hoped would bring his work world-wide recognition. Sandor Ferenczi, a young psychoanalyst and one of Freud's early disciples, accompanied the two to America. Jung devotes a good proportion of this chapter to the events (and the repercussions) of this journey. The chapter is roughly twenty-three pages, and of this about six pages record the events of their trip to America. Thus approximately one quarter of the chapter centers upon the voyage to America, and of this, three incidents were to take precedence: the peat bog corpses,⁸² Freud's inability to "risk authority," and Jung's dream of the two skulls.⁸³

The first incident, known as the episode of the "peat bog corpses" occurred in Bremen, while waiting to board the ship which would take them to America. Jung spoke to Freud of his interest in the ancient corpses that had been perfectly preserved in peat centuries before.⁸⁴ This passionate obsession and frequent mention of the corpses got on Freud's nerves. Eventually, he asked Jung why he was so concerned with the corpses, positing that his interest in fact revealed a hidden desire, a wish for Freud's death:

Afterward he said to me that he was convinced that all this chatter about corpses meant I had death wishes toward him. I was more than surprised by this interpretation. I was alarmed by the intensity of his fantasies, so strong that obviously, they could cause him to faint.⁸⁵

In his autobiography, Jung connects this fainting spell with another one

⁸² See appendix 219

⁸³ See appendix 220

⁸⁴ It is intriguing to note that Jung got completely muddled up on the location of the corpses. He moved from dead bodies encased in peat to mummies in lead cellars in the city. Clearly, dead bodies in cellar vaults find a sympathetic connection in Jung, particularly to his early life at the vicarage. The port of Bremen seems to hold for Jung a connection to Freud. It was here, as a result of the peat bog story that Freud fainted. Jung also begins his story about their dream analyses, (particularly the all-important one where Freud is reluctant to "risk authority,") by referring to Bremen. (MDR. pp.156-158)

⁸⁵ MDR, p. 156.

which took place at the psychoanalytic conference in Munich in 1912 ⁸⁶ In this episode there is a very strong connection to the father. Jung had been irritated by a remark that behind the Egyptian creation of a monotheistic religion there lurked a father complex. Jung believed that the acts of a creative and profoundly religious person (Amenophis) “could not be explained by personal resistances toward his father.”⁸⁷ At the end of Jung's vehement rebuttal, Freud fainted.

At that moment Freud slid off his chair in a faint...*I picked him up, carried him into the next room, and laid him on a sofa.* As I was carrying him, he half came to, and I shall never forget the look he cast at me. *In his weakness he looked at me as if I were his father.* Whatever other causes may have contributed to the faint the atmosphere was very, very tense. The fantasy of father murder was common to both cases. At the time Freud frequently made allusions indicating he regarded me as his successor.

This fainting incident, in which Jung describes a son carrying an ailing father, I believe, stirred a memory for Jung. The episode would call to mind another

⁸⁶ In a letter to Ernest Jones, Freud probed the meaning of the fainting spell in Munich, and spoke of the change in Jung's letters, “from tenderness to overbearing insolence,” Into this letter appears the name of Wilhelm Fliess. Freud writes that the room in the Park Hotel (the place of three fainting spells) held a dark association for him. “I saw Munich first when I visited Fliess during his illness. This town seems to have a strong connection with my relation to this man. There is some piece of unruly homosexual feeling at the root of this matter.” In his response, Jones expressed considerable interest in Freud's explanation of this event, writing that he had suspected a homosexual element, “this being the sense of my remark in saying goodbye at the station- that you would find it difficult to give up your feeling for Jung (meaning that perhaps there was some transference to him of older affects in you.)” Freud admitted the accuracy of Jones' comments later when he replied. “You are right in supposing that I had transferred to Jung homosexual feelings from another part but I am glad to find that I have no difficulty in removing them from free circulation.” When another disciple, Sandor Ferenczi, drew a parallel between the fainting events in Bremen and Munich, Freud in his reply expressed the belief that, “all his attacks could be traced to the effect upon him of his young brother's death when he was a year and seven months old.”(Jones,p.274.) There is an interesting similarity here with Jung whose older brother died at five days. While Jung did not directly know his brother, Paul, he may have heard about him from his parents. Perhaps Jung too may have been affected by his brother's death.

⁸⁷ MDR. p.157.

occasion when a son dutifully carried another weak and frail father. In an article by a childhood friend of Jung's, Albert Oeri, the author describes that during the "very winter his father [Jung's] died, I remember how, shortly before his death, he who had once been so strong and erect complained that Carl had to carry him around like a heap of bones for an anatomy class."⁸⁸ Of both fainting stories, in 1909 and in 1912, Jung writes that "the fantasy of father-murder was common to both cases."⁸⁹ On those occasions when Freud feels attacked by Jung, he panics and this leads to his fainting. Each time Jung feels overpowered by Freud he tends to withdraw.

The trip to America lasted seven weeks, and for that period of time the two analysts were together almost every day. Jung says that they analyzed each other's dreams throughout the journey, mentioning that while he had some important ones, Freud was unable to interpret them. Even though unsuccessful in this regard, Jung still regarded him as an older, more mature man, feeling very much that he was playing the role of the son. This continued until something happened which "proved to be a severe blow to the whole relationship."⁹⁰ The change came about in response to one of Freud's dreams. While the content of the dream is not described, Jung writes that while pressing Freud for more personal information which might have helped the interpretation, Freud flatly refused to yield this information. The reason he gave for denying Jung's request was: "I cannot risk my authority." Jung was absolutely confounded by this response. He remarked that this sentence "burned itself into my memory; and in it the end of our relationship was already foreshadowed."⁹¹ With this response, Freud had lost respect and

⁸⁸ Albert Oeri, *Some Youthful Memories of C.G. Jung : Spring- Archetypal Psychology and Jungian Thought* (N.Y: Spring Publications, 1970)

⁸⁹ MDR, p.157.

⁹⁰ MDR, p.158.

⁹¹ While Jung said nothing to Freud about this, instead keeping it to himself, three years later he reminds Freud of the incident. In one of his last letters, Jung angrily reminds him that, " Our analysis, you may remember, came to a stop with your remark that "you could not submit to analysis without losing your authority." These words are engraved on my memory as a symbol of everything to come. I haven't eaten my words .(330J)

authority in Jung's eyes. It was as if he was placing personal authority above truth. Jung's response to this statement of Freud's was similar to his reaction when he was asked by him not to abandon the sexual theory, "that he must make a dogma of it, an unshakable bulwark." This was said in the manner of a father saying, "and promise me this one thing, my dear son: that you will always go to church every Sunday."⁹² Had not young Carl been asked to do this when as an adolescent he was chided for thinking too much? Surely his father's words would come to him. "You always want to think. One ought not to think, but believe."⁹³ To ask Jung to place dogma above truth was to bring to mind father's words and father's example. Freud was beginning to sound more like Jung's father. He was also taking on some of his father's characteristics as well. We read that when Jung reflected upon Freud's character, the trait that stood out above all things was his bitterness. "There was one characteristic of his that preoccupied me above all: his bitterness. It had struck me at our first encounter."⁹⁴ In referring to his father a few months before his death, Jung would ask, "How can it have happened that everything was blighted for him, had turned to sourness and bitterness?"⁹⁵

Freud's inability to "risk his authority" was for Jung a sure sign that the time was coming for him to leave this relationship. If Freud felt that he could not afford to lose authority in relation to this younger man, those feelings were only accentuated when Jung asked him to interpret one of his dreams. I will now examine this dream, a vision which would eventually lead Jung to the concept of the collective unconscious, but which at the time compelled him to see that their differences were of a fundamental nature, and would thus be unsurmountable.

⁹² MDR, p. 150.

⁹³ MDR, p. 43.

⁹⁴ MDR, p. 152

⁹⁵ MDR, p. 95.

THE TWO SKULLS

The dream of the two skulls⁹⁶ takes place in a house which Jung calls "his house." Most of the dream entails a description of that house with its many rooms and various levels: upper story, ground floor, basement and an even lower region under the cellar floor. As Jung descended to the different levels, he traveled to different time eras: from the eighteenth century to the fifteenth, from Roman times to the epoch of primitive culture. The symbolic material within this dream led him to the concept of the collective unconscious,⁹⁷ and clearly for Jung the meaning of the dream was tied to the house and its many levels. In the last sentence, Jung describes what he discovered at the lowest level in the house: two very old, half disintegrated human skulls. But it was this discovery, the last sentence in the dream narrative, which Freud felt held the key to the interpretation. For him there was only one question: whose skulls were they? For Freud, the skulls spoke of a death wish, and he would not rest until Jung revealed the secret death wishes in the dream. Jung felt extreme resistance to this approach, but in the end submitted, giving Freud the answer he wanted. Jung said that he harboured a wish for the death of his wife and sister-in-law, an interpretation which was, he said, a lie. I would suggest that both the image of the house, and the two skulls which are found in the lowest regions, are key to the interpretation of this dream. I will begin with the house.

⁹⁶ Appendix p. 220

⁹⁷ Of the collective unconscious, Jung would say, that over and above the contents of the personal unconscious, "we also find in the unconscious qualities that are not individually acquired but are inherited, e.g., instincts as impulses to carry out actions from necessity without conscious motivation. In this deeper stratum we also find the archetypes. The instincts and archetypes together form the "collective unconscious." I call it "collective unconscious" because, unlike the personal unconscious, it is not made up of individual and more or less unique contents but of those which are universal and of regular occurrence." (The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche, CW 8, p. 133) We see then that both the concept of collective unconscious and archetype find their genesis in Jung's inner life, his visions and dreams. The manikin episode caused Jung, for the first time, to believe that "there were archaic psychic components (archetype) which have entered the individual psyche without any direct line of tradition." (MDR, p. 23.)

The image of the house is a symbol which occurs in many of Jung's important dreams.⁹⁸ In an interview at the end of his life, Jung was asked about the symbol of the house, and particularly the medieval house of this dream, and its meaning for him. He responded:

In a dream we see the house as our husk and we are just in it. Thus with the medieval house he was just in it; in this beautiful 18th century house as he stood on the first floor. It was as if it was where he lived, and presumably his family were about somewhere but they were not evident. When he reflected about it later the house had some association in his mind with his uncle's very old house in Basel which was built in an old moat of the town and had 2 cellars, the lower one was very dark and like a cave.⁹⁹

This house was the one in which Jung's mother had lived throughout her childhood. It was an ancient house, so old that when "they did some excavations and alterations in it [they] found that it had been built on Roman remains, and underneath there was a cellar just like that in his dream of the medieval house."¹⁰⁰ While I do think that this dream of the house, with its many rooms and levels, does speak about the numerous discoveries Jung had yet to make, it is significant that in order for this to begin, Jung goes back to his childhood: back to a familiar house, one which he had probably visited with his parents while growing up at the vicarage near Basel. We will see later that in order for Jung to discover new territory he would first have to uncover parts of his personal past. Part of that discovery process would require Jung to break with his mentor, Sigmund Freud. Thus Jung's insistence on the centrality of the house in this dream needs to be complemented by Freud's demand that the two skulls are an integral component of the dream.

The setting for this dream was a house of Jung's childhood memories, and it was to this time period in his life that he would continue to search for

⁹⁸ See for example, the two dreams described in *MDR* (pp.213-220) in which Jung visits a house with a fish laboratory and later visits his father in a multileveled house in the country.

⁹⁹ Bennet, p.117.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p.124.

answers. Hidden in that dead past was a father Jung had buried and whom he had forgotten. Forgotten that is, until he had been resurrected in the person of Freud. Was it time now to bury Freud?¹⁰¹ I believe that the skulls in the dream were the skulls of two fathers, Paul Jung and Sigmund Freud. Freud had guessed half of the truth; one of those skulls belonged to him. Jung now wished to bury Freud next to Paul in his father's vault. According to Jung, his lie, that the skulls were that of his sister-in-law and his wife, Emma, seemed to relieve Freud. I doubt whether the father of the Oedipal myth, however, could be fooled so easily or would be appeased much longer.

Upon their return home from America, both analysts spent the autumn revising their Clark university lectures for publication. A harbinger of their impending rift would come in a letter early in the new year. In this letter, Jung begins innocently with a question about membership within a fraternity. Before long, however, through a "string of associations," the tone and content takes on the rhetoric of a homily; an impassioned plea for the need to recognize religion as a fundamental part of the human condition. This letter and Freud's rejection of Jung's "thunderings," rumblings which had come from deep within Jung, would set the two analysts on an irrevocable path, an unalterable course, and which would lead to an irreparable collision. I will now turn my attention to that letter.

¹⁰¹ A few years later, in the dream of the Austrian customs official, (MDR, pp. 163, 164) Jung has a good deal less difficulty thinking of the death of Freud. "He is one of those who still couldn't die properly." The question that comes to mind here in this dream is if Freud is the "customs official"- what was Jung trying to smuggle past or bring illegally into, Freud's country?(unconscious)

Letter 178J: THE DAM BREAKS

Like Freud, Jung had received an invitation to join the “International Order of Ethics and Culture,” a fraternity Freud thought might be of value. Perhaps, it was thought there could be an alliance formed between this group and the psychoanalytic movement. Thus in the first part of this letter he examines “out loud,” the advantages and disadvantages of the possible association. Jung does not want anything to do with that organization, writing that “the prospect appals me.” Psychoanalysis is not in need of ethics “but must be nourished by the deep instincts of the race...we need the eternal truth of myth.” In this correspondence I think Jung is reacting (delayed) to an earlier letter in which Freud proposes a theory for the origin of religion. A month earlier Freud had been inspired to write:

Of my own flashes of inspiration I am quite well again and correspondingly unproductive. I can confide only one. It has occurred to me that the ultimate basis of man's need for religion is infantile helplessness which is so much greater in man than in animals. After infancy he cannot conceive of a world without parents and makes for himself a just God and a kindly nature, the two worst anthropomorphic falsifications he could have imagined. ¹⁰²

In Jung's letter, his rambling thoughts wander from Dionysus to Apollo to the idea of introducing some of the “cultural stupidities” such as the monasteries. He eventually concludes, in an oft-quoted phrase, “Religion can be replaced only by religion...2000 years of Christianity can only be replaced by something equivalent.” This sentiment was prefigured in stone at Jung's house in Küsnacht . Over the door Jung had carved into the stone lintel the Latin phrase : “Vocatus at atque non vocatus, deus aderit”, variously translated as, Invoked or not, the gods will be present. For Jung, if psychoanalysis was to endure, if it was to have power, the movement needed to be imbued with “the eternal truth of myth.”

This letter is rife with the language of religion: saviour, myth,
¹⁰² 171F.

Christianity, symbol, Christ, sooth-saying god, ecstatic, cult, sacred, feast of joy, holiness, classical religion, rapture, Last Supper, hair-shirted John of the locusts, dying and resurging god. And all this in less than one paragraph! Jung states categorically that, "a genuine and proper ethical development cannot abandon Christianity but must grow up within it." Thus Jung would like to see these concerns examined at the next congress at Nuremberg. In the last words of his letter of February 11th, 1910,¹⁰³ Jung asks Freud to ignore all his "storming", apologizing for this abreaction, but that "his heart was bursting." and this action released a good deal of the psychic tension.

Within forty-eight hours, Freud penned a response to the letter acknowledging that, "in you (Jung) the tempest rages, it comes to me as distant thunder." Although he really ought to wait for a while before writing back, he cannot restrain his reactions. To the question of bringing the fraternity issue to the Nuremberg congress, Freud says, no! No, because the psychoanalytic movement is too small and not well organized. It was Freud's original intention that by accepting the invitation, "we shall be able to draw the moralists to psychoanalysis, rather than the psychoanalysts be turned into moralists." He then goes on to say, "You mustn't regard me as the founder of a religion."¹⁰⁴ My intentions are not so far reaching...I did not expect the Fraternity to become a religious organization any more than I would expect a volunteer fire department to do so!" A week later Jung responded to Freud's refusal to "found a religion."

In this letter, Jung asked whether Freud would have any objections to putting forth the proposal at Nuremberg? Surely it could cause no harm. Yes, his last letter was "another of those rampages of fantasy indulged in from time to time." These rampages, he says, are usually innocuous but this time unfortunately, it hit Freud, which was "probably the intention." In an effort to explain himself, Jung said there were all kinds of reasons for this "thundering."

¹⁰³ 178J. See Appendix p.221

¹⁰⁴ Freud had in the past warned Jung not to consider him the object of religious veneration. "A transference on a religious basis would strike me as most disastrous; it could end only in apostasy...I shall do my best to show you that I am unfit to be an object of worship."(52F)

There were all sorts of things going on in his life, as revealed by the symbols in his dreams, there was his mythological studies, and of course, “the time of his life.” (Jung was thirty five, mid-life) All of this however, according to Jung, was not affecting his work! Part of Jung's “intentional hitting” referred to in letter 178J, was related to his father complex, his “inability to come up to expectations,” the hopes of his surrogate father.

Jung concludes this letter with a number of references to the issue of homosexual resistance in men:

Homosexuality would be a tremendous advantage since many inferior men, who quite reasonably would like to remain on the homosexual level, are now forced into marriage. It would also be excellently suited to large agglomerations of males, (business, universities etc. [fraternities?]) Because of our short-sightedness we fail to recognize the biological services rendered by homosexual seducers. Actually they should be credited with something of the sanctity of monks.¹⁰⁵

The issue of homosexuality, which is mentioned six times in the letter, becomes connected to castration and self-castration.¹⁰⁶ In a final, odd pairing of the religious and sexual, Jung couples the sanctity of monks with homosexual seduction. Is there a faint reference here to another homosexual seduction, long ago, the sexual assault¹⁰⁷ by a “religious,” a man whom Carl Jung once worshipped? Was Jung now beginning to lose his “religious crush” on Sigmund Freud? Would the “crush” vanish when Freud refused to be “religious,” saying no to the thought of becoming a founder of religion?

In Freud's next letter he tried his best to reassure Jung that he ought not to worry, they were united in purpose, “pulling on the same cart.” There were

¹⁰⁵ 180J.

¹⁰⁶ Monastic vocation. One gets the feeling reading this letter that Jung may be on the verge of running away. The references to monastery, sanctity of monks, and self-castration suggests that he may want to put some distance between him and Freud. (“get thee to a nunnery” - Hamlet) This certainly seems to have touched off something within him. Within a week, Jung writes to Freud that his letter (which is missing) has perturbed him. He then leaves, unexpectedly, asking his wife to explain this sudden departure for the United States. This, with an important meeting, the Second International Psychoanalytic Congress coming up at Nuremberg, in the wings.

¹⁰⁷ see earlier reference to the sexual assault in chapter two.

really no misunderstandings, nor did he think Jung was vacillating. The future for Jung looked great. All of this should calm him and “lighten his heart.” There was just one little concern, and that was his father complex. “I am merely irritated now and then - I may say that much, I trust-that you have not yet disposed of the resistance arising from your father complex.”¹⁰⁸

Two days after this letter, Jung left unexpectedly for America. The reason for this unscheduled trip to Chicago, according to Emma Jung, was because of the health needs of a former patient, Fowler McCormick. Yet it seems clear there was more involved than simply the concerns of a former client. Jung himself, from Paris, just prior to his departure, opens his letter to Freud with the words, “Please don’t get cross with me for my pranks.”¹⁰⁹ The suddenness of the leaving was a cause of concern for Freud. In a letter to Oscar Pfister on March 17th, Freud wrote. “I still have not got over your not coming to Nuremberg, Bleuler is not coming either, and Jung is in America, so that I am trembling about his return. What will happen if my Zurichers desert me?”¹¹⁰

While the formal break would not come for over two and a half years, I believe the events, the letters of this time period, February and March of 1910, foreshadow an inevitable separation. The letter (179F) in which Freud declared he should not be considered the founder of a religion, marked a significant change in the dynamics of the relationship. In the end, Jung responded by running away to America. Perhaps unconsciously, he recognized this as “prankish” behaviour. Freud found himself anxiously concerned about Jung’s absence, thinking about the issue of “desertion”and “trembling” at his return from America.

The issues would arise again, but for now there was a pretense of solidarity. Well rehearsed apologies, forgiving gestures and promises of mended ways made for a short term, temporary reconciliation. But despite frequent

¹⁰⁸ 182F.

¹⁰⁹ 183J.

¹¹⁰ Ernest L. Freud (ed.) Psychoanalysis and Faith : The Letters of Sigmund Freud and Oscar Pfister(N.Y: Basic Books, 1963) p. 35.

assurances from Freud that Jung was still the “favoured son,” and moving, heartfelt apologies from Jung, that he would stay a faithful disciple, there was a growing sense that each man was “protesting too much.”

Six months prior to this correspondence, Jung had moved into his house at Küsnacht, having asked for, and received Freud’s blessing of the new home.¹¹¹ Shortly after this, Jung had confessed to Freud his indiscretions regarding Sabine Spielrein.¹¹² In the fall of 1909, as we have seen, Jung and Freud had spent a good deal of time together at the Clark conference in the U.S.¹¹³ In November, Jung completed his article on “The Significance of the Father in the Destiny of the Individual” for the first issue of Jahrbuch. In January, a month before Jung wrote his passionate apology for religion, Freud communicated his initial insight that, “the ultimate basis of man’s need for religion is infantile helplessness...After infancy he cannot conceive of a world without parents and makes for himself a just God and a kindly nature, the two worst anthropomorphic falsifications he could have imagined.”¹¹⁴

This letter to Freud, written at the mid point of their relationship, was one in which Carl Jung revealed his deep feelings and thoughts about the ancient power of faith, original intent of myth and humanity’s absolute, instinctual need to acknowledge religion. Within this letter Jung declares that any system, including the infant psychoanalysis, which does not take into account the power and inherent existence of religion in the human animal is one based upon a fallacy. Like it or not, religion lies at the very core of human life. To deny this psychic reality is to ask for trouble. There are a number of startling but revealing assertions Jung makes within this letter-his testament to the intrinsic necessity of religion.

This letter begins like so many of Jung’s, with an apology for his tardiness, for his slow response continues to make Freud anxious. Eventually,

¹¹¹ Freud/ Jung Letters. 142J, 143F, 144J.

¹¹² Freud/Jung Letters 144J, 148J.

¹¹³ See MDR, pp.158-162. It was on this occasion that Jung had the dream of the two skulls and Freud raised the issue of his authority.

¹¹⁴ Freud/Jung Letters :171F.

he begins his stormy and fervent epistle on his unguarded, enthusiastic and passionate defense of religion. Here he expresses to his mentor the reasons why religion could not be ignored. As we learn from Freud's hasty reply,¹¹⁵ Jung's emotional pleadings would be utterly rejected. The force of this rejection would change the dynamics of their relationship, causing Jung's hasty departure for America within two weeks. In this exchange, Jung expresses his deep and passionate belief that religion was intrinsic to human life. With this passion comes a warning: those who deny this psychic truth are cut off from a chthonic power, and this severing could result in a psychic disturbance.

Both Freud and Jung refer to this letter as thundering, a tempest, one of rampage and ferment.¹¹⁶ It is as if Jung is vomiting up, from the depths, all that he believes is sacred. It simply could not stay down any longer. Jung was, I think, warning Freud of the damage of cutting oneself off from the religious instincts, impulses that lay embedded deep within the human psyche, forces that were now beginning to erupt and spill over into Jung's professional life. These "ecstatic," instinctual forces within Christianity had been pushed down in his father's life. Paul Jung had cut himself off from the "sooth-saying god of the vine," separating himself from that nourishing, life sustaining root, with the result that he was left spiritually stranded, and alone. In Freud's rejection of religion, Jung heard echoes of his father's experience. To follow Freud in this way was to follow the path of his clergyman-father, a course leading to spiritual isolation and death. After this correspondence there was no going back. This letter marked the end of a year which was indeed, "decisive for their relationship," a year in which there were many indications of the inevitable breakdown that was to come.

Before I move to explore the final break which occurred at the end of 1912 and early in 1913, I wish to examine the correspondence between Jung's wife, Emma and Freud. While there are but a few letters, they nevertheless, provide another perspective on the relationship. Without her husband's

¹¹⁵ 179F.

¹¹⁶ 179F, 180J.

knowledge, Emma reveals the state of the relationship between Carl and his mentor, Freud, a full year before its collapse. This fresh perception confirms the father-son character of the discourse, while at the same time warning of disastrous consequences if the relationship continues along that path.

EMMA JUNG: MOTHER KNOWS BEST?

Naturally the women are all in love with him, and with the men I am instantly cordoned off as the wife of the father or friend. (Letter from Emma Jung, November 24, 1911.)

In this excerpt, from her final letter to Freud,¹¹⁷ Emma Jung complains that with the male friends of her husband, Carl, she is treated as “the wife of the father.” Surely this phrase is the complicated, long form of the more emotionally charged word, mother. In her three previous letters to Freud, Emma responds to the friction between Sigmund and Carl in much the same way a mother defends the son who is having a dispute with a good friend . She tries desperately to explain Jung’s actions but her pleading is to no avail. In a little more than a year, the relationship will rupture permanently.

In her first letter¹¹⁸ to Freud on October 30th, 1911, Emma Jung defends her actions, saying, she writes, not from presumption but as one who is trying to follow her unconscious. Since Freud’s last visit to the Jung household she has detected that something is amiss. “I have been tormented by the idea your (Freud’s) relationship with my husband is not altogether as it should be, and since it definitely ought not to be like this I want to try to do whatever is in my power.”¹¹⁹

Emma thought that perhaps Freud was upset with her husband because of his paper, “Transformations of Libido.” Perhaps it was because Freud was upset with his children or perhaps it has more to do with his “spiritual” children(his crown prince and heir, Carl Jung). Emma hopes this bit of meddling will not cause Freud to be angry, and judging by the inferences contained in her next letter to Freud, she needn’t have worried.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Appendix p.224

¹¹⁸ Appendix p.227

¹¹⁹ Letter from Emma Jung, October 30,1911.

¹²⁰ No letters from Freud to Emma Jung seem to have survived.

In Emma's second letter to Freud¹²¹ she bravely oversteps the boundary when she proceeds to analyse, what she believes to be the motives underlying the breakdown between the two analysts. In this correspondence Emma reports how anxiously Carl waited for Freud's response to his latest research. Perhaps Freud was right not "to react at once so as not to reinforce this father-son relationship." She then proceeds to give counsel to Freud in terms of his marriage and the raising of his family:

You said that your marriage had long been "amortized," now there was nothing to do except die...and I fancied this was intended just for me because it was meant symbolically at the same time and referred to my husband.

Finally, she spoke of Freud's hasty casting of the mantle of authority upon the shoulders of her husband:

You may imagine how overjoyed and honored I am by the confidence you have in Carl, but it almost seems to me as though you were sometimes giving too much-do you not see in him the follower and fulfiller more than you need? Doesn't one often give much because one wants to keep much? Why are you thinking of giving up already instead of enjoying your well earned fame and success? Perhaps for fear of letting the right moment for it pass you by?¹²²

In perhaps the most telling of phrases, one I believe that sounds more like a warning than a plea, Emma Jung concludes this letter. "Do not think of Carl with a father's feeling. He will grow, but I must dwindle, but rather as one human being thinks of another, who like you has his own law to fulfill." Perhaps ,even then, late in 1911, Emma knew that to continue this "father-son" relationship, given Carl's father complex, could only mean an inevitable parting of the ways.

Although we do not possess Freud's response to this epistle, what he

¹²¹Appendix p. 225,226. The final paragraph contains the two biblical references to John 3:30 and Matthew 5:17)

¹²² Letter from Emma Jung, November 6, 1911.

termed Emma's "amiable carpings," we can infer a good deal from Emma's final letter to Freud. We can assume Freud was less than enthusiastic about Mrs. Jung's last bit of writing from the opening of Emma's letter:

You were really annoyed by my letter, weren't you? I was too, and now I am cured of my megalomania and am wondering why the devil the unconscious had to make you, of all people, the victim of this madness...you were right my last letter was really directed to the father - imago.¹²³

In this letter to Freud, Emma Jung writes of her husband's resistances, resistances she felt at first were in response to Carl's fear of Freud's criticism, but which now seem to be the result of Jung's current self analysis. That this analysis is causing some psychic disturbances, with repercussions in Carl's marital relationship can be inferred from Emma's concluding remarks to Freud. "Please write nothing of this to Carl; things are going badly enough with me as it is."

Although this letter is written a year prior to the final breakup, Emma Jung had perceived the impending separation. She knew, perhaps intuitively, that for Freud to pursue the relationship based upon a father-son dynamic, with one partner "growing," the other "dwindling," would result in the end of that partnership. Her husband, Carl, carrying within him the seeds of the "father complex," would be compelled to act out the rejection of his mentor and surrogate father, Sigmund Freud.

¹²³ Letter from Emma Jung, November 14, 1911. (see appendix 227)

THE FINAL BREAK

“The worst thing is being killed by silence.”

(Jung, in a letter to Freud- November 8, 1907,)

“I greet you on your return from America, no longer as affectionately as on the last occasion in Nuremberg you have successfully broken me of that habit.”(Freud, in a letter to Jung- November 14,1912.)

This last quotation begins a lengthy letter that signals a breakdown in the communication between the two psychoanalysts. No longer is Jung addressed “affectionately” as friend, but more formally as “Herr Doktor.” Freud is grateful for the news from Jung’s trip to America but is critical of his “modifications” of psychoanalysis.

You have reduced a good deal of resistance with your modifications, but I shouldn't advise you to enter this in the credit column because, as you know, the further you remove yourself from what is new in psychoanalysis, the more certain you will be of applause and the less resistance you will meet.

Freud here makes it clear he feels Jung to be “watering down the essentials of the faith.” He sarcastically predicts that if it is watered down any more there will be no resistance to analysis. He implies that in making psychoanalysis more palatable Jung, in fact, makes it completely useless. In the third paragraph, in just one sentence, Freud describes something that has annoyed him for some time. He writes, “I must own that I find your harping

on the "Kreuzlingen gesture"¹²⁴ both incomprehensible and insulting, but there are things that cannot be straightened out in writing." Freud here refers to an incident that took place earlier on a visit to Zurich. This ticklish issue was resolved after a "two hour walk" prior to lunch at the Munich conference two weeks later. Jung admitted his oversight, made an apology and the two parties were reconciled. It was at lunch, however, that Freud had a fainting attack(see earlier note on Munich fainting spell.) Nevertheless, in Freud's mind, Jung was back in the fold.

In a letter to James Putnam, a professor of neurology at Harvard, who had been elected the first president of the American Psychoanalytical Association in 1911, Freud described his experience at the Munich conference:

Everybody was charming to me, including Jung. A talk between us swept away a number of unnecessary personal irritations. I hope for further successful cooperation. Theoretical differences need not interfere. However, I shall hardly be able to accept his modification of the libido theory since all my experience contradicts his position.¹²⁵

Freud believed that reconciliation had been achieved, although his last sentence contains some reservations. In his next letter to Freud, Jung too feels that the relationship is now on firmer ground. This is because now, for the first time, he says, he really understands Freud. The first paragraph speaks of this new understanding, and is full of apology and contrition:

I am glad we were able to meet in Munich, as this was the first time I have really understood you. I realized how different I am from you. This realization will be enough to effect a radical change in my whole attitude. Now you can rest assured that

¹²⁴ The situation referred to as the "Kreuzlingen gesture" occurred when Freud traveled to Kreuzlingen on Lake Constance in order to pay a visit to Ludwig Binswanger, Director of the sanatorium in that town. Binswanger had a malignant tumor, for which he underwent surgery, and had asked Freud to keep the news of his illness confidential. Because of his concern for him (it was thought he might die) Freud made a quick visit to Binswanger in Kreuzlingen, just forty miles from K nsnacht, the village where Jung lived. Hurried and pressed for time, Freud did not take the opportunity to stop by and visit the Swiss analyst. Jung chose to be offended at what he believed to be Freud's insensitivity, sending Freud a letter labeling this as a gesture of neglect.

¹²⁵ Letter of November 28, 1912, Putnam and Psychoanalysis, p.150.

I shall not give up our personal relationship. Please forgive the mistakes which I will not try to excuse or extenuate. I hope the insight I have at last gained will guide my conduct from now on. I am most distressed that I did not gain this insight much earlier. It could have spared you so many disappointments. ¹²⁶

The impression one gets from this correspondence is of a prodigal who returns in a mood of penitence, a son who begs forgiveness of the father, promising to stay on the "straight and narrow" in the future. This biblical image, that of the prodigal son, was an allusion Jung had used on many occasions in letters to Freud. ¹²⁷

It is as if Jung has experienced a revelation, and now understands Freud. That new knowledge has effected a radical change in his attitude toward him, and thus Freud has nothing to worry about, the relationship will endure. To paraphrase a line from Hamlet, however, "me thinks he doth protest too much."¹²⁸ Within a week Jung, now full of contrition, understanding and fresh resolve will begin an angry, antagonistic letter with a furious warning. "This letter is a brazen attempt to accustom you to my style. So look out!"¹²⁹ Between the apologetic epistle of November 26th and the acrimonious ultimatum of December 3rd, Freud was to pen one letter,¹³⁰ written on November 29th. The tone of the letter is clearly conciliatory.

In the first paragraph, Freud thanks Jung for his "friendly letter," stating he is hopeful of "future collaboration," and no matter how difficult things have been or may become, "our relationship will always retain an echo of our past intimacy." Freud realizes that both parties are strong personalities, and therefore disagreements are unavoidable, thus: "we shall have to lay by a fresh store of benevolence towards one another, for it is easy to see that there will be controversies between us and one always finds it rather irritating when the other party insists on having an opinion of his own." In the second paragraph,

¹²⁶ 328J.

¹²⁷ See Letters, 140J, 146J, 162J.

¹²⁸ Hamlet. Act 3, scene 2-line 240.

¹²⁹ 330J.

¹³⁰ 329F.

Freud reflects on his fainting attack in Munich.

Now I shall be glad to answer your questions. My attack in Munich was no more serious than the similar one at the Essighaus in Bremen; my condition improved in the evening and I had an excellent night's sleep. According to my private diagnosis, it was a migraine (of the M. ophthalm type), not without a psychic factor which unfortunately I haven't time to track down now. The dining room of the Park Hotel seems to hold a fatality for me. Six years ago I had a first attack of the same kind there, and four years ago a second. *A bit of neurosis that I ought really to look into.*

This section of Freud's letter fuels Jung's rage, and he begins his response, referring to what Freud terms his "bit of neurosis." "My very best thanks for one passage in your letter, where you speak of a "bit of neurosis you haven't got rid of." The rest of the letter is a scathing assault on Freud, by way of his failure to deal with that neurosis. It is as if, in revealing this neurosis, Freud has been exposed, with the result that Jung moves in for the kill. What Freud calls a "bit", is for Jung the whole problem. Because Freud refuses to honestly confront this neurosis Jung has "suffered," has not been "understood properly," and this has resulted in an "underestimation" of his work. This situation has become intolerable for Jung; if only Freud could remove his blinkers, Jung's work could be seen in a different light.

It is in the middle section of the letter that Jung goes for the jugular. Referring to their analysis, when they analyzed one another's dreams during their trip to America in 1909, he writes:

Our analysis, you may remember, came to a stop with your remark that you " could not submit to analysis without losing your authority" These words are engraved in my memory as a symbol of everything to come. I haven't eaten my words, however.¹³¹

These words go to the very heart of Jung's rage. In the end, the relationship cannot, and in the future, will not be, a truly equitable

¹³¹ 330J.

partnership. Instead, their alliance was a disparate one, the ultimate authority, and the issue here was clearly authority, remained with the senior partner, Sigmund Freud. As if to anticipate Freud's response, Jung, in the next paragraph implores Freud to understand this exchange as the honest criticism of a friend, for that is his intent. "I am writing to you now as I would write to a friend for this is our style. I therefore hope you will not be offended by my Helvetic bluntness." Jung pleads that Freud see this letter as "an effort to be honest." There is one thing he does not want Freud to think:

One thing I beg of you...do not apply the depreciatory Viennese criterion of egoistic striving for power or heaven knows what other insinuations from the world of the father complex. This is what I have been hearing on all sides these days.

Jung is anxious that Freud not question his motivation, theorizing that the roots of his fury might be written off as the residue of an unresolved complex.

In this letter Jung is sarcastic, "My dear Professor, forgive me again, but has the tone of a warning or threat, " So look out!", and brings to the surface, lingering wounds from the past, "these words are engraved on my memory." Jung had "thundered" and "stormed" in the past. (i.e., Letter 178J) How would Freud respond to this latest outrage?

In a very brief, two paragraph letter,¹³² Freud responds to Jung's anxiety about the "Viennese failing," that of probing for the underlying causes of all human actions, trusting that no such claims will be made on Jung. Then, in the form of a parting shot, he points out a parapraxis Jung made in his last letter. In that letter, referring to the rumour that he was going to "swing over" to the Adler camp, Jung wrote, "Even Adler's cronies do not regard me as one of yours."¹³³ He had meant to write, "one of theirs." This slip was similar to one Freud made, but quickly caught before posting the letter, three years before. On that occasion he referred to the need for discipline in his psychoanalytic society, complaining that sometimes he was angry with the

¹³² 337F.

¹³³ 335J.

Viennese members, confessing, "I must own that I sometimes get so angry at my Viennese that I wish YOU/THEY had a single backside so I could thrash all with one stick."¹³⁴ This slip indicated that it was Jung whom Freud unconsciously wished to punish or perhaps engage erotically.

Freud would have interpreted Jung's slip as an unconscious attempt to distance himself from the founder of the movement, siding with a traitor instead,(Adler) but even those rebels could see that Jung was not one of Freud's disciples.

As in Jung's last exchange, the next letter is anything but calm. He admits to his ambivalence toward Freud, but faces that feeling honestly. Whether or not Freud chooses to believe him on this point, is not Jung's problem. He then accuses Freud of playing the role of therapist in his relations with his peers:

I would, however, point out that your technique of treating your pupils like patients is a blunder. In that way you produce either slavish sons or impudent puppies...I am objective enough to see through your little trick. You go around sniffing out all the symptomatic actions in your vicinity, thus reducing everyone to the level of sons and daughters who blushingly admit the existence of their faults. Meanwhile you remain on top as the father, sitting pretty."¹³⁵

The images within this portion of the letter are of two kinds: that of the the inferior,-puppies, slavish sons and daughters full of faults, and the superior-the father on top sniffing out all of the symptoms in his territory. This is the way Freud' s disciples are treated by the Master. Nobody dares challenge the father who is sitting pretty, very much"on top."

In the last couple of sentences, Jung in fact describes his own behaviour over the last few years. Time after time Jung has blushingly admitted his faults, behaved like a dutiful son, apologized for his disagreements with the master, and has been content to play son to Freud's father. In this correspondence Jung finally challenges the father, and although no one else has, he dares to pluck the prophet's beard. In the final portion of the letter

¹³⁴ 160F.

¹³⁵ 338J.

Jung continues this biblical motif. His symptomatic actions may indicate problems, but they pale in comparison to the beam found in his brother Freud's eye. In his closing words he reminds Freud that, while he has been analyzed and has benefited from the experience, Freud has only undergone self-analysis:

You know of course, how far a patient gets with self analysis: not out of his neurosis just like you. If ever you should rid yourself entirely of your complexes and stop playing the father to your sons and instead of aiming continually at their weak spots took a good look at your own for a change, then I will mend my ways and at one stroke uproot the vice of being in two minds about you.

Jung acknowledges at the end of the letter that Freud will likely be outraged by his raw honesty, by his "peculiar token of friendship." But it is Jung's belief that his honesty will do Freud some good. Some of Freud's other disciples (Stekel and Adler) disliking Freud's fatherly role, have reacted with "childish insolence." Not so with Jung who publicly will stand by Freud while maintaining his own views. Privately, in his letters, he will tell him what he really thinks. The tone of this letter is that of biblical indignation. The reference to the "prophet's beard" casts Freud in the role of the great religious leader, whose authority was not to be questioned. Throughout the seven years of their friendship, Jung believed Freud to be the father whose authority could not be challenged, a master who could not be deposed. Here he speaks his mind. Having declared his intentions, Jung had only to wait for a response.

In the next correspondence, Freud does two things. First, he vehemently denies Jung's charges:

Your allegation that I treat my followers like patients is demonstrably untrue. In Vienna I am reproached for the exact opposite...in building your construction on this foundation you have made matters as easy for yourself as with your famous "Kreuzlingen gesture." ¹³⁶

¹³⁶ 342F.

Freud simply will not give credence to Jung's outburst for there is no truth to Jung's accusations. In fact, the thundering rage only points to a lack of personal insight on Jung's part. In the middle section of the letter, recognizing the futility of their continued partnership, Freud triggers the break when he writes:

Accordingly, I propose that we abandon our personal relations entirely. I shall lose nothing by it, for my only emotional tie with you has long been a thin thread, the lingering effect of past disappointments and you have everything to gain, in view of the remark you recently made in Munich, to the effect that an intimate relationship with a man inhibited your scientific freedom. I therefore say, take your full freedom and spare me your supposed "tokens of friendship."

Here, Freud severs the cord, suggesting that their communication cease. He hopes the separation is amicable, but insists that there is no need to continue pretending anymore. The time has come to put an end to their hostilities, and Freud initiates this denouement, inviting Jung to accept the judgment as final.

Written on the same day, January 3, 1913,¹³⁷ and thus obviously penned without knowledge of the contents of Freud's last letter, Jung offers "friendly wishes for the New Year," with hopes that the psychoanalytic movement will prosper, "unimpaired by internal conflicts and crosscurrents." According to Jung, it is these very tensions that make for life. "When everything goes smoothly, petrification sets in." Quoting a line from Goethe's, Faust, he writes, perhaps defensively. "I seek salvation not in rigid forms." This is likely a reference to his aversion to the rigid dogmatism of Freud. Instead, he desires greater flexibility. While his telling of the truth, an "unvarnished truth," may hurt Freud, it is "meant for his good." Having declared his intentions, "honorable," and "perfectly clear," he closes with the words. "The rest is up to you."

Having received Freud's letter requesting an end to their relations, Jung

¹³⁷ 343J.

pens a brief response. The letter¹³⁸ is dated, the sixth of January, a day in the Christian calendar marking the feast of Epiphany. In Western Christendom this day has become chiefly associated with the "manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles" in the persons of the Magi. For Jung, it marks the day he abandons hope of reconciliation with Freud, and in a sense leaves home, relinquishing his hold on the familiar, and embarking on a journey. Before he can lay claim to a new, promised land, Carl Jung will spend the better part of five years in the wilderness, engaging in a battle he will term, his "confrontation with the unconscious."

138 344J.

“THE REST IS SILENCE”: A PRINCE’S FAREWELL

This phrase, Jung’s terse reply to Freud’s request to abandon the relationship, is Prince Hamlet’s dying utterance. It ushers in the finale of Shakespeare’s masterpiece, Hamlet.¹³⁹ This work is in part a story of the staging of a brief drama, a tale within a tale, prompted by a troubled conversation between the crown prince, Hamlet, and the ghost of his father, King of Denmark. Hamlet devises a scheme involving a play to trick the present king into admitting murder, thereby bringing the guilty party to justice. In the words of Hamlet, “the play is the thing that will catch the conscience of the King.”

Hamlet is a story of a father’s murder, and a mother’s seduction which results in the usurping of a throne. This murder is fratricide not patricide, a story of brother killing brother, not of son killing father. It is a tale of a brother seducing a sister (in law), not of a son’s seduction of his mother. The result of this unlawful, immoral action is that the brother mounts the throne. It is not the chronicle of a son becoming king. According to Sigmund Freud, however, this drama was a retelling, with slight variation, of the ancient Oedipal myth. According to him, Hamlet’s uncle accomplished what Hamlet only fantasized, lacking the courage to enact.¹⁴⁰

Throughout his relationship with Freud, Jung was wrestling with his father’s ghost. This “father complex,” so often referred to by both parties in their correspondence, and which later Jung would vehemently deny, remained unresolved. To apply an image more closely connected to mothering than fathering, I suggest that Jung’s final utterance severed the cord, a tie which, although umbilical, was also one which threatened to strangle Jung’s independence and individuality. This separation achieved the desired freedom, but it would be some time before Jung would be able to “breathe on his own.” This rupture, so necessary for survival, would in the years immediately following, be associated with an experience Jung would feel to be

¹³⁹ Hamlet. Act 5, scene 2. line 352

¹⁴⁰ Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, (N.Y: Basic Books, 1965) p.299.

more like death than life. The split plunged him into a dark abyss of despair, and just as Hamlet's last words were followed by his death, so too Carl Jung's poetic farewell to Freud would precipitate a season of tenebrous , isolated chaos.

Probably no one finds the mental energy required to kill himself unless, in the first place, in doing so he is at the same time killing an object with whom he has identified himself, and in the second place, is turning against himself a death wish which has been directed against someone else.¹⁴¹

Jung's closing words in this letter are well chosen, perhaps unconsciously and may be interpreted in a number of ways when applied to Jung and his relationship to Freud. It was clear that Jung, like Hamlet, was the crown prince, next in line for the throne. But like Hamlet, Jung did not come to the throne. In Shakespeare's play, Hamlet died before he could become king. It seems that Jung made a conscious decision not to take Freud's throne. If the play was a living out of the Oedipus complex, as Freud believed, then what are we to make of Jung's decision not to eliminate the father, thereby turning his back on kingship? While there are a number of possible answers to this question, I wish to suggest the following interpretation.

Jung played the role of son and heir to the father he rediscovered in Sigmund Freud. Because of his father complex, which made it virtually impossible for him to "overcome his father," Jung simply could not take the throne. This would be tantamount to overcoming or succeeding his father. And yet Freud claimed the Oedipal myth, the story of a son's defeat of the father, was a universal wish, and lay at the heart of both civilization and religion. Was Jung an exception to this truth? I do not believe so. I would maintain there may be another way to interpret Jung's refusal to become king.

My interpretation rests on viewing Jung's dilemma in a different light. If

¹⁴¹ Sigmund Freud, The Psychogenesis of A Case of Homosexuality In A Woman vol. 18,p.162.

Freud was right and authority is bestowed upon the son only when the father has been succeeded, perhaps we need to look a little more closely at how that can be accomplished. The obvious means of removing father is through eradicating him. No more father means no more son. Does it not also hold, that by eliminating the son you eliminate father as well? No more son means no more father! By this, I mean that if Jung was unable to kill/defeat/triumph over/succeed/overcome father because he was caught in a father complex, as Freud maintained, the only way out of that father/ son relationship would be to eliminate the son. If Jung, the son and heir, "ceased living" that relationship, dying in a sense, so too father's life would come to an end.

Both "father" and "son" are relational terms, that is they are dependent on each other for meaning. If you eliminate one, the other term, at least partially, loses its meaning. For example, if Jung (son) removes himself from the relationship, then Freud (father) is eliminated. In their relationship it was clear how each partner was defined; Freud the father, Jung the son. Sever the partnership and both parties would need to discover new identities. A son who no longer has a father must search for other ways to be defined. As with Prince Hamlet, in the end there was "silence", depicting mortality, the death of a son and heir, and as with Hamlet, the threat or hope of overcoming father also died.

From his unconscious, Jung penned these words from Shakespeare. Whether he understood their deeper meaning at the time, what effect those words had on the son and heir of the psychoanalytic movement, and how that phrase would be interpreted by the reigning monarch, Sigmund Freud, are questions which can fuel rounds of endless speculation. We do know that after his separation from Freud, Jung would undergo a most difficult and traumatic time, a period that would find him "wrestling with the gods."

While the thrust of my research in this chapter is an examination of the correspondence from the viewpoint of its effect upon Jung, it is clear that Freud was also devastated by the failure of the two analysts to resolve their

differences. Toward the end of his life, at seventy-six years of age, Freud was interviewed by one of Jung's friends, E.A. Bennet. Bennet captures the sense of loss which Freud experienced upon Jung's leaving. When his interview was complete, Freud asked him if there was any one question he would like to ask. Bennet writes:

Before I left he (Freud) asked if there was any special question I would like to put to him. I asked if he would mind telling me how he felt about a perplexing subject: Why was it that he and other pioneers in psychological medicine were on such bad terms with one another?...Freud answered readily...Adler's departure was not a loss, Freud had no regrets at his going for he was never an analyst. Stekel he described as a very clever man, and he was an analyst. But separation from him was unavoidable because of personal characteristics in Stekel himself which made cooperation with him impossible. I then asked about the rupture with Jung. Freud, after a pause, said very quietly, Jung was a great loss. No more was said.¹⁴²

Chapter IV: Confrontation With the Unconscious¹

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand;
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out
When a vast image out of Spiritus Mundi
Troubles my sight: somewhere in sands of the desert
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds.
The darkness drops again; but now I know
That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be born?
- W.B. Yeats: The Second Coming

THE ERUPTION:

Jung's descent into the unconscious was precipitated by his break with Freud, after which he underwent a period of inner uncertainty, a state of disorientation. This was a time when he felt "totally suspended in air, for he had

¹ Chapter six of MDR (pp.170-199) In addition to Jung's conversation with Aniela Jaffé, Frau Jaffé "incorporated a number of passages from a seminar delivered in 1925, in which Jung spoke for the first time of his inner development." (MDR: Introduction, p.vii) See Analytical Psychology: Notes of the Seminar Given In 1925 by C.G. Jung. This edited text is taken from the original transcript prepared by Cary F. Angulo which was given to the members of that seminar class by Jung in 1926. Of particular interest is the material recording several of Jung's dreams and visions from the Freud years and the post-separation years.

not yet got his footing.”² To borrow a biblical metaphor, if the Freud-Jung era represented seven fat years, then most assuredly the period from 1913 to 1920 was for Jung, seven very lean years.³ Jung described this separation as a cataclysmic event and, when he parted from Freud, he felt, “as though I had been banished from my father’s house.”⁴ In Lecture five of the 1925 Seminars, Jung once more used the image of leaving home and going into the unknown, to capture the effect of the parting. “It is very much as if one stepped out of the protection of his house into an antediluvian forest and was confronted by all the monsters that inhabit the latter.”⁵ Following his skirmish with the unconscious, a battle which occasionally caused him to question his sanity, Jung spoke of the overwhelming significance of this time period for his later work. The battle years, which could very well have “driven him out of his wits,”⁶ instead became the richest period of his life, and everything accomplished after this had its beginnings in this internal struggle.

Jung had examined numerous myths of the past, considered the hero within those legends, but still he wondered about the power of myth in contemporary life.⁷ The question that plagued him now was two fold; one

² MDR, p.170

³ Genesis 4: In this story Joseph (who believed that dreams were the royal road to God) interpreted Pharaoh’s dreams to mean the country was in for seven years of plenty, followed by seven years of famine.

⁴ Joseph Henderson, (private communication) in Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois:Chiron, 1985) p.94.

⁵ Analytical Psychology: Notes of The Seminar Given in 1925 by C.G. Jung, (ed. William McGuire) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1989) p.38.

⁶ MDR, p.189.

⁷ See, The Psychology of the Unconscious. In this book Jung examines the “Miller fantasies.” Miss Miller, an American student at the University Of Geneva, wrote a memoir describing her fantasies. Her analyst, Theodore Flournoy, wrote the introduction to these memoirs. The memoirs are a record of her mythological fantasies. These visions Jung believed came from the cellars below the personal unconscious, fantasies coming from what Jung would later term, the collective unconscious. In a later letter, Jung said of Freud’s response to this book, “Freud had accepted my copy (Psychology of the Unconscious), but he told me that my whole idea meant nothing but resistances against the father.” (March 4, 1930) Letters, vol. 1: p. 73.

theoretical the other more personal.⁸

But in what myth does man live in these days? In the Christian myth, the answer might be. Do you live in it?" I asked myself. To be honest, the answer was no. But then what is your myth-the myth in which you live? At this point the dialogue with myself became uncomfortable, and I stopped thinking. I had reached a dead end."⁹

This realization was to activate a process which would lead Jung to a rigorous self examination of his life. From December 1912 to the following December, he had a number of vivid dreams; encounters, which to his dismay did not help him over his disorientation. The first of these dreams was of a white bird, a little girl and twelve dead beings.¹⁰ This fantasy, with its theme of the dead and the living, eventually led to another dream, that of an entombed knight who later came to life.

In October of 1913, Jung began to feel that the pressures and conflicts were no longer coming solely from within. Things on the outside, in the external world, were becoming conflicted. He then dreamed of a flood rising up to the Alps, accompanied by blonde corpses drowning in a sea of blood. This was followed by a series of three dreams which lasted through to the summer of 1914. In this series, Jung dreamed of an Arctic cold wave which killed all living things, but which in the final vision unexpectedly produced sweet grapes of healing.¹¹ The dreams which erupted from within Jung's psyche coincided with the announcement of war declared in August of 1914, forcing Jung to probe more deeply this coincidence, and the meaning of those psychic disturbances.

The fantasies continued to come forth. The dreams and visions Jung compared to thunderous storms, rock slides, and assaults. He was able to weather these assaults, often simply through what he termed, "brute

⁸ This dialogue is reminiscent of the two-fold question posed by Christ to the disciples. First, "who do others say that I am?" Second, "But who do you say that I am?" (Mark 8:29)

⁹ MDR, p. 171.

¹⁰ MDR, pp. 171, 172.

¹¹ MDR, p. 176.

strength.”¹² Discovering the images within the emotions reassured him, for without this insight he says that “he might have been torn to pieces by them.”¹³ The whole process he considered a scientific experiment, and only by extreme personal effort was he finally able to escape the labyrinth.¹⁴

It soon became clear to Jung that if he was truly going to understand these fantasies he “had to plummet down into them.”¹⁵ Along with this knowledge was the accompanying fear that this descent could mean falling prey to the images. He chose to do this, in the end, because, “ this idea-that I was committing myself to a dangerous enterprise not for myself alone, but also for the sake of my patients-helped me over several critical phases.”¹⁶ The crisis came at the end of 1913, and on December 12, Jung began his descent. “I was sitting at my desk once more, thinking over my fears. Then I let myself drop. Suddenly it was as though the ground literally gave way beneath my feet, and I plunged down into dark depths.”¹⁷ A series of visions¹⁸ followed in the next week, and on December 18th Jung dreamed that, in the company of another man, a brown-skinned savage, together they killed Siegfried.¹⁹ This vision was one that could not be ignored. It required interpretation, and this was to be done without

¹² MDR .p.177

¹³ MDR . p 177

¹⁴ MDR .p.178

¹⁵ MDR . p 178.

¹⁶ MDR . p 179

¹⁷ MDR . p 179.

¹⁸ These visions are described with a little more detail in the 1925 lectures. Of the going down to the depths Jung terms “boring through,” or “digging a hole.” The passage in this lecture 6 fills out, and connects some of the details as described in the MDR narrative.

¹⁹ This dream was explained by Jung to E.A. Bennet in a somewhat different fashion. In this telling, the two characters were dressed for hunting, and the brown-skinned savage was leading the pair. Siegfried appeared in shining armour with a shield and spear. On his feet were skis of bone, the bones of all the dead. The primitive man said that they must shoot Siegfried, and Jung did so. After he killed him, the savage went over to collect the spoils, however, Jung was filled with remorse, so he ran away, dashing down the ravine. Even the rain that fell could not wash away Jung’s overwhelming sense of guilt. (Bennet, Meetings, pp.61,62.) It is of note that the “Siegfried” dream occurred one year to the day after Jung’s angry and thundering letter to Freud.(338J) Within this letter Jung exhorted Freud to refrain from “playing the father to [his] sons and instead of *aiming* continually at their weak spots took a good look at [his] own for a change.” Freud responded to this angry outburst by suggesting that “ they abandon personal relations entirely.”

delay. He thus writes of this dream. " You must understand the dream, and must do so at once...if you do not you must shoot yourself."²⁰ It dawned on him that Siegfried represented the German people, wanting to impose their will, but "the attitude embodied by Siegfried,"²¹ the hero no longer suited me, and this had to be killed."²²

While Jung's reading of this dream has merit, I would like to offer another interpretation, a much simpler one. I suggest that perhaps Jung's dream may have been a reaction to the break-up of the Freud- Jung alliance. After all, Jung had "killed the father," represented by Sigmund, and had taken himself out of the picture. ("The rest is silence.") He was Freud's son, having been declared the crown prince. Siegfried is literally, son of Sigmund. The significance of the rain as the means of covering up the murder scene suggested to Jung the beginning of the resolution of tension in his world. Indeed, for Jung, the experiment was drawing to an end.

In order to get hold of these fantasies, Jung imagined his journey to the dream world as a "steep descent," and each time tried to go even deeper, with the hope of reaching the very bottom. These voyages to the unconscious world he compared to a visit to the land of the dead. It was here he first caught sight of the two figures of Elijah and Salome, an old white-bearded man and a young,

²⁰ MDR, p.180.

²¹ According to Dr. Alphonse Maeder, the Viennese psychoanalysts who did not like Jung nicknamed him "the blonde Siegfried." (Ellenberger,p.739.)

²² MDR,p.180.

beautiful, blind girl.²³ Through conversation with this couple, Jung discovered that their relationship was an eternal one. Accompanying the couple was a black serpent who displayed a certain fondness for Jung. It was Elijah with whom Jung was most comfortable, and they engaged in a long conversation, an exchange the dreamer was unable to understand. He was suspicious of Salome, and fearful of the black snake. From the Elijah character there eventually evolved another figure, that of Philemon. He was from the pagan world, and appeared to Jung in the following dream:

There was a blue sky, like the sea, covered not by clouds but by flat brown clods of earth. It looked as if the clods were breaking apart and the blue water of the sea were becoming visible between them, but the water was the blue sky. Suddenly there appeared from the right a winged being sailing across the sky. I saw that it was an old man with the horns of a bull. He held a bunch of four keys, one of which he clutched as if he were about to open a lock, he had the wings of a kingfisher with its characteristic colours. Since I did not understand this dream image, I painted it in order to impress it upon my memory.²⁴

It is to this dream figure, Philemon, we now turn our attention. This old man with the wings of a kingfisher and the horns of a bull held the key which unlocked the mystery of Jung's ambivalent feelings toward his father.

²³ Elijah and Salome. Jung's description of Salome suggests the Salome described in the Gospel of Mark (Mark 6:22), and later named by Josephus. In the gospel story Salome danced at the banquet of Herod Antipas, her step father. So pleased was Herod that he said, "Ask me for whatever you wish, and I will grant it." At her mother's prompting, Salome requested and received the head of John the Baptist. In Jung's vision Salome is blind, that is she does not see (understand). In all likelihood she is representative of what Jung would later term, Eros. Of Salome, he was suspicious. This suspicion of the feminine is connected to his early childhood memories in the vicarage, "I was deeply troubled by my mother's going away... From then on, I always felt mistrustful when the word "love" was spoken. The feeling I associated with "woman" was for a long time that of intimate unreliability." (MDR, p.8.) Jung was more comfortable with the Elijah figure, the most reliable of the three. Father, after all, meant reliability, even if it was coupled with powerlessness. (MDR, p.8) Elijah clearly is identified with "Logos," the mind. The connection between Salome and Elijah is likely through John the Baptist. It was said of John the Baptist, that as a prophet he acted "in the spirit and power of Elijah." (Luke 1:17) Some of the early followers believed the Baptist was Elijah come back to earth. Both Salome and the serpent which was fond of Jung, make a brief appearance then are seen no more, meanwhile Elijah is eventually transformed to become the figure of Philemon. Much of this interpretation is confirmed in the 1925 Seminar material, especially Lectures 8, 11, 12.

²⁴ MDR, pp. 182, 183.

WHO IS PHILEMON?:

The eruption of Philemon into Jung's consciousness formed a kind of resolution to the tension ignited by Jung's break up with Freud. After his parting with Freud, Jung realized he was "plunging into the unknown." The visions that led up to Philemon Jung would later describe as something "that felt like an act of grace."²⁵ It was the Philemon image that would help Jung sort through the chaotic elements within his inner world. Within a year of the separation from Freud, Philemon burst into Jung's unconscious, bringing with him the fatherly role which, up until the parting, had been solely Freud's. To continue with the biblical image of Elijah, out of which Philemon was created, it seems that just as the prophetic "mantle of Elijah" had been passed on to Elisha in the biblical narrative, so Freud's "fatherly" mantle was now bestowed upon this dream figure. Philemon would continue where Freud had left off. I will now examine the symbol of Philemon, and what meaning and associations that dream-image had for Carl Jung.

The ancient story of Philemon and Baucis, an elderly peasant couple, poor cottagers from Phrygia, first appears in mythological tradition in a tale from Ovid.²⁶ When Zeus and Hermes, disguised as mortals, visit the couple's poor hut, Philemon and Baucis, unlike the rest of the village, greet the strangers with kind hospitality. The gods' disguise is uncovered when the old couple notice their wine bowl magically refilling itself in the presence of the strangers. Revealing their identity, the gods grant the hospitable couple one wish. The couple's only desire is to live the rest of their lives as keepers of the temple,(their hut had been transformed into a temple) with the hope they would end their lives together. Their wish was granted, and at the moment of their death, Philemon was transformed into an oak tree and Baucis to a linden tree.

²⁵ MDR, p.199.

²⁶ Ovid Metamorphoses: chapter 8: 618-724.

We know that Jung would likely have been acquainted with this classical myth because he was well trained in classical literature. He tells us that when “he was six years old his father began to teach (him) Latin lessons.”²⁷ His adolescence he described as a time when, “(He) became a serious child. [He] crept away to (his) father’s study, took out (his) Latin grammar, and began to cram with intense concentration.”²⁸ Ernest Jones described Freud and Jung in conversation, referring to “their frequent and spontaneous quoting of Latin and Greek passages by memory during their conversations, and (of their) being astonished at my blank response.”²⁹ When Philemon entered into Carl Jung’s dream world perhaps part of that figure reflected the kindness, hospitality and generosity of the old couple in Ovid’s rendering of the myth.

In all likelihood the reference to Philemon had its conception in Goethe’s classic work, Faust. The legend of Faust was one Jung could probably have recited from memory.³⁰ Jung’s autobiography is full of references to Goethe and this work. At an early age, Emilie, Jung’s mother, had advised young Carl to read Goethe’s, Faust, a copy of which was in the family library. For the adolescent Jung, Goethe had spoken as a prophet. It was only after discovering the works of Goethe that Jung went on to read philosophy, which up to that time had been a subject of which he knew very little. Of Goethe’s, Faust he would write, that it “struck a chord in me and pierced me through in a way that I could not but regard as personal.”³¹ This text worked directly on his feelings, and “meant more to him than his beloved Gospel according to St. John.”³²

Philemon in Goethe’s rendering of the Faust legend was closely associated with the Philemon of Jung’s dream figure as evidenced by the inscription placed

²⁷ MDR, p.17

²⁸ MDR, p.21.

²⁹ Ernest Jones, Free Associations: Memoirs of a Psychoanalyst (N.Y: Basic Books 1959) p.35.

³⁰ In part 2 of Goethe’s Faust, Philemon and Baucis are described as an old couple who refused to sell their home to Faust. This house was on land that Faust was reclaiming from the sea. With the diabolical aid of Mephistopheles, Faust dispossesses the old man and woman. As a result of this shocking loss, Philemon and Baucis die.

³¹ MDR, p.61.

³² MDR, p.87.

over the gate of the Tower at Bollingen. Here, Jung carved the words, "Philemonis Sacrum - Fausti Poenitentia" (Shrine of Philemon - Repentance of Faust).³³ This reference to repentance emerged from a feeling of guilt Jung experienced, the result of being somehow implicated in the murder of Philemon.

Therefore I felt personally implicated, and 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 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.³⁴

Jung's legendary kinship to Goethe helped to support this odd sense of guilt, a guilt by association through his grandfather.³⁵

The characters of Philemon and Baucis are rendered in two completely different ways by Ovid and Goethe. In Ovid's ancient account, the gods reward the old couple's kindness and hospitality by granting them the gift of a long, happy life together as guardians of the temple. In Goethe's, Faust, Philemon and Baucis are tragic victims of a would-be god (Faust) and his devilish accomplice, Mephistopheles. In the end, the couple would be murdered for their refusal to comply with Faust's request.

The change in the old couple's fate, from Ovid's telling to Goethe's, may have reflected, in part, the shift from a pre-Christian mythology of Ovid's time, to Goethe writing at the pinnacle of a highly developed, Christian theological tradition. Philemon and Baucis in Goethe's tragic account, mirrored a theology the effect of which Jung saw clearly in his parent's (another old couple) marriage. Like Philemon and Baucis in Ovid's tale, Paul and Emilie Jung were

³³ MDR. p 235.

³⁴ MDR. p.234

³⁵ Jung wrote of this unsubstantiated legend that his grandfather, Carl Gustav Jung, was the illegitimate son of Goethe. MDR. pp.35.36

persons of good works.³⁶ They were, however, living in era of a highly developed 19th century Protestant theological tradition. As a child of the parsonage, Jung may have experienced the underside of this tradition: an unhappy, bitter life for his parents. This was probably most especially the case for his father, truly a Philemon figure, and the professional believer in the Jung household.

Goethe's rendering of the characters of Philemon and Baucis then is clearly a model for the Philemon of Jung's dream figure. It is of note that the Tower at Bollingen is dedicated solely to the old man Philemon, and does not mention the old woman, Baucis. As we shall see later, the Tower at Bollingen was in reality, a shrine for the old man, Jung's clergyman-father.

As the son of a reformed church pastor, Carl Jung would have in all likelihood another association: the biblical character, Philemon. Philemon here refers to a New Testament book, Paul's brief epistle which was written to the master of a runaway slave. In this short letter, Paul asks Philemon to forgive his former slave, Onesimus. The epistle's theme is one of freedom and slavery, a tactful plea for forgiveness and reconciliation. Paul had converted Philemon, and this letter is an attempt to effect a reconciliation between slave and master. This work is the only surviving letter of Paul's personal correspondence, and the only epistle in the New Testament addressed to an individual rather than a community.

In the biblical Philemon reference, Paul, takes on the role of pastor communicating with and through Philemon. Philemon first receives Paul's message, but would then need to communicate the message of reconciliation. Perhaps part of the function of the Philemon dream-image was to communicate Paul's (Jung's father) message to his son Carl, a plea for forgiveness, coupled

³⁶ Jung says of his parents, that they did too many good works, resulting in a life of bitterness and dissatisfaction." My father did a great deal of good-far too much-and as a result was usually irritable. Both parents made great efforts to lead devout lives, with the result that there were angry scenes between them only too frequently. (MDR, p.91.) While Jung's reasoning that too much goodness on the part of his father resulted in bitterness seems to be strange logic, it is a thought which rings true for those who have grown up in "religious" households. Behind the "goodness" persona presented by, and expected of, those who occupy the vicarage, there is often a deep rage which cannot find an outlet because of the constraints (real or imagined) of community expectations. Thus, it often smolders until it finally erupts in frightening and violent ways.

with a hope for a future reconciliation. In the opening of this epistle, the apostle Paul appeals in the way a father might plead for a son. "I, Paul, appeal to you Philemon for my child whose father I have become." (Philemon 1:1) This could be Paul Jung pleading for his child, Carl; begging for forgiveness and for understanding, both of which were absent in Carl's response to his father while he was alive. The biblical Philemon, with its theme of forgiveness and reconciliation, may have arisen from the unconscious of this pastor's son, reminding Jung of the need to take another closer look at father.

Jung's description of Philemon as a wounded kingfisher; presented in the written account and sketched in the Red book, together with the discussion of his father as Amfortas, the wounded fisher-king, points to Philemon as a dream image of Jung's clergyman-father. If we compare the portrait of Paul Jung³⁷ and Carl's painting of Philemon³⁸ we discover a striking similarity in the characters' facial features. (The same angular face, high balding forehead, and white beard.) The painting depicts Philemon with kingfisher wings, and says of the dream figure, Philemon, that he had a "lame foot, but was a winged spirit." Later in the autobiography, Jung refers to his father Paul, as a "fisher-king."³⁹ The Philemon painting and the "fisher" description lead me to say, that for Carl Jung, Philemon was a father image.⁴⁰

In the limping figure, Philemon, Paul Johannus Achilles⁴¹ Jung would speak to his son. Through the dream-image of Philemon, Carl discovered a means of listening to his father, Paul. As Jung moves through and out of his "confrontation with the unconscious," he would continue this conversation with Philemon. Jung would build a shrine for him, a house erected at his father's

³⁷ Appendix p. 229

³⁸ Appendix p.229

³⁹ Later, I shall examine this fisher-king image which Jung connects to a dream in which his father plays a central role.

⁴⁰ In addition, within two letters to Father Victor White (December, 1947 and January 1948), in which he describes a series of dreams, Jung very specifically links this Philemon figure to his father. Both of these letters are in the appendix, p.240-244

⁴¹ In Greek mythology, Achilles was a powerful warrior. He was almost invincible but was vulnerable at his heel. In a letter to Jung, Freud remarks, "It is no sin to limp," referring to Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and in the morning after walking away with a limp. Oedipus literally means, "swollen foot.")

prompting,⁴² a place where the ailing Jung could begin his journey back to health and wholeness. This was the Tower of Bollingen. Here, through a series of dreams, Philemon, Jung's guide, a psychagogue representing "superior insight," would convey to him many an illuminating idea.⁴³

Henri Ellenberger believed that what Jung underwent during the years 1913 to 1919 was a creative illness, ⁴⁴ and that recovery from this disorder is marked by:

the spontaneous and rapid recovery accompanied by a feeling of elation...All the years of suffering had vanished, but there remained the impression of having passed through a long period of terrible isolation in a hostile world. Typical for the end of creative illness is the gradual shift of interest from the interior to the exterior world.⁴⁵

In addition, Ellenberger states that if the exercise (creative illness) is successful, the result is a permanent change in personality. There can be no doubt that by 1920 when the "confrontation" has ceased, Jung has been transformed. One of the visible signs of this change was Jung's gradual withdrawal from his internal, conflicted world of introspection, and an accompanying energetic shift of focus toward the external world. In order to do this Jung required a vantage point, a place where he could see and be seen by the world. This vantage point would be achieved in the building of the Tower at Bollingen.

⁴² see MDR, pp.315,316. I will argue that Bollingen Tower was not built as a response to his mother's death in early 1923. The property was purchased in 1922, shortly after Jung had a dream of his father, the first since his father's death in 1896.

⁴³ MDR, p.184.

⁴⁴ Ellenberger believes that Freud also underwent a period of creative illness between the years of 1894-1900. The process consisted of his self analysis, his relationship with Fliess, his neurosis and the elaboration of psychoanalysis. The publication of The Interpretation of Dreams marked the end of that illness.

⁴⁵ Ellenberger, p.449.

THE TOWER: SHRINE OF PHILEMON⁴⁶

Gradually, through my scientific work, I was able to put my fantasies and the contents of the unconscious on a solid footing. Words and paper, however, did not seem real enough to me: something more was needed. I had to achieve a kind of representation in stone of my innermost thoughts and of the knowledge I had acquired. Or to put it another way, I had to make a profession of faith in stone. That was the beginning of the "Tower," which I built for myself at Bollingen...so in 1922 I bought some land in Bollingen. It is situated in the area of St. Meinrad and is old church land, having formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Gall.⁴⁷ At Bollingen I am in the midst of my true life, I am most deeply myself. Here I am, as it were, the "age old son of the mother"...for the old man, "the ancient," whom I had already experienced as a child, is personality number two, who has always been and always will be. He exists outside time and is the son of the maternal consciousness. In my fantasies he took the form of Philemon, and he comes to life again at Bollingen.⁴⁸

The eighth chapter of Jung's autobiography is entitled, "The Tower." In this section Jung provides a brief history of this structure from its early beginnings in the twenties. Aniela Jaffé tells the reader in her introduction to MDR, that it was here, at Bollingen, that Jung reviewed "chosen chapters of the book." Here he wrote chapter twelve, "Late Thoughts," wherein "he voiced his deepest and perhaps his most far-reaching convictions."⁴⁹ Much of his work on chapter nine, "Travels" was also accomplished here.

⁴⁶ The inscription Jung placed over the gate of the Tower was: Philemonis Sacrum Fausti- Poenitentia (Shrine of Philemon- Repentance of Faust.)

⁴⁷ This early abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland is renowned in the monastic world because it possesses the ancient manuscript Codex 914. This document is the oldest surviving copy of St. Benedict's text, The Rule of Benedict (480-547) was the founder of western monasticism and while the original text was thought to have perished in a fire in the monastery of Teano in 896, a copy of this original was used in the preparation of Codex 914. When one of the monks who copied this manuscript, Grimault, became Abbot of St. Gall in 841 he took the copy with him. It has remained in the monastic library since that time. (The Rule of St. Benedict: trans. Anthony C. Meisel (N.Y: Doubleday, p. 40.) Jung's Tower is also in the vicinity of Einsiedeln and the shrine of the Black Madonna in St. Meinrad's abbey. (John Welch, Spiritual Pilgrims: Carl Jung and Teresa of Avila)

⁴⁸ MDR. pp.223, 225.

⁴⁹ MDR. Introduction, p.vii.

In the first pages of chapter eight, Jung says that he started the first tower in 1923, two months after the death of his mother. This date was significant because, for him, the Tower is connected with the dead. In addition, he says of the Tower, "it represents the maternal hearth."⁵⁰ These statements suggest that Bollingen, Jung's spiritual retreat, was largely connected to images of the feminine and the maternal. While this is partly true, I would propose that Jung may have overstated the case. There seems to be a shift here, from a "male" image to a feminine interpretation.⁵¹ From the inside, Jung experiences the Tower as a place of maturation, a maternal womb—a place of repose and renewal, representing the maternal hearth.⁵² From the outside, however, the Tower is clearly a phallic symbol.⁵³ While there is no reference to this within the eighth chapter, there is important material about the Tower's origins given in chapter eleven, "On Life After Death." Referring to dream experiences before death,⁵⁴ Jung reveals that in September of 1922, he dreamed of his father for the first time in twenty-six years. It was shortly after this vision Jung purchased the Bollingen property. Thus Bollingen was purchased, not in response to his mother's death in 1923, but as a result of a dream of his father in 1922. With this fact in mind it is much easier to view the Tower as a phallic symbol, a structure "erected" by Jung to declare to the outer world his potency. To the world out there, Jung proclaimed in stone, that he had come through his ordeal, survived his separation from Freud and was now ready and equipped to engage

⁵⁰ MDR, p. 225.

⁵¹ Another example of this shift I believe can be found in Jung's "man-eater" dream from the vicarage. In this, the focus shifts from the naked phallus, the very heart of the dream, very quickly and at the end, to his mother's voice calling out, "That is the man-eater." It is as if the dreamer here moves our gaze away from the phallus (a graphic male image) shifting our attention instead to mother's voice (a feminine, unembodied sound).

⁵² MDR, p. 225.

⁵³ Seen in this light perhaps the Tower is not unlike the fifteen foot underground phallus of his early childhood dream.

⁵⁴ In this section of the book, Jung is speaking about death. Here he describes a dream the night before his mother's death complete with all the elements of mythological story: wild huntsman, wolfhound, Wotan, the Grail, Merlin, and Hermes. This leads him to speak of a dream (father) which prefigures his mother's death. The dream of his father seems only important because it somehow foretells the death of his mother.

in fresh, creative activities.

In 1950, Jung carved a stone monument at Bollingen to explain what the Tower meant to him. The cornerstone Jung had ordered for this monument was to be triangular, but when it arrived it was discovered that the stone was instead a square block of much larger dimensions.⁵⁵ Jung, however, accepted the stone which the builder wanted to send back, and then began to carve the four sides of the stone. This stone also marked the seventy-fifth birthday of Jung, and was a kind of thank offering for his life. Standing outside the Tower, this stone, according to Jung, provides an explanation of the structure.⁵⁶

After the death of his wife, Emma in 1955, Carl Jung chiseled the names of his paternal ancestors on three stones, placing them in the courtyard of the Tower. It was while working on these tablets that Jung concluded he was, in a way, answering concerns left unanswered by his parents and grandparents. As well, he felt strongly that he was completing what had remained unanswered in his personal past. He mused on whether those concerns were only personal or of a more collective (general) nature, and decided on the latter. He reckoned that sometimes personal psychic disturbances may well be the consequence of larger unresolved issues. Especially when it came to his father, it would seem that the two processes were going on simultaneously. As we shall see later on in our study, to wrestle with his clergyman father was, for Carl, to grapple with a more collective dilemma, that of his father's tradition: Christianity. It was a dream of his father that prompted Jung to build Bollingen, a shrine for Philemon, and it would be Philemon who held the answer to Jung's ambivalence toward the Reverend Paul Jung. Through the image of Philemon, a son would begin to reexamine his relationship to his father.

In his description of this Philemon figure within his autobiography, Carl Jung speaks of an old man holding a set of keys. This allusion provides a clue to part of the mystery surrounding Philemon, and its connection to Jung's father,

⁵⁵ Was this an error or was this the living out of Jung's unconscious unease with Trinitarian (three-sided figure) numerology, favoring the quaternity instead (four-sided figure)? One also thinks of the biblical image of the cornerstone. (Psalm 118:22, Matthew 21:42) " The same stone which the builders refused has become the headstone in the corner." (Book of Common Prayer)

⁵⁶ MDR. pp.226,227,228.

Paul. I want to suggest that Philemon “held the keys” to the mystery of a son’s ambivalent feelings toward his father. In his word sketch of the Philemon figure, Jung writes, “I saw that it (Philemon) was an old man with the horns of a bull. He held a bunch of four keys, one of which he clutched as if he were about to open a lock.”⁵⁷

The four keys of Philemon symbolize four dreams which Jung had; all of them visions which involved his father. In those dreams, through promptings from deep within Jung, there was created in this pastor’s son a new way of understanding his father. In the next portion of my thesis, I will explore those four revelations; stirrings from within the unconscious that would, in time, effect a reconciliation between a father and son. Just as Philemon was able to open the lock with one of the four keys he possessed, so we are enabled to unlock the mystery of Jung’s relationship to his father through an analysis of those four father-dreams. I now turn to the first of those dreams, a vision which became the impetus for the Bollingen Tower.

⁵⁷ MDR, p.183.

DREAMS OF FATHER; THE FOUR KEYS OF PHILEMON

The first key: Marriage counsel or reunion?

Several months before my mother's death, in September 1922, I had a dream which presaged it. It concerned my father, and made a deep impression upon me. I had not dreamed of my father since his death in 1896. Now he once more appeared in a dream, as if he had returned from a distant journey. He looked rejuvenated, and had shed his appearance of paternal authoritarianism. I went into my library with him, and was greatly pleased at the prospect of finding out what he had been up to. I was also looking forward with particular joy to introducing my wife and children to him, to showing him my house, and telling him all that had happened to me and what I had become in the meanwhile. I wanted also to tell him about my book on psychological types, which had recently been published. But I quickly saw that all this would be inopportune, for my father looked preoccupied. Apparently he wanted something from me. I felt that plainly, and so I refrained from talking about my own concerns.

He then said to me that since I was after all a psychologist, he would like to consult me about marital psychology. I made ready to give him a lengthy lecture on the complexities of marriage, but at this point I awoke.

I could not properly understand the dream, for it never occurred to me that it might refer to my mother's death. I realized that only when she died suddenly in January 1923.

My parent's marriage was not a happy one, but full of trials and difficulties and tests of patience. Both made the mistakes typical of many couples. My dream was a forecast of my mother's death, for here was my father who, after an absence of twenty-six years, wished to ask a psychologist about the newest insights and information on marital problems, since he would soon have to resume this relationship again. Evidently he had acquired no better understanding in his timeless state and therefore had to appeal to someone among the living who, enjoying the benefits of changed times, might have a fresh approach to the whole thing.

Such was the dream's message. Undoubtedly, I could have found out a good deal more by looking into its subjective meaning but why did I dream it just before the death of my mother, which I did not foresee? It plainly referred to my father, with whom I felt a sympathy that deepened as I grew older.⁵⁸

In this vision, Paul Jung appears as if he just returned from a far away place. He strikes Jung as refreshed, and no longer the image of paternal authority. He is ushered into the library of Jung's home⁵⁹ and his son Carl can't wait to catch up on the news, for after all it had been twenty-six years since they

⁵⁸ MDR, p.315.

⁵⁹ According to E. A. Bennet, Jung was at his home at Küssnacht when this dream occurred. (Bennet, Meetings, p.98.)

last communicated via the dream world. While Jung was anxious to bring his father up to date on what had been happening in his life (wife, children and latest book), his father looked preoccupied, wanting to speak to Carl about something of great concern. It seems that the only thing of urgency (the only words Paul actually gives voice to in this dream), is Paul's desire for a consultation on "marital psychology." Just as Jung was about to comply, he awoke, and the dream ended.

This dream Jung interpreted as a forecasting of his mother's immanent death, something that would happen four months later. In the recounting of the dream in his autobiography, he is convinced of its meaning, that it was related to his mother and her demise. From this he goes on to comment on his parents unhappy marriage, and the consequent need for Paul to consult Carl on the latest theories in marital psychology. If he was made aware of the latest psychological insights, perhaps his father would have a happier time of it when meeting up with Emilie. Two things stand out in Jung's synopsis that cause me to question his reading of the dream.

First, it seems that as a parson's son, Carl would surely have been theologically uneasy with his father's dilemma; that he would soon have to resume this marital relationship with Emilie again, post resurrection, as it were. According to Holy Writ,⁶⁰ in heaven, in the hereafter, no one was married, and yet Jung believed that marriage information was required by parson Paul. It seems that the pastor (and/or pastor's son) didn't know his scripture. A second concern comes from Jung's own words at the end of this passage. Here he suggests there may have been more to this than he first thought. "Undoubtedly, I would have found out a good deal more by looking into its subjective meaning...It plainly referred to my father with whom I felt a sympathy that deepened as I grew older." Indeed, I believe Jung could have delved deeper into this dream's meaning. He knew there was more, and he knew it had to do with his father, a father toward whom he was drawing closer.

⁶⁰ Matthew 22: 30 - "For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven." (KJV)

In the dream, Paul had come to his son in a less paternal⁶¹ way, desiring information about “marital psychology.” I think that in this dream, Paul may have been looking for marriage of a different sort. Could it be that Paul was searching for a new friendship with Carl, a union (mystical) based upon a reconciliation with his son, who was, up until that time, estranged? It is of note, prior to his telling of the dream in the autobiography,⁶² Jung had been talking about a wedding as a *mysterium coniunctionis*, in which the soul is made whole, attaining its missing half. He had remarked that sometimes death is referred to in terms of a wedding. As an example, he pointed to the custom of holding a picnic on the grave on All Soul’s Day. Such customs expressed the feeling that death is really a festive celebration.⁶³

It may have been that Carl’s readiness to lecture his father on the complexities of marriage was a denial of the deeper intent and message of the dream. Clearly, the moment this tack was taken, the dream was abruptly over. At first, Jung’s interpretation seems quite reasonable, but when you actually see what question the dreamer is troubled by, that of marital psychology, alternative readings are possible. This was not the first time in which Jung’s father had contacted his son by way of a dream. Twenty-six years earlier, six weeks after his father’s death, the Reverend Paul Jung appeared to his son, Carl, in a dream.

⁶¹ In a sense. Paul who had died at age 53 was now more a peer to his son, Carl, now aged 47.

⁶² MDR. pp.314,315.

⁶³ MDR. p.315.

The second key: The first return of the dead

Six weeks after his death my father appeared to me in a dream. Suddenly he stood before me and said that he was coming back from his holiday. He had made a good recovery and was now coming home. I thought he would be annoyed with me for having moved into his room. But not a bit of it! Nevertheless, I felt ashamed because I had imagined he was dead. Two days later the dream was repeated. My father had recovered and was coming home, and again I reproached myself because I had thought he was dead. Later I kept asking myself: "What does it mean that my father returns in dreams and that he seems so real?" It was an unforgettable experience, and it forced me for the first time to think about life after death.⁶⁴

In this account, shortly after his father's death, Paul Jung makes a sudden appearance, face to face with Carl, informing him that he is now coming home. While it is true he had been ill, he had made a good recovery and was looking forward to coming home. Jung was anxious and ashamed for surely Paul would be upset for his having moved into his father's room, and above all because he had mistakenly thought his father had died. Paul, however, was not annoyed with his son's behavior. This dream was repeated two days later. The dream caused Jung to do two things. First, he wrestled with the dream's possible meaning and, second, the vision forced him to think seriously, for the first time, about "life after death."

In this dream, as with the dream prior to the building of Bollingen, his father appears on the scene as if he had been away on a refreshing holiday or journey. While Paul is in no way angry, Jung responds with shame and worry; ashamed for thinking him dead, and anxious for having taken over his room and role in the household. While it was his father's intention to come home, and he was in no way angry with his son, Carl neither welcomed him, invited him in, or made any attempt to receive his father back into the household. This dream seems almost like a mirror image of the biblical parable of the prodigal son. Here, in this account, the son, hearing of the father's return, does not greet him.

⁶⁴ MDR, pp. 96, 97.

embrace him or celebrate his arrival. Instead, the son's response to a father who was dead and now alive, lost but now found, is one of shame, guilt and fear. The final question posed by this dream, "What does it mean that my father returns in dreams?" would be answered much later in Jung's career. Some fifty years later, in a dream in which Jung visits an unknown part of his house. In this place he discovers his father's workroom, which turns out to be a fish laboratory. However, before we move to this third dream, I would like to examine a theme which is intricately connected to Jung's relationship to his clergyman-father. This is Jung's relationship to the Christian tradition.

As we will see later, for Jung it was difficult to separate his views of the Christian faith from his opinions about father. It is only later in life, as revealed in his final father dream, that he achieves this separation. Before moving then to Jung's final dreams of his father, we will explore his views on his father's religious tradition, Christianity. We now turn to an examination of that relationship.

JUNG AND THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

“If it is difficult to divest Freud of the professor’s gown, it is quite impossible to divest Jung of his surplice.”- Father Victor White

When considering Jung’s relationship to the Christian faith, or for that matter, religion in general, one is tempted to accept Hans Schar’s exaggerated comment that, “everything Jung has published has to do with religion to a greater or lesser degree.”^z While Schar, a disciple of Jung, expresses a sentiment that seems all too often true, Jung’s position on religion, more especially the Christian religion, is a complex matter. This perplexity is evident in Jung’s autobiography itself. In the introduction to MDR, Aniela Jaffe describes Jung as one who was an “outsider” to Christianity. “Jung’s concept of religion differed in many respects from traditional Christianity...From the viewpoint of dogmatic Christianity, Jung was distinctly an “outsider.”^x Yet in the very next paragraph she speaks of him as one who was loyal to the faith. “Jung explicitly declared his allegiance to Christianity, and the most important of his works deal with the religious problems of the Christian.”^c To speak of Jung and his views on religion then, is to enter murky waters, indeed. It soon becomes apparent that in order to navigate in this region, the researcher will require assistance.

In his analysis of Jung’s relationship to the Christian faith, Murray Stein provides a helpful summary of the positions various scholars have taken regarding that relationship. Stein is one of the first scholars to recognize the intricate and intimate relationship of Jung’s writings on Christianity to his experience of his clergyman- father. Writing in 1985, he indicates that while much had been written in the area of Jung and religion, “no one has ventured a full-scale study of how his life and thought are to be related to the Christian tradition or of how his writings on Christianity are to be related to his personal

^z Ibid.

^x MDR, p.x.

^c Ibid. p.xi.

life and psychological thought.”⁶⁸ In his book, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity, he attempts to address this oversight.

Stein’s synopsis, his description of the various portraits of Jung and his views on religion, is most helpful. In assembling the diverse opinions scholars have held on this issue, he does so without sacrificing or simplifying the nature of Jung’s contribution to religion. What was the nature of Jung’s relationship to the Christian faith? Was he an apologist, a twentieth century defender of the faith? Or was he a heretic who devised his own version of the gospel? Friend or foe of the faith?

Stein groups the various perspectives into four basic clusters, each reflecting a different view of Jung in relation to Christianity. Jung is seen as: empirical scientist, hermeneutical revivalist, doctor of souls and, finally, as post-Christian modern man.⁶⁹ The categories are not always concise, hence overlapping of opinions often occur. This adds to the confusion, but is a reminder of the complex nature of Jung’s attitude towards the Christian faith. I shall summarize those categories for they help us to see the variety of views which have emerged on the topic of Carl Jung and his relationship to the Christian revelation.

The image of Jung as “empirical scientist,” is one which he himself fostered. It was not as a philosopher or theologian that he spoke, but as one who was a scientist.⁷⁰ In this portrait Jung is painted as the aloof, disinterested scientist, “who created a theory based on objective empirical research, which he applied neutrally to the study of Christianity and other religions.”⁷¹ I would term Jung in this light, the Burghölzli Jung, a man garbed in a medical coat, author of works such as “Studies in Word Association.”⁷² It was this image, that of the researcher, that first drew Jung to the attention of Sigmund Freud in

⁶⁸ Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p.2

⁶⁹ Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) pp. 4-17

⁷⁰ Jung would often say that he spoke simply as someone who had examined life as it was.

⁷¹ Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p.5.

⁷² Collected Works, vol. 2 Experimental Researches.

1906. Freud believed that Jung's scientific findings would lend credibility to his own psychoanalytic discoveries. It was this image Jung presented within his Terry lectures in 1937, on "The Psychology and Religion."

Notwithstanding the fact that I have often been called a philosopher, I am an empiricist...I approach psychological matters from a scientific standpoint. In as much as religion has a very important psychological aspect, I am dealing with it from a purely empirical point of view, that is, I restrict myself to the observations of phenomena and I refrain from any application of metaphysical or philosophical considerations.⁷³

Many believed that Jung's empirical research could assist those theologians who "were attracted to science as handmaiden to theology."⁷⁴ This picture was, however, to be the cause of much confusion. Freud, who was originally attracted to Jung, in part because of his brilliant research, toward the end of their partnership, dismissed him as a mystic. This misunderstanding was in evidence in Jung's relationship to the Dominican priest and theologian, Victor White.⁷⁵ In the beginning, White believed that Jung's thought had important and helpful repercussions for Christian theology. The doctrines of grace, revelation and atonement were, or so White believed at first, given new life through Jung's psychological interpretation. Initial discussions with Jung were stimulating and full of hope, and White was excited about the possibilities of this bridge between the disciplines of depth psychology and theology. It was clear that Jung was more open to this exchange, and less hostile to this discussion than Freud and his disciples. Their relationship, which began in hope, soon broke down; partly over Jung's seeming depreciation of the notion of God's transcendence with an accompanying over-emphasis on God's immanence. This was to come to a head for both scholars after the publishing of Jung's, Answer To Job, in 1952. The

⁷³ Collected Works, vol. 11 Psychology and Religion, p. 3.

⁷⁴ Murray Stein, Jung's Treatment Of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p.5.

⁷⁵ See especially Ann Conrad Lammers, In God's Shadow: The Collaboration of Victor White and C.G. Jung, and John Dourley's . A Strategy For A Loss of Faith: Ch. 2- Jung and the White, Buber Exchanges: Exercises in Futility.

correspondence between the two parties would reflect the bitter disappointment and deadlock experienced by both men.⁷⁶ White also objected that Jung had strayed from “disinterested scientist,” to passionate critic when it came to the discussion of Christian doctrine.⁷⁷ “Had Jung been modest enough to stay with his empirical science, categorizing the contents of the human mind, he might have made a significant contribution to the psychological study of religious thought and experience.”⁷⁸ Critics of Jung often suggest that he had a hidden agenda which masked underlying theological assumptions. For those like Buber, it was clear that Jung was no empirical scientist who objectively analyzed religion, but was a heretic, preaching the new doctrine of “psychic immanence.” Others such as Edinger saw him as a religious prophet for the new religious age.⁷⁹ The question then arises, was there an underlying reason for this transgression? Perhaps the empirical scientist was a disguise for another identity, that of theologian or prophet.

While this perception, that of Jung as “empirical scientist,” was one way in which he portrayed himself when reflecting on the religious aspect of life, it is only one view. Another way of understanding Jung’s attitude toward Christianity is to consider him as “hermeneutical revivalist.” Those who see Jung in this light, “look upon him as an interpreter of Christianity to modern men and women, assuming that his intention was to revitalize this moribund religious tradition to show them the underlying meaning of ancient Christian symbolism.”⁸⁰ To view⁸¹ Jung this way, is to see him as one who reinterprets the great symbols of the

⁷⁶ Letters, vol. 2.-

⁷⁷ Other critics such as Martin Buber felt Jung belonged in the same camp as Sartre and Heidegger, both of whom contributed to “the modern eclipse of God.” (Dourley p. 31.) Buber believed Jung to be a “modern gnostic.”

⁷⁸ Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p.8.

⁷⁹ Richard Noll is of the opinion that Jung’s intention was always religious (with a Charismatic cult following, disciples) and that the underlying Jungian concepts-collective unconscious, archetype, are in fact religious. Richard Noll, The Jung Cult, The Aryan Christ.

⁸⁰ Murray Stein, Jung’s Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p.10.

⁸¹ Such works as Modern Man in Search of A Soul, Psychotherapists or The Clergy, Psychoanalysis and The Cure of Souls are examples of this view.

faith in such a way as to, once again, make them both believable and livable. In some of Jung's writings it is clear that he is a friend of the faith, one who attempts to breathe new life into old traditions.⁸² Many theologians have understood Jung in this light, using his hermeneutical methods to reinterpret the doctrines, parables, and symbols of the faith, making them comprehensible and for some, believable. Two theologians,⁸³ who first recognized this in Jung's writings, were Morton Kelsey and John Sanford, both Episcopal priests in the United States. Both Kelsey and Sanford wrote to Jung telling him of their attempts to bridge the gap between psychology and theology through his writings. From these writers have come a host of books and articles, especially in the realm of healing and psychotherapy. Through the insights of Jungian psychology, Kelsey led in the recovery of the church's ancient healing ministry, rediscovering the power of myth within the Christian tradition. Sanford used Jung to reinterpret the New Testament parables, helping many religious people to recover a reasonable faith.

If the portrait of the "empirical scientist" fell short of capturing the whole story, so too this last description provides only a partial picture of Jung's relationship to Christianity. This "hermeneutical" perspective fails to take seriously Jung's criticism that there is something missing in the faith. In some cases Jung is not merely talking about reconstructing and revitalizing the faith but the need for it to be superseded.⁸⁴ Some of Jung's writings go far beyond an attempt to rediscover the ancient truths. Sometimes it seems he begins to rewrite them, drawing attention to both their weaknesses and the inherent danger of

⁸² Jung's famous words that, "among all my patients in the second half of life-that is to say, over thirty there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life." I will argue later on that while Jung breathed new life into old forms, to use a biblical metaphor, that "new wine would necessarily burst those old wineskins."

⁸³ Letters: vol. 2- Kelsey has written extensively in the area of healing, myth and meditation. Sanford has been more involved with reinterpreting Gospel narratives, using a Jungian interpretation. Both were instrumental in founding a now , flourishing publishing business in the area of Pastoral Psychology. Other writers who have come after, such as Christopher Bryant (meditation) and Wallace Clift (reconciliation) represent this view, that Jung reinterpreted the old, giving it new life, thus he was friendly to the faith .

⁸⁴ Jung's Answer To Job clearly is a book in which he speaks of the inadequacy of the faith. This is most evident in the theological furor that resulted after its publication.

their continued practice.⁸⁵

Some believed Jung to be a thoroughly “modern man,” caught between an emotional attachment to the Christian tradition and an equally powerful commitment to contemporary culture. As a modern human being, Jung attempts to resolve this conflict, without denying the reality of both worlds. In a sense, Jung is caught between the religious tradition of his parents (pastor’s son) and the new insights of enlightened science, the conflict between tradition and modernity. In his book, Jung In Context, Peter Homans has best captured and expressed this tension. Here he describes the trade off which is inherent within this dilemma. In affirming parts of the Christian faith, Jung keeps one foot in the traditional camp and, by dismissing others, he remains within the modern world.⁸⁶ This depiction honours the balance Jung attempted to maintain while speaking of religion. On the one hand he does feel outside the walls of traditional religious community.⁸⁷ And yet he would also say, that no one went through analysis without retrieving a religious outlook. This give-and-take approach to the faith certainly reflected a modernist approach that whatever cannot be squared with personal experience is suspect. This view of religion honours the sense of separation Jung felt towards his father’s religious tradition, and it does reflect a feeling shared by many within contemporary secular culture. Cut off from traditional myth and symbol, hitherto nourished by Christian theology, the question becomes, what then fills that space? This was the question asked by Jung in 1913, after his break with Freud. Much of what Jung was to write after this critical period was to be a response(both personal and in a more collective sense) to that quandary: “by what myth do I (we) live?”

The criticism leveled at this approach to religion was that it is fundamentally narcissistic. While the emphasis upon the individual’s experience is of primary importance, it could develop simply into egoism, caring little for theological doctrine or opinion which is seen as unsupportive of what could be a

⁸⁵ See John Dourley, The Illness We Are.

⁸⁶ Peter Homans, Jung In Context (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979) p.182.

⁸⁷ “Do you live in the Christian myth? To be honest, the answer was no.” MDR. p. 171.

very narrow personal experience. To be thus so unorthodox, and outside the walls of traditional religious opinion, meant that Jung's theology was often branded as heretical .

There were those who believed that Jung was not so much concerned with Christianity *per se*, but more concerned for "individual patients who identified themselves as Christians (or as post-Christians) and as a result, had fallen into certain typical psychological conflicts and unhealthy attitudes."⁸⁸ Thus Jung is concerned not with the Faith but with contemporary men and women who, for whatever reason, have an attachment to the tradition. This portrait is of Jung the pastor, father confessor to the disenfranchised. Those who have been damaged by the Church, through her doctrine or her pastoral counsel, find in this twentieth century physician the means of achieving health, wholeness and a renewed sense of meaning. It is upon this foundation that Stein builds his vision of Jung, not only as a healer of humanity's disease, but as an analyst who saw his relationship to Christianity as a psychotherapeutic one.⁸⁹ According to him, while Jung was formulating his views on Christianity, "he was in the grip of a largely unconscious creative spirit and unaware of the overall pattern his work would take."⁹⁰ Stein argues that this can only be seen in retrospect. I am in agreement with his position, and would argue that Jung's autobiography, his life story, is an important resource for deepening our understanding of his views on the Christian faith. According to Stein, Jung was guided by a "strong urge to heal Christianity, and this hidden guide was related to the memory and image of his father, a Christian pastor whom he perceived as defeated by his times and his religious commitments."⁹¹ It is Stein's belief that "Jung's father had seemingly never witnessed God's dark side and survived the terrible experience of such

⁸⁸ Murray Stein, Jung's Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p. 12.

⁸⁹ The title of Stein's book, Jung's Treatment of Christianity can be understood in the psychotherapeutic sense to mean Jung's analysis of the patient, the Christian tradition .

⁹⁰ Murray Stein, Jung's Treatment of Christianity (Illinois: Chiron Press, 1985) p. 17.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

awesome destructiveness, thus making his religion shallow.”⁹² My research into Jung’s life has been, in part, an attempt to bring home the truth of Stein’s words; that Jung was guided by the memory and image of his father. Like Stein, I too continue to struggle with a “related” issue: for Carl Jung, the connection between father, and father’s religious tradition, the Christian faith.

Stein believes that within Jung there were two processes happening simultaneously, and thus he writes: “Whether or not Jung was driven to heal his father, hence also Christianity, out of guilt and remorse for his astounding Oedipal victory, it is also true that he was responding to a deep need for transformation within Christianity itself.”⁹³ With Stein, I would suggest that both processes were operative over Jung’s lifetime. As a result, it is often difficult to untangle this puzzling riddle: how do we separate Jung’s view of religion from his feelings toward his clergyman-father? For Carl, especially in his early years in the vicarage, father was synonymous with religion, not an uncommon dilemma for children of the parsonage. To see father was to see a religious man. While Paul was Carl’s father, in his office as pastor, he represented the faith. Because Jung’s feelings toward his father were ambivalent, we should not be surprised to discover a similar ambivalence within his views about religion. Although it is difficult to separate his ideas on religion from his feelings toward his father, it is possible. The untangling of this confusion begins in the third dream of his father; a vision in which he visits previously unexplored parts of his house. The separation is completed in the fourth and final dream of his father. Here, in this vision, Jung is able to see his father apart from his role as pastor. Jung begins here to see his father in a different light, and acquires a new perspective, one which has been a lifetime in the making. In the second portion of this dream,

⁹² Ibid.p.74. I am not in complete agreement with this statement because I think that Paul did in fact “witness God’s dark side.” While this is only a hypothesis, I can’t help but wonder if Paul’s annual summer retreat to Sachseln, home of Brother Klaus’ hermitage, and his friendship with a Roman catholic priest in that vicinity might have been an attempt to see theology in a different light. (see MDR.pp.76-79.) Perhaps Jung’s father was responding to what Professor John Dourley describes as the “mystical imperative,” a process by which the mystic (Brother Klaus) brings new life to myths dying in their dogmatic coffins.” (Dourley, Rerooting,p.261.) Could it be that Paul Jung was trying to make sense of Christian dogma. what his son would later call, “sacrosanct unintelligibility” through his sojourn to Sachseln? Jung himself would later write about Brother Klaus. (CW.11,p.316ff)

⁹³ Ibid.p.18.

Jung, no longer in battle with his father, discloses his attitude to the Christian religion.

In 1944, in his sixty-ninth year, Jung suffered a heart attack. In the months that followed, he experienced deliriums and visions as he clung to his life. These dreams caused him to consider that, in all likelihood, he was close to death. In chapter ten of the autobiography, "Visions," Jung provides a detailed account of this experience. Later, he was to say that as a result of this illness and its accompanying visions, "he understood how important it is to affirm one's own destiny."⁹⁴ The interval following this incident was to be a fruitful time in terms of his writing, and of this time Jung would write, "A good many of my principal works were written only then. The insight I had had, or the vision of the end of all things, gave me the courage to undertake new formulations."⁹⁵ While he had written Psychology and Religion a decade earlier, a work in which he spoke specifically about religion, the next decade would see him examine religious themes in a more focussed manner and in greater depth.⁹⁶ The parson's son, having successfully reached the biblical life span of three score and ten, now began to focus on things religious.

In chapter seven of the autobiography, "The Work," he speaks about the second half of life, a time after his "confrontation with the unconscious," and the first phase of the Tower had been completed. In this chapter about one half of the material covers the time span after his near fatal illness. Most of this description involves his recounting and interpretation of two significant dreams. Both of these visions occur while Jung is in the midst of confronting religious questions. The content of these dreams suggest themes that would be central in his books, Aion and Answer To Job. In the first dream, his father plays a small part in the vision, while in the second, he plays the major role. I want to examine these accounts now, for these dreams were of profound consequence for Jung:

⁹⁴ MDR, p. 297.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ For example in Aion (1951) and Answer To Job (1952)

first as a description of his relationship with his father, Paul and, second, as a means of clarifying his views on the Christian religion. I will now examine the third reverie, a vision which occurred about twenty-five years after Paul's last nocturnal visit to his son, Carl.

The third key: Of fish and spirits and empty rooms⁹⁷

This dream as recounted in Jung's autobiography, is in two parts. The first segment, a brief four paragraphs, is the actual dream itself, with all of the activity taking place in a house. In the next part, a much longer section, Jung offers his interpretation of the dream. This three and one half page commentary is primarily about Jung's father, and is the connecting link to the fourth vision.

Unlike the earlier dreams of his father, in this vision it is Jung, not Paul who travels to the house. It is the son then who visits the father, and the house, a recurrent dream image, was "his house." In this dream Jung examines a wing previously unvisited. He begins his excursion with some hesitation, but eventually enters the new wing. Opening a double door, he enters what he appears to be his father's workroom; a room outfitted as a laboratory. Although it is father's room, he is absent and nowhere to be found. That his father's profession was ichthyology, the study of fish, astonishes Jung. While observing the zoological laboratory, complete with specimens of all varieties of fish, Jung detects movement coming from behind a curtain near the door. This activity suggests to him that a strong wind is blowing nearby. Out of nowhere there appears a young man from the country whose name is Hans.⁹⁸ Hans is asked to investigate the disturbance behind the curtains. Upon his return, he reveals to Jung that behind the curtain lies a haunted room. While Jung responds to his father's room with astonishment, his reaction to the room next door is one of terror. Deciding to look for himself, Jung discovers this room is his mother's

⁹⁷ Appendix p.230

⁹⁸This may be Hans who was a servant at Jung's Tower at Bollingen. This youth was devoted to Jung, for during the war Jung had given food to his mother, who was poor with several children. He had bought a bicycle for Hans so that he could go to school. (E.A. Bennet, Meetings, p.70.)

room, and she too is nowhere to be found. The atmosphere within this room is “uncanny.”⁹⁹ Within, he notices two rows of five chests hanging from the ceiling, each containing two beds. Inside this room his long-dead mother is visited. Emilie had provided the beds in which the departed spirits, who were always in pairs, would sleep. Mother’s room led to a large hall in what appeared to be the lobby of a large hotel. Here, in the lobby, a brass band plays loudly, but because there is no one else around, it seems they play only for themselves.

In examining this dream we notice that with the exception of father’s room, the fish laboratory, the dream takes place, and describes life within a hotel. The guest house has a sumptuous lobby, with easy chairs and pillars, complete with band music for entertainment. The hotel also provides accommodation, a place where couples can rest, day or night. This establishment was also the house where his mother was visited.¹⁰⁰ In this dream, perhaps in Jung’s unconscious, Emilie is visited by her husband, Paul. It would be the only visitation possible for this ghostly couple. The fact that Jung’s mother had set up the beds for the visiting couples, leads me to imagine her in the role of a madam, thus making the hotel a kind of bordello for departed spirits. The fact that she herself is “visited” in her hotel room, underscores this impression. The fact that the beds do not touch the ground suggests this room has an air of the heavenly or spiritual about it. The language of this dream is discernibly similar to that of Jung’s earlier depiction of his mother’s room at home. Earlier in MDR, Jung writes: “From the door to my mother’s room came frightening influences. At night Mother was strange and mysterious.”¹⁰¹ Seventy years later, Jung still associates the strange and mysterious with his mother’s room.

Father’s room, as pictured within the dream, does not easily fit with the rest of the hotel imagery. This part of the dream cannot easily be linked to the rest of the dream contents. In a sense it is out of place. Father’s room, while

⁹⁹ Uncanny is the word Jung uses earlier in MDR to describe his mother’s room at the vicarage. The description of the room and the atmosphere which pervades the space, is very similar in both content and the actual phraseology. (MDR p.48.)

¹⁰⁰ Visitation describes both the physical act of one person communicating with another person, but also has a religious connotation, as in the “Visitation of Mary.”

¹⁰¹ MDR. p.18.

filled with tiny fish in bottles, is essentially a lifeless space. The contents of the glass vessels are but dead remains of what at one time were living creatures, and there is a distinct feeling that the laboratory worker has simply left his duties. One does not get the sense the occupant will be back. Although his mother's room too is vacant, there at least she "visits," and is in charge of "setting up the beds." Father's room, the fish laboratory, while it bears little similarity to the rest of the hotel rooms, strangely enough, becomes the focus of Jung's commentary.

In Jung's mind the lobby represented the outside world, which for him personified his jolly exterior. This was what others saw, as it were, in the light of day. It was, however, what lay behind and beyond that exterior that was of real importance. In other words, what lay beneath the surface, what was going on inside, and within: that is the significant information. Thus for him, the salient parts of the dream were the reception room for spirits and the fish laboratory. According to Jung, the nature of the rooms indicate that both parents appeared to be burdened with the problem of the "cure of souls." He chooses to concentrate his efforts on discovering the meaning behind father's fish laboratory.

In the dream Jung was "astonished" that his father had gone into ichthyology, and he begins his interpretation with the words, "It is remarkable that the study of fish was attributed to my father." It soon becomes clear to him that this image was an appropriate one, and did indeed make good sense. As the son of a parson, Carl Jung would have known that throughout the history of Christianity the fish symbol has been connected to the Christ myth. (IXOYE) "ICTHS," the Greek word for fish also spells the first letters of, Iesous Christos Theou Huios Soter (Jesus Christ Son of God, Saviour.) In addition, the first disciples to be called by Jesus were fishers. On a more personal or biographic note, Jung's first reference to his father is linked to fishermen. "The fishermen have found a corpse-they want to put it in the wash house! My father says, yes."¹⁰² In a letter to a friend in July of 1935, Jung connects his father's ailment

¹⁰²MDR. p.7.

to a miraculous fish cure.”¹⁰³ Jung then connects the “ichthys” theme of the dream to the legend of the Holy Grail and the fisher-king. This is an important association for Jung, and as we shall see, one which held many levels of meaning.

For Jung, his father’s suffering came as a result of what he termed “*sacrificium intellectus*,” that is Paul had surrendered his mind in a blind acceptance of the Christian faith. This was tantamount to the sacrifice of the eunuch who forfeits his generative abilities, cutting himself off from the creative process. In this part of the commentary, Jung moves from a discussion of the fish symbol in Christianity to his father’s suffering as a result of a blind acceptance of the faith. Here he makes a connection between his wounded father, the nature of his suffering and the Christian tradition. The link which connects the fish laboratory vision to Jung’s final “father dream” comes through a discussion of Jung’s father as a “fisher-king,” suffering from an Amfortas wound. This image is part of an ancient story, a legend connected to the Holy Grail. This myth provides a vital link to what was one of Jung’s most profound dreams. I will therefore examine more closely that Grail myth, in the hope of discovering why Jung viewed his father, Paul, as the personification of the “fisher-king.”

In medieval Christian legend the Grail was associated with the cup¹⁰⁴ used by Jesus at the Last Supper. It is the object of a quest in a variety of legends, sometimes also called the Sangreal (royal blood). At the crucifixion, Joseph of Arimathea,¹⁰⁵ according to legend, caught some of Christ’s blood

¹⁰³ Jung was sent a woodcut of a biblical story from the Apocryphal book of Tobit. In the picture, Tobias heals his father’s blindness with a fish liver. (Tobit: chapters. 6, 11) In response to the picture, Jung writes, “Indeed I have often thought: if only I could have opened my own father’s eyes! But he died before I had caught the fish whose liver contains the wonder-working medicine.” (*Letters*, pp. 193, 194.) Jung uses the same language, that of catching a fish, to describe his experience of writing *Answer to Job*. “I have landed the great whale.” Perhaps then, it was only after the insight afforded him through the writing of *Answer to Job*, that he was able to see his father in a different light, thus bringing about a healing which finally effects a reconciliation between father and son.

¹⁰⁴ The Grail is also sometimes described as a stone; i.e., von Eschbenbach’s *Parzifal*.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph of Arimathea. According to the gospel story, it was Joseph who provided the tomb for Jesus and with the women placed him in it after his death on the cross. All four Gospels refer to Joseph of Arimathea’s part in the post-crucifixion burial rites. See Matthew 27: 57-61, Mark 15: 43-47, Luke 23: 50-54, and John 19: 38-42.

(from the side where he was lanced) in the cup which had been used at Jesus' last supper. "Poets and common people began to weave fantasies around the tomb of Christ and the idea of the vessel containing the blood, the living soul of Christ, the mysterious essence of his being which he left on earth after he left us."¹⁰⁶ Legends developed around this sacred chalice; stories of knights, pilgrims, holy visions and royal quests, all in search of this vessel. Many, like Jung himself, understood the quest as a longing for a deeper experience of the sacred, a search for the Divine. The holy cup was said to have traveled to Britain from France, with the journey ending at Glastonbury. It is from this holy place, the Arthurian legends have their origin.

Describing the guardians of the Holy Grail as "fisher-kings" has its inception in medieval legend. Joseph of Arimathea, the first keeper of the Grail, told Alains le Gros, to take a net from the table on which the Grail cup stood, and cast that net into a lake. Alains did so, and as a result caught one fish. Miraculously, all of Alain's men were fed from that single fish, after he had prayed over it. Following this episode, he was called "fisher-king,"¹⁰⁷ and from that time all keepers of the Holy Grail were called by that name.

Jung referred to his father as Amfortas, one of the most famous of fisher-kings. Amfortas, who comes out of Arthurian legend, was a keeper of the Grail. It was believed that he neglected his duties in this profession, and as a result was wounded in the thigh by a spear.¹⁰⁸ Some stories suggest that it was the same lance which had been thrust into the side of Christ at his crucifixion. It had been revealed to Amfortas that his wound would be healed by a guileless fool, who turned out to be, Perceval (Parsifal). When this knight entered the banquet hall he noticed that Amfortas was suffering from a wound, but Perceval said nothing

¹⁰⁶ M.L. von Franz, *C.G. Jung: His Myth In Our Time*, (N.Y: 1975) p.271.

¹⁰⁷ "Fisher-kings" were also referred to as 'rich fishers.'

¹⁰⁸ In other renditions of this story, such as in Wagner's, *Parsifal*, Amfortas' wound is caused when the fisher king was tricked into the garden of an evil magician. Klingor was after the holy cup and spear used at the cross. In wrestling for that spear, Amfortas was wounded in the thigh. Of note here is that in Wagner's tale of Parsifal, the knight Parsifal searches for the sacred spear that will heal King Amfortas, and through his purity bring his eventual accession as King of the Holy Grail. Jung would most assuredly be familiar with this rendering of the Grail story, in part because it was in Jung's beloved Switzerland that Wagner made his first sketches of the text for his opera, *Parsifal*. Wagner was there living in exile .

of this. Into the hall there came a procession consisting of a servant carrying the Holy lance, maidens carrying a stand for the Grail, and at the end of the procession, Amfortas' daughter, carrying the Holy Grail. After the knights had been served from the Holy cup and dinner was finished, Perceval was left alone to ponder the significance of the evening's events. In failing to ask about the nature and cause of Amfortas' wound, Perceval had sinned. Thus he was sent out to do penance for this offense. Upon his return to the banquet hall he watched the procession once again, but on this occasion, Perceval asked the all- important question: "What is your wound, Amfortas?" Whereupon the wound was healed, and Perceval became the keeper of the Grail.¹⁰⁹

Carl Jung spoke of his father, in the language of the Grail, as an Amfortas. Emma Jung, Carl's wife, had made the study of the Grail a life's work, a quest which was left uncompleted.¹¹⁰ In speaking of the dream in which both parents were charged with the "cure of souls;" his mother a guardian of the spirits, his father a caretaker of Christian souls; Jung would write, "something had remained unfinished and was still with my parents; that is to say, it was still latent in the unconscious and hence reserved for the future."¹¹¹ Jung compared his father to the wounded fisher-king who possessed an incurable ailment. In the reenactment of this drama, Carl was to play the heir Parsifal, to Paul's King Amfortas. Witnessing his father's suffering, this son and heir, to this date, had been unable to speak the right words (dumb), and therefore was incapable of curing the wound.

The Reverend Paul Jung, like the legendary Amfortas, looked to his heir, Carl, for healing, but like Parsifal, the son was speechless. Early in the autobiography, describing his days in the parsonage, Jung was to witness, first hand, both the the extent and intensity of his father's wound.

It was clear to me that something quite specific was tormenting him (Paul), and I

¹⁰⁹ World Mythology and Legend, ed. Anthony S. Mercataate(Facts: 1988) pp. 49,323-326.

¹¹⁰ Emma's book, The Grail Legend, was completed (1958) by Marie- Louise von Franz upon Emma's death in 1955, and thus is co-authored by Jung and von Franz.

¹¹¹ MDR. p.214.

suspected that it had to do with his faith...but in my talks with him I never got that far, never ever came within sight of the problem, because I always set about it in a very unpsychological and intellectual way, and did everything possible to avoid the emotional aspects.¹¹²

In Jung's mind his clergyman-father's suffering mirrored Amfortas' fate. The inner experience of God, as represented by the Grail, had been denied him. The dogma and belief system which had been formulated by the Church, and accepted by the Reverend Paul Jung, was no substitute for the personal inner experience of God. As a young child in the vicarage, Carl, however, was too young to discern this reality and too apprehensive to voice this truth. Thus, like Parsifal before him, he remained silent.

After the third dream, and while he was working on his book, Aion, Jung began to see his father as a sufferer, as one inflicted with a wound that would not heal. He admits that he had been "dumb" to this suffering in his early years, and unable to speak the words which would bring about healing. Part of Jung's life task involved an attempt to understand the nature of his father's wound. Suffering was to be the key word in the link between him and his clergyman father, and suffering would be one of the main foci in his controversial work on religion, Answer To Job. This testament of faith would be foreshadowed in the final dream of his father; a vision that would provide Jung the means of overcoming his inner resistances toward his father. It would also declare to the larger world his deepest, most intimate thoughts about the strength and weakness of the Christian tradition.

¹¹² MDR pp.92,93.

The fourth key: "In my father's house"

What we call the beginning is often the end
And to make an end is to make a beginning.

The end is where we start from.

(T.S. Eliot: The Four Quartets-Little Gidding)

This dream¹¹³ was, as Jung writes, "a foreshadowing of the problem of Job in all its ramifications." By the Job problem he is referring to his controversial book, Answer To Job, written in 1951. This text held a special place in Jung's thinking, one which he describes in a language more often reserved for a description of the sacred. For example, when asked at the end of his life whether he would change anything in his writings, he would say, "This is the one work (Job) with which I am completely satisfied. I would rewrite all my books except this one."¹¹⁴ This comment suggests that the Job book is of the nature of a religious testament. In his refusal to modify this work, Jung sounds like the fundamentalist who cannot abide that Holy Writ should be changed one iota.¹¹⁵ In his autobiography he describes the process of writing this book as "being gripped by the problem,"¹¹⁶ the result of being "compelled to give an answer." Elsewhere he would say of the Job book, "It came upon me suddenly and unexpectedly during a feverish illness. I feel its content as an unfolding of the divine consciousness in which I participate, like it or not."¹¹⁷ In a letter to Aniela Jaffé, editor of his autobiography, Jung speaks of his "Job" experience as spiritual; one that was thrust upon him. "If there is anything like the spirit seizing one by the scruff of the neck, it was the way this book (Job) came into being."¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Appendix p. 235

¹¹⁴ Marie-Louise von Franz, C.G. Jung: His Myth In Our time (N.Y: Putnam,1975) p.161.

¹¹⁵ This sentiment, however, is balanced by Jung's statement that the Job book was written, "not because he was bent on proclaiming some eternal truth," his Answer To Job was meant to be no more than the utterance of a single individual." (MDR.p.217.)

¹¹⁶ MDR. p.217.

¹¹⁷ Letters, p. 112.

¹¹⁸ Letters, p.20.

Although the dream prefigures Answer To Job , it also has much to do with his father. For Jung, father is a word which naturally conjures up the notion of religion. I will now turn my attention to that dream, a vision which begins with Jung, “paying a visit to (his) long-deceased father.”

The first thing the reader notices is that, as in dream three, and unlike the first two father-dreams, Jung travels to see father. He would eventually find him in an eighteenth century house in the country. On the property were outbuildings and a crypt, of which his father was custodian. We discover once again the image of the house, a dream symbol used throughout Jung’s writings, and as is so frequently the case, it is an eighteenth century home. A couple of thoughts come to mind here. First, this house is not unlike the home Jung built at Küsnacht. According to Ellenberger, Küsnacht was “a large, resplendent house somewhat in the style of a Patrician mansion of the eighteenth century.”¹¹⁹ One is also reminded of the vicarage at Kleinhüningen where Jung spent his childhood for it too was also an eighteenth century house. Ellenberger describes this parsonage as “ a large old house with a garden and stables, which had been the country house of the Iselin family, a rich Patrician family.”¹²⁰

It was Paul Jung’s responsibility to oversee the care of the dead in the house crypt. This task is similar to the one in dream three in which Jung’s father looks after the dead fish encased in glass jars in the zoological laboratory. In this dream (4) Paul is custodian (keeper) of the dead. In the earlier dream Jung’s father oversees the fish laboratory, an enterprise Jung interprets as being “burdened with the problem of the “cure of souls.” This is a task which, according to Jung, now belongs to him.

From the outside (of the house) father was simply the custodian, or the keeper of the dead. The sarcophagi in the crypt suggest not only death, but the dead entombed in a hard, lifeless shell of stone. These images capture Jung’s perception of his father as the pastor; the guardian of a hardened and lifeless religious tradition. This first paragraph has the atmosphere of death running through it: a long deceased father, an eighteenth century house, and the dead in

¹¹⁹ Ellenberger, p.682.

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp. 663,664.

sarcophagi. There isn't a living being on the property. All this changes when Jung meets up with his father.

When Jung discovers that Paul was not only a custodian but also a distinguished scholar, life makes its first appearance in the vision. Son meets father in the study and there is joined by another father and son, both of whom are psychiatrists. He then details the meeting that takes place between the four doctors. In order to provide an interpretation of this encounter I would begin by describing the actors in this drama.

There were two fathers, Paul and Dr. Y, who is the same age as Jung and two sons, Carl and Dr.Y's son. There are a variety of ways to understand the persons in this account, including Jung's synopsis that Dr. Y and son were "two psychiatrists (representing) a limited medical view...first and second editions of the shadow, father and son." I would suggest something a little different. I think Dr. Y and his son represent Carl Jung, and if we include Jung (the dreamer) that would make three. To borrow a Trinitarian language, one could say that there is in this depiction, one Jung in three modes or phases: Jung now, Jung as Dr. Y (Jung as a father during the Freud years) and Jung as Dr. Y's son. (Jung as a child of the vicarage, son of Paul and Emilie) These are the three persons assembled in the study with father.

The dialogue begins when father fetches a bible from the shelf, similar to the Merion²¹ bible in Jung's library. This bible was bound in fishskin. The reference to "fish" here is perhaps another way of saying that for Christians the book was a history, a record of the Christ (fish), the skin containing the fish('s) inside(s). Jung's father then opened the book at the Old Testament, to what Jung believed was the Pentateuch(the first five books). He later commented that it might have been the book of Genesis. The book of Genesis speaks of origins, beginnings and the generation of life. This may be symbolic of the re-creation of the father-son relationship which is about to take place. Perhaps Jung is going back to the beginning to discover new insights into his father's life.

Paul's exposition is above the heads of the listeners. Dr. Y and his son

²¹ Merion bible-Matthaus Merion (1593-1650) A Basel engraver and the leading German illustrator of the seventeenth century. Between 1625-1630 Merion published an illustrated edition of the bible.

believe that this learned interpretation is simply prattle and that father had gone off the deep end. Because the three listeners represent Carl Jung at various stages or phases in his development, I would interpret this part of the dream in the following manner. Carl, as Dr. Y's son simply laughs at father, mocking him, believing him to be senile and silly. This is the reaction of young Carl, the adolescent who belittles his father, pitying him, feeling only resentment toward him which fuels a rage he can barely contain. Dr. Y does not understand his father but he does not laugh. This is Jung, not the child of the vicarage, but Jung as a father himself (of five children) at a time when he was son to another father, Sigmund Freud. While Dr. Y does not mock father's lengthy interpretation, he nevertheless "understands nothing at all." The final listener, the mature Jung now has begun to "dimly apprehend" his father. While he still could not "properly judge or grasp" his father's words, he is beginning to see him for what he was. Paul was not just a custodian of a religious tradition but a scholar, albeit the life of scholarship had not been fully realized. Early in his career father had chosen unwisely to live the dull and lifeless vocation of an ecclesiastical curator instead of passionately and creatively pursuing the fruits of an academic profession.

In this dream segment, Paul's animation and his scholarship is lively, kindled by the fascination of a mind "flooded with profound ideas." Here, Jung has moved from his early childhood sentiments in which he says of his father, "I was seized by the most vehement pity for my father"¹²² to say of his father's words in the study that it was, "a pity that he had to talk in the presence of three such idiots as we." These words point to a reconciliation between a son and his father. Father was no longer a man to be pitied, but a scholar¹²³ with profound ideas. This turnabout is the result of a change of heart and mind; one that is achieved when Jung no longer views Paul as simply a curator or custodian of past traditions.

¹²² MDR, p.55

¹²³ For example, in chapter two of MDR he speaks warmly of his father at the university of Basel. "To my delight, the gay spirit of his own student days came back again...memories of the time when he was what he should have been." (MDR, p.95.)

There is a marvelous photograph¹²⁴ used in the autobiography which captures this aspect of Jung as the scholar. The picture was taken in the library of Jung's house at Küsnacht in 1946. Here, in front of the bookcase, Jung holds a book, not unlike the large bible in the dream. It speaks of the analyst as scholar, a father's son who has rediscovered the passion of the academic who lectures with intensity, possessing a "mind flooded with profound ideas."

What follows in this second part of the dream seems to be a compilation of a number of Jung's dreams. In two letters¹²⁵ to Father Victor White written in December of 1947 and early in January 1948, Jung refers to this part of the dream as one in a series of dreams in which "I was concerned about my father."

¹²⁶ In this dream, Jung is no longer on his own but is joined by his father. Paul and his son experience the events of this vision together, an indication of the reconciliation which has transpired through the conversation in the study.

At first they stand outside, in front of the house facing the wood shed. Jung believes the noise coming from the shed is the sound of two workmen cutting and stacking wood within. Paul, however, believes it indicates that the place is haunted. Poltergeists are at work. His father's reaction is similar to the reaction of the workman, Hans, in dream three. When looking into that room behind the curtain, he exclaims, "It's haunted in there!"¹²⁷

Father and son then enter the house climbing a narrow staircase to the second floor where they discover a large council hall. This, according to Jung, was an exact replica of the *divan-i kaas* hall of Sultan Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.¹²⁸ Within the hall there suddenly appeared another set of stairs leading to yet another floor, a level, Jung says, "which did not correspond to reality." At the top of these steps was a small door which, his father said, led into the highest presence. Before entering this place an act of homage seemed to be required. Paul thus knelt and touched his forehead to the floor. What happens next in this

¹²⁴ see appendix p. 239 This photograph was used on the front cover of Time magazine in 1955.

¹²⁵ Letters, p.490.

¹²⁶ Letters,p.491.

¹²⁷ MDR, p.213.

¹²⁸ Akbar the Great, Jalal ud-Din Mohammed(1542-1605) was the greatest of the Mogul emperors of India. Fatehpur-Sikri was one of his capitals. The *divan-i-kaas* (hall of wisdom) was where he used to discuss philosophy and religion with the representatives of all philosophies and all creeds." (Letters,pp.491,492.)

narrative is most significant. Jung imitated the kneeling gesture but could not quite fully place his forehead to the floor. I would interpret this to mean that while Jung was open to the numinous, as evidenced by his genuflection, a sign of respect and adoration, intellectual assent, symbolized by touching the forehead (mind, intellect) to the floor, was something he could not accomplish. He was to say, however, "that at least (he) made the gesture with him (father)." It is also of note that the gestures were made with "great emotion," an indication that he felt very much that the two of them were on "holy ground." This description is significant because it tells us a number of important things. In the first two father-dreams Paul visits his son. In dream three it is Carl who searches for his father. In part one of dream four, Carl searches for Paul and discovers him in the library¹²⁹ and a reconciliation takes place. In the final portion of the dream father and son are on a search together. Although Carl is unable to accept the Christ myth, he and his father remain together throughout the rest of the dream. Jung has finally separated his feelings about his father from his beliefs about the religious tradition of his father, Christianity. He will later give full expression to these thoughts about the inadequacy of the Christ myth in his book, Answer To Job. Jung had expressed his feelings about the Christ myth as early as 1912 when he asked himself the question, "Do you live in it? (Christ myth) I asked myself. To be honest, the answer was no."¹³⁰

In the final portion of this dream, Jung refers to King David's general, Uriah. Behind that door in the upper regions of the house was his chamber. Uriah, who had been abandoned by King David, and whose wife had been seduced by the same monarch, surprisingly occupies a higher place than Akbar. I would understand Jung's commentary here as a foreshadowing of much of what would come in the Job book. Like Uriah, Job had been abandoned by Yahweh, and thus according to Jung, deserves a higher place than the Being who wronged him. The Uriah-David injustice mentioned here is seen again in Yahweh's

¹²⁹ This series of events reads like an inverted account of the episode in which Joseph and Mary search frantically for the young Jesus. In that story, Jesus (son) is discovered by Joseph (father), here Paul (father) is found by Carl (son.) One can almost hear Paul modifying the words of scripture when his son finally finds his father. "Did you know I didn't want to be about my father's business (pastoring), but instead I wanted to be about something else"?

¹³⁰ MDR, p.171.

bullying of Job in the analyst's retelling of the biblical narrative. The story of David and Uriah, of Job and his dilemma, were for Jung reminders that "man always has some mental reservations, even in the face of divine decrees."

In the letter to Father Victor White in which Jung refers to this dream series, he describes the experience of sleeping in a barracks with a number of Catholic priests.¹³¹ Because there was a scarcity of beds he had to bunk with another man. His bunk mate was an old, venerable man with a long white flowing beard who graciously offered one half of his bed. Just as Jung was slipping into the bed he awoke, and the dream was over. This description communicated to Father White, a theologian who would later figure in the Job discussions, supports my perception that Jung's relation to the Christian myth was that of an outsider. The partner, the revered man with the long white beard, Jung's bunk mate, bears a striking resemblance to a caricature of the Judeo-Christian image of God. My reading of this would be: as tempting as it was, Jung was not about to "jump into bed" with his clergyman-father or any other representative of that God figure.¹³² This excerpt confirms my belief that in the end, Jung could not reconcile himself to the Christian faith. Carl Jung stood along side those who were unable to fully bow their forehead to the floor.

This fourth¹³³ and final father dream is the parable of a son who achieves reconciliation with his father; a reconciliation brought about by a long and protracted reevaluation of his father's life. Encountering his father in the study, having found him absent in the crypt and fish laboratory. Carl Jung realized his father had been called to the life of a scholar not to pastoring. It was to the study of books, not to the care of souls that Paul Jung had been called. Once this had been grasped, Jung was able to separate his thoughts about his clergyman-

¹³¹ Letters, p.481. See appendix p. 240

¹³² There is a suggestion here that perhaps it was his father, Paul, who had been the one to sexually assault young Carl. While the allusion to "jumping into bed" with his father might refer to a past incident, I can find nothing to suggest that this happened. I had initially believed that this might have been a possibility upon reading Jung's account of his seventh year. This was a time of anxiety dreams and choking fits, and at that time his parents were sleeping in separate rooms with Jung sleeping "in his father's room." (MDR, p.18.)

¹³³ I am aware that there are four father dreams, and for Jung quaternity suggests wholeness or completion. That there were just four father dreams alluded to in MDR may have been Jung's (unconscious) way of hinting that a completion or fulfillment of the father-son relationship had been realized.

father from his opinion about the Christian myth. Carl would discover the true image of his father in the library, a father he could live with, finally. For Carl Gustav Jung, however, the Christian revelation, as a final decree, was not a truth he could embrace or a myth by which he could live.

In a letter to Pastor Oscar Nisse, a Belgian theologian, a year before his death, Carl Jung would disclose his reservations about the finality of the Christian revelation, writing:

To be exact, I must say that, although I profess myself a Christian, I am at the same time convinced that the chaotic contemporary situation shows that present-day Christianity is not the final truth. Further progress is an absolute necessity since the present state of affairs seems to me insupportable. As I see it, the contributions of the psychology of the unconscious should be taken into account. ¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Letters, vol. 2, p. 575.

EPILOGUE:

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

(T.S. Eliot: Four Quartets - Little Gidding)

This inquiry began with the question: “what was the matter with the Reverend Paul Jung, and what was the nature of Jung’s relationship to his clergyman father?” These were two questions that had been, up to the present, largely ignored by Jungian scholars. Through my research I have determined that Paul Jung had a profound effect upon his son, Carl, and that the more we learn about Jung’s father the better we understand his celebrated son, Carl.

It has been fundamental to my research that Jung himself provides the reader with ample biographical material about his father and abundant clues to the nature of their relationship within his autobiography, Memories, Dreams, Reflections. In the earlier part of my work I show that while this autobiography is anything but a perfect rendering of Jung’s life, and is replete with all the usual autobiographical sins,¹³⁵ it nevertheless provides us with information that is simply not available anywhere else. In the early portion of MDR, Jung calls to mind his life as the son of a parson. These early years were anything but happy ones for the analyst, and I depict this “life in the vicarage,” Carl Jung’s childhood, as a time of anxiety, loneliness, and one filled with complications. It

¹³⁵ That Jung was conscious of the impossibility of the autobiographical process is evident from two statements in the introduction and prologue to MDR. First, from the onset of the autobiographical proposal, Jung was skeptical of success, and thus he wrote. “ I know too many autobiographies, with their self-deceptions and downright lies, and I know too much about the impossibility of self-portrayal.” (MDR p.viii) Second, in the prologue, Jung claimed that his autobiography was an attempt to tell his truth, his myth, and “whether or not the stories are “true” is not the problem. The only question is whether what I tell is *my fable. my truth.*” (MDR.p.3)

was this early time period that Jung would revisit whenever he was perplexed and in search of answers to difficult personal dilemmas. As a fellow “child of the vicarage”, I find Jung’s disclosures about this phase of his life particularly revealing, and most especially his description of his clergyman-father. It seems that Paul’s theological profession may have been less by design than accident: this life choice based on the scarcity of funds brought on by his position in a large family and the untimely death of his father. Thus Paul’s vocation may not have been one which was freely chosen; an error which would have psychological repercussions for the elder Jung throughout his pastoral ministry, and leave its impression upon his young son, Carl. We know also that Jung’s mother, Emilie, suffered from psychiatric disturbances, perhaps schizophrenia, which required her hospitalization when Carl was a very young boy. The combination of a depressed, irritated and frustrated clergyman-father and an absent mother whom Jung described as an invalid and psychologically disturbed; a woman who possessed two personalities expressed by two distinct voices, would undoubtedly have an effect on the young, sensitive child of the rectory. We know also that Jung was born into a bereaved family, a circumstance which clearly helped to distance him from his parents and they from one another. Two years prior to Carl’s birth, a son who was named for his father, Paul, was born, and died shortly after birth. The loss of a child, especially a first child in the early years of marriage, can have a devastating effect upon the couple’s relationship. In her article, “Toward Siblings-Understanding and Perspectives of Death,” Betty Davies writes:

Following the death of a child, the agony within a family is pervasive and profound. For parents, a child’s death represents the loss of their hopes, their dreams, their future: they are faced with emotions so intense as to be debilitating...After the death of a child, most parents can barely function.¹³⁶

This then was the fabric and dynamic of the Jung family into which Carl was

¹³⁶ Betty Davies, “Toward Siblings” Understanding and Perspective of Death”, Bereaved Children and Teens: A Support Guide For Parents and Professionals (ed.) Earl A. Grollman (Boston: Beacon Press) 1995, pp.62,63.

thrust, and in which he would live out that first and formative decade of his life. The memories, dreams and reflections of this early life bear witness to the bizarre existence of a lonely and anxious child. In addition to what Jung includes within these early recollections, I suggest that the episode of the sexual assault he later confesses to Freud also occurred at the time he was living in the vicarage. It is clear to me that Jung's early life in the parsonage was far from happy. The fact that this unhappiness was to be lived out in a "religious house" where fruits of the new spirit, such as joy and peace, are required and expected of the tenants- only complicates the issue, as it were, adding insult to the deep injury. While vicarage life is often thought of as tranquil and serene, an idyllic existence in which "the minister accomplishes his ecclesiastical duties, practices the cure of souls, and gives an example of domestic virtues,"¹³⁷ for Carl Jung, nothing could be further from the truth. Because of the kind and extent of his early childhood experiences, coupled with the profound impression those events had on the formation of his character, it is tempting simply to dismiss Jung with an appropriate psychiatric diagnosis. In this regard, however, I reiterate my earlier statement about the state of Jung's sanity: "It is not Jung's pathology that was remarkable; rather it was his successful adaptation."¹³⁸ Carl Jung's survival in this milieu is a testament to his will and determination. His ability to prevail in these circumstances, however, would not come without cost. Much of his anger and most of his hurt would be born by his father; the vicar who was seemingly powerless, and who could do nothing to rectify a son's unhappy childhood. It would thus seem reasonable to assume that with the early death of Jung's father, the Reverend Paul Jung, in January of 1896, all those unhappy vicarage memories would be forever behind him.

With the death of his father, vicarage life did come abruptly to an end and a few years thereafter, Jung would embark on his newly-chosen career, psychiatry. A decade after Paul's death, however, Jung communicated with the noted psychoanalyst, Sigmund Freud; thus instigating a correspondence that would change the direction of both writers' lives. Freud was a generation older

¹³⁷ Ellenberger, p.663.

¹³⁸ John E. Gedo, p.272.

than Jung and it is clear from an examination of the letters that in Freud, Jung had found a mentor and a new father figure. It is equally evident that in Jung, Freud had discovered a son and an heir to whom he would gladly offer the crown of the newly discovered science of psychoanalysis. For Freud, the reigning but aging founder of psychoanalysis, Jung was the answer to the question: how can the new and fragile creation known as psychoanalysis best be continued and under whose leadership? At first, there was no doubt: Carl Jung would be that leader, the analyst to whom Freud “would leave more to conquer than I (Freud) myself have managed, all psychiatry and the approval of the civilized world, which regards me as a savage.”¹³⁹ The seeds of the alliance’s destruction are strangely foreshadowed in the events of their first encounter on March 3, 1907. On this occasion Freud asked two significant questions of Jung. The first had to do with Jung’s dreams. Jung told him of a dream in which he “saw Freud walking beside him as a very very frail old man.” This was interpreted by Binswanger, a colleague accompanying Jung during that visit, as Jung’s wish to “dethrone Freud and take his place.” Second, Freud asked Jung what he thought about transference. Jung replied “with the deepest conviction that it was the alpha and omega of the analytic method.” Freud responded with great glee that Jung “had grasped the main thing.” Transference was not only the “alpha and omega” of the analytic encounter; it was the heart of their relationship for each man saw in the other an ideal. Robert Steele has described this important truth and its natural outcome, writing:

In Jung, Freud saw an intelligent, hard-working psychiatrist who because of his gift for winning others could spread the psychoanalytic word. In Freud, Jung, saw a great man who was courageous, moral and charismatic. These transference idealizations bound them together, but when this emotional bond was broken their relationship came apart. Neither man assessed the other realistically. When the transference became negative, idealization gave way to its opposite, denigration.¹⁴⁰

By the mid point of their correspondence the relationship had changed, and

¹³⁹ Freud/Jung Letters:182F

¹⁴⁰ Robert Steele, Freud and Jung, p.202.

Freud began to see in his son and heir a challenge to his authority as father of psychoanalysis. Freud, the founder of the Oedipus Complex; a myth in which the son becomes a rival capable of challenging and overturning the father, experienced the gradual incarnation of this theory in his seven year relationship with Jung. As father of the Oedipus Complex, Freud knew better than anyone else that succession, whether by an heir or an usurper, involved a life and death struggle. Oddly enough, the struggle which he experienced in his association with Jung came as a surprise to this creator of a complex which has at its core and focus, a battle between a father and son. For his part, Jung discovered that his relationship to Freud brought to the surface tensions and unresolved feelings about a father he had years earlier dismissed as, "powerless and pitiable." I have demonstrated that there appears throughout the letters a pattern in which Jung emerges as a prodigal son in constant search of forgiveness from a fatherly Freud. Freud, for his part is quick to dispense the required absolution. Both partners have a sense that the relationship is destined to fail, but both equally have an investment in wishing for its success. For Jung there is a connection between Freud, his father and his childhood. The further along into that relationship he travels the more it begins to unravel. By the end of 1909, the mid point of their alliance, there are ample signs that failure is inevitable, and their differences irreconcilable. Their partnership would not culminate, however, in a battle in which the son triumphed over the father. Jung could not accomplish this because his relationship with Freud brought to the surface too many unresolved and mixed emotions about his clergyman-father, Paul. Instead, Jung angrily walked away from his mentor. Freud had forced Jung to withdraw from the encounter, and over the next decade Jung would search his early childhood, retracing his steps in the hope that by going home to the vicarage he might find a way to a new beginning.

The key to this search would come mid-way through his "confrontation with the unconscious." This confrontation reached a turning point with a series of dreams and visions at the end of 1913. It was through the painted mythical figure of Philemon, an image of his father, Paul, that Carl would begin his

journey toward a new understanding of, and eventual reconciliation with, his father. While his parting with Freud had caused a psychic imbalance within Jung, a new stability was achieved when the paternal image of Philemon erupted from within the depths of Jung's unconscious. With the appearance of Philemon there was a lull in the "confrontation." Shortly after Philemon surfaced, Jung had a dream of his father, a vision which prompted him to build Bollingen, a sacred place which he called, "a shrine for Philemon." From this religious house, Jung completed his recovery from the battle with the unconscious. It was to that same Tower at Bollingen, he would return throughout his lifetime whenever he was in need of spiritual regeneration.

The dream which prompted the building of Bollingen, Philemon's house, was one of four reveries in which Jung envisioned his father. The first of these occurred shortly after Paul's death in January of 1896, while the final pair came to Jung more than half a century later. Through these visions, Jung was led to a deeper and better understanding of his father, Paul. In the final dream we discover that Jung arrives at a kind of inner reconciliation with his clergyman-father. Jung himself would say of his father that over the course of his lifetime he felt "a sympathy that deepened as (he) grew older."¹⁴¹ The four dreams are a record of that change of attitude. The transformation of Jung's father from "pitiable and powerless,"¹⁴² to "a scholar who spoke with intensity; with a mind flooded with profound ideas,"¹⁴³ was both dramatic and one which required most of Jung's life to complete.

¹⁴¹ MDR, p. 316.

¹⁴² MDR, p.8,55

¹⁴³ MDR, p.218.

In my beginning is my end...In my end is my beginning.

(T.S.Eliot: Four Quartets-East Coker)

In the prologue to his biography, Young Carl Jung, Robert W. Brockway writes of visiting Jung's house at Kusnacht, and that just being in the house contributed to a better understanding of the analyst.

My visit to Jung's home at 228 Seestrasse was an unforgettable experience. To be in the house is to grasp the reality of Jung, who has become almost a mythical being in some quarters. It added more to my understanding of Jung than anything I ever have read about him.¹⁴⁴

While I have never been to that house in Switzerland, I respond in a similar way to a picture of Jung taken in the study of 228 Seestrasse. In the remarkable photograph of Yosef Karsh ¹⁴⁵ in which the analyst sits at his desk in front of a stained-glass window in his study at Kusnacht, the celebrated photographer captures a pivotal aspect of Jung's life. With his pipe in hand, he looks to be a scholar engaged in the cure of souls, and with the backdrop of the three stained-glass panels, Jung resembles a parson. I discovered this image early in my research, and this photograph provoked me to entitle my dissertation, "In my father's house." The Karsh picture catches an element of Jung, a view of him as the parson's son, so that Dr. Jung appears to the viewer as the vicar of Kusnacht. Thus, there is a sense in which, having been born into a Swiss parsonage, Carl Jung seemingly can't avoid ending up in the vicarage.

Jung was born in the Kesswil rectory in 1875, and thereafter lived in the parsonage at Laufen and Kleinhüningen. This ceased at his father's death in 1896. Before purchasing his own home at Kusnacht, he resided at Bottinger Mill, in a home owned by his uncle who was a pastor. From here he moved into the Burghölzli in 1900. It was here "within these monastic walls" that he lived for eight years. Thus, prior to purchasing his own home, Carl Jung lived in three

¹⁴⁴ Brockway, p.5.

¹⁴⁵ See appendix p.245. In this photograph I believe Karsh has captured the essence of Carl Gustav Jung. As Jung looks out from his chair in the study within what appears to be the vicarage, one can almost hear the analyst speak a biblical phrase. I hear Jung echoing the words of Jesus: "What made you search? Did you not know that I was bound to be in my Father's house?" (Luke 2: 49)

parsonages, one house owned by his mother's brother, a pastor, before residing at Burghölzli, an experience which he describes as an "entry into the monastery of the world."¹⁴⁶

The Jung family was evicted from the Klein-Hüningen vicarage following the Reverend Paul Jung's death.¹⁴⁷ In having to leave the parsonage, it was clear to the family, and is a subtle reminder to us, that the vicarage is unequivocally "father's house." It was fourteen years later in 1909, that Jung, at the peak of his friendship with Sigmund Freud, a mentor and father figure, would build his house at Kusnacht, outside Zurich. The inscription over the doorway to this residence,¹⁴⁸ Jung had taken from Erasmus' adages, a copy of which he had acquired in the year of his father's death.¹⁴⁹ Fourteen years after this, in 1923, Jung began building his Tower at Bollingen. Inscribed over the entrance to this structure, were the words, "Shrine of Philemon," for within this house "his fantasies took the form of Philemon, and (it is here) he comes to life again at Bollingen."¹⁵⁰ As I have shown, Philemon was a caricature of Jung's father, Paul.

The Karsh lens captured the "vicar" aspect of Carl Jung late in his life. When, in his eighty-third year, Jung put pen to paper in order to begin his life story, he opened the autobiography by telling his readers that his life journey began with a move to the vicarage at Laufen. We are then told that his first memories originate from his second or third year. The very first word-image recollected in that narrative is that of the vicarage: "I recall the vicarage."¹⁵¹ This early, potent impression remembered by the infant Carl, an image retrieved from Jung's distant past, is a memory which helps to define him, even in his old age as "Parson's Carl,"¹⁵² the vicar's son and a child of the vicarage.

¹⁴⁶ MDR, p.112.

¹⁴⁷ Although the word eviction is a rather harsh term, I have chosen to use it because a fundamental condition of living in the vicarage is that the pastor exercises a ministry within that congregation. When this ceases, either due to the pastor's moving to another parish or a minister's death or infirmity, the family is no longer entitled to reside in the house. An example of this can be found even today, one hundred years later in the canons of the Anglican Church which state that the family of the priest "shall vacate the rectory within ninety days of the death of the clergyman." Thus, Jung and his mother, Emilie and sister, Gertrude, would very quickly need to find alternative housing after Paul Jung's death.

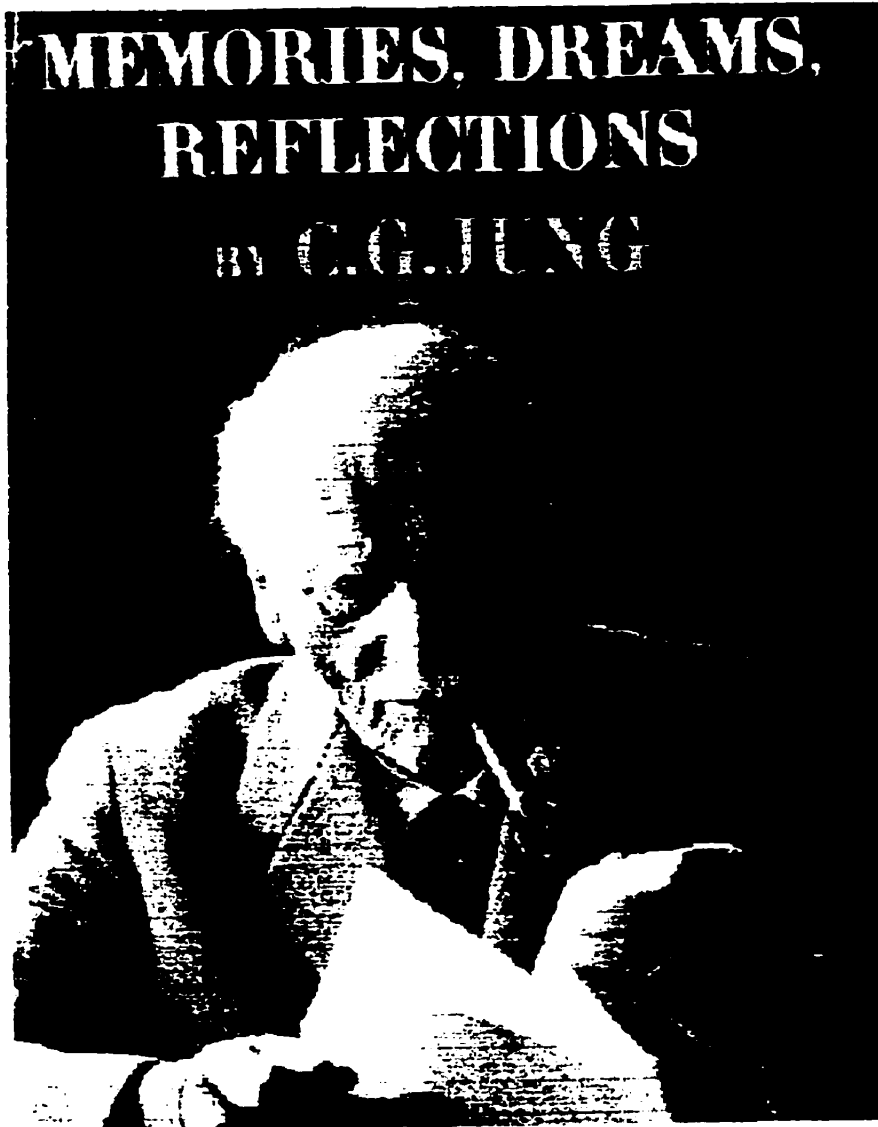
¹⁴⁸ "Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit" (Invoked or not invoked, the god will be present.)

¹⁴⁹ E.A. Ben net, p. 146.

¹⁵⁰ MDR, p.225.

¹⁵¹ MDR, p.6.

¹⁵² Parson's Carl, along with Father Abraham were two of young Carl Jung's nicknames.



“To keep the light alive in the darkness, that’s the point, and only there your candle makes sense.” (Letters, vol.2: p.35.)



Bob Wright
Frankford, Canada
kingsacre@sympatico.ca

Basel, April 23 1998
ck

Paul Jung (1842-1896)
Your e-mail dated April 22, 1998

Dear Sir,

In answer to your further questions concerning Paul Jung we can give you the following information:

1. Jung's doctoral thesis at the University of Göttingen, Germany, was entitled, "Ueber des Karäers Jepheth arabische Erklärung des Hohen Liedes". Please contact a library in your neighborhood or send your request directly to the University of Göttingen.

2. Children of Paul Jung and Emilie Preiswerk (according to, Ratsbücher P 13):
Paul, born 1873 August 18, died 1873 August 23 in Kesswil
Carl Gustav, born 1875 July 26 in Kesswil
Johanna Gertrud, born 1884 July 17 in Kleinhüningen

3. Concerning Jung's parish ministry in Kleinhüningen, we keep different records under the shelf mark, Kirchenarchiv EE". For Kesswil please contact the Staatsarchiv Thurgau, Regierungsgebäude, CH-8500 Frauenfeld; for Laufen beim Rheinfall the Staatsarchiv Zürich, Winterthurerstrasse 170, CH-8057 Zürich.

Your's Sincerely

lic.phil. Daniel Kress
Archivist

Mr. Bob Wright
Ontario, Canada

kingsacre@sympatico.ca

Basel, April 20, 1998
dk

Paul Jung-Preiswerk (1842-1896)
Your e-mail dated April 8, 1998, to the Universitätsbibliothek

Dear Sir,

your above mentioned e-mail has been today transmitted to us for a direct answer.

According to our records, Paul Jung married Emilie Preiswerk (1848-1923) 1869, April 8 in Basel. Please note that the correct spelling of the name is "Preiswerk" and not "Priestwerk". Paul Jung had finished his theological studies at the University of Basel in 1865, went then to Göttingen, Germany, to do studies in oriental languages.

Back in Switzerland, he became in 1867 the parish priest in Kesswil, then 1876 in Laufen near Schaffhausen and finally 1879 in Kleinhüningen (today a part of Basel).

Yours Sincerely

lic.phil. Daniel Kress
Archivist

49J

Dear Professor,

Burghölzli-Zürich, 28 October 1907

I immediately put your good advice about the case of obsessional neurosis into practice with good results. Heartiest thanks.

The Näcke affair is most amusing. In any case N. is hardly worth bothering about. He is a queer bird who flutters like a will o' the wisp over all the backwaters of neurology, psychiatry, and psychology, and who must have popped up with uncanny frequency in your reading. He has just written an exceedingly strange, altogether crack-brained "historical" monograph on cramp in the legs. Ch.1: Cramp in Ancient Egypt. Ch. 2: Cramp in Assyria, and so on. It doesn't surprise me that he couldn't refrain from sticking his nose into the great Freud debate. I don't know the critique as I haven't got the *Gross Archiv*.

Your last two letters contain references to my laziness in writing. I certainly owe you an explanation. One reason is my work load, which hardly gives me a breather even in the evenings; the other is to be found in the realm of affect, in what you have termed my "self-preservation complex"- marvelous expression! And indeed you know that this complex has played many a trick on me, not least in my Dem. praec. book. I honestly do try, but the evil spirit that (as you see) bedevils my pen often prevents me from writing. Actually - and I confess this to you with a struggle - I have a boundless admiration for you both as a man and researcher, and I bear you no conscious grudge. *So the self-preservation complex does not come from there; it is rather that my veneration for you has something of the character of a "religious" crush. Though it does not really bother me, I still feel it is disgusting and ridiculous because of its undeniable erotic undertone. This abominable feeling comes from the fact that as a boy I was the victim of a sexual assault by a man I once worshipped.* Even in Vienna the remarks of the ladies ("enfin seuls," etc.) sickened me, although the reason for it was not clear to me at the time.

This feeling which I still have not quite got rid of, hampers me considerably. Another manifestation of it is that I find psychological insight makes relations with colleagues who have a strong transference to me downright disgusting. *I therefore fear your confidence.* I also fear the same reaction from you when I speak of my intimate affairs. Consequently, I skirt round such things as much as possible, for, to my feeling at any rate, every intimate relationship turns out after a while to be sentimental and banal or exhibitionistic, as with my chief, whose confidences are offensive.

I think I owe you this explanation. I would rather not have said it. With kindest regards,

Most sincerely yours, Jung

Freud-Jung Letters, pp. 84,95.

FREUD/JUNG LETTERS 1906 - 1914



Letter 139F:

Dear friend,

16 April 1909, Vienna, IX. Berggasse 19

I hope this letter doesn't reach you for a while. I'm sure you see what I mean. I simply prefer to write now while the feelings aroused by your last letter are still fresh.

I wrote your wife a card from Venice, where I went on an Easter trip in the vain hope of getting a foretaste of spring and a little rest. I thought you were already bicycling in northern Italy.

It is strange that on the very same evening when I formally adopted you as eldest son and anointed you - *in partibus infidelium* - as my successor and crown prince, you should have divested me of my paternal dignity, which divesting seems to have given you as much pleasure as I, on the contrary, derived from the investiture of your person. Now I am afraid of falling back into the father role with you if I tell you how I feel about the poltergeist business. But I must, because my attitude is not what you might otherwise think. I don't deny that your stories and your experiment made a deep impression on me. I decided to continue my observations after you left, and here are the results. In my first room there is constant creaking where the two heavy Egyptian steles rest on the oaken boards of the bookshelves. That is too easy to explain. In the second, where we heard it, there is seldom any creaking. At first I was inclined to accept this as proof, it the sound that was so frequent while you were here were not heard again after your departure - but since then I have heard it repeatedly, not, however, in connection with my thoughts and never when I am thinking about you or this particular problem of yours. (And not at the present moment, I add by way of a challenge.) But this observation was soon discredited by another consideration. My credulity, or at least my willingness to believe, vanished with the magic of your personal presence: once again, from some inward reasons that I can't put my finger on, it strikes me as quite unlikely that such phenomena should exist; I confront the despiritualized furniture as the poet confronted undeified Nature after the gods of Greece had passed away. Accordingly, I put my fatherly horned-rimmed spectacles on again and warn my dear son to keep a cool head, for it is better not to understand something than make such great sacrifices to understanding. I also shake my wise head over psychosynthesis and think: Yes, that's how the young people are, the only places they really enjoy visiting are those they can visit without us, to which we with our short breath and weary legs cannot follow them.

Then, invoking the privilege of my years, I become garrulous and speak of one more thing between heaven and earth that we cannot understand. Some years ago I discovered within me the conviction that I would die

between the ages of 61 and 62, which then struck me as a long time away. (Today it is only eight years off) Then I went to Greece with my brother and it was really uncanny how often the number 61 or 60 in connection with 1 or 2 kept cropping up in all sorts of numbered objects, especially those connected with transportation. This I conscientiously noted. It depressed me, but I had hopes of breathing easy when we got to the hotel in Athens and were assigned rooms on the first floor. Here, I was sure, there could be no No. 61. I was right, but I as given 31 (which with fatalistic licence could be regarded as half of 61 or 62), and this younger, more agile number proved to be an even more persistent persecutor than the first. From the time of our trip home until very recently, 31, often with a 2 in its vicinity, clung to me faithfully. Since my mind also includes areas that are merely eager for knowledge and not at all superstitious, I have since attempted an analysis of this belief, and here it is. It made its appearance in 1899. At that time two events occurred. First I wrote *The Interpretation of Dreams* (which appeared postdated 1900), second, I received a new telephone number, which I still have today: 14362. It is easy to find a factor common to these two events. In 1899 when I wrote *The Interpretation of Dreams* I was 43 years old. Thus it was plausible to suppose that the other figures signified the end of my life, hence 61 or 62. Suddenly method entered into my madness. The superstitious notion that I would die between the ages of 61 and 62 proves to coincide with the conviction that with *The Interpretation of Dreams* I had completed my life work, that there was nothing more for me to do and that I might just as well lie down and die. You will admit that after this substitution it no longer sounds so absurd. Moreover, the hidden influence of W. Fliess was at work; the superstition erupted in the year of his attack on me.

You will see in this another confirmation of the specifically Jewish nature of my mysticism. Otherwise I incline to explain such obsessions as this with the number 61 by two factors, first heightened, unconsciously motivated attention of the sort that sees Helen in every woman, and second by the undeniable "compliance of chance," which plays the same part in the formation of delusions as somatic compliance in that of hysterical symptoms, and linguistic compliance in the generation of puns.

Consequently, I shall receive further news of your investigations of the spook complex with the interest one accords to a charming delusion in which one does not oneself participate.

With kind regards to you, your wife and children,

Yours, FREUD

Freud-Jung Letters, pp.218-220.

PEAT BOG CORPSES

Having read about these peat-bog corpses, I recalled them when we were in Bremen, but, being a bit muddled, confused them with the mummies in the lead cellars of the city. This interest of mine got Freud's nerves. "Why are you so concerned with these corpses?" he asked me several times. He was inordinately vexed by the whole thing and during one such conversation, while we were having dinner together, he suddenly fainted. Afterward he said to me that he was convinced that all this chatter about corpses meant I had death-wishes toward him. I was more than surprised by this interpretation. I was alarmed by the intensity of his fantasies - so strong that, obviously, they could cause him to faint.

In a similar connection Freud once more suffered a fainting fit in my presence. This was during the Psychoanalytic Congress in Munich in 1912. Someone had turned the conversation to Amenophis IV (Ikhnaton). The point was made that as a result of his negative attitude toward his father he had destroyed his father's cartouches on the steles, and that at the back of his great creation of a monotheistic religion there lurked a father complex. This sort of hinting irritated me, and I attempted argue that Amenophis had been a creative and profoundly religious person whose acts could not be explained by personal resistances toward his father. On the contrary, I said, he had held the memory of his father in honour, and his zeal for destruction had been directed only against the name of the god Amon, which he had everywhere annihilated; it was also chiseled out of the cartouches of his father Amon-hotep. Moreover, other pharaohs had replaced the names of their actual or divine forefathers on monuments and statues by their own, feeling that they had a right to do so since they were incarnations of the same god. Yet they, I pointed out, had inaugurated neither a new style nor a new religion.

At that moment Freud slid of his chair in a faint. Everyone clustered helplessly around him. I picked him up, carried him into the next room, and laid him on a sofa. As I was carrying him, he half came to, and I shall never forget the look he cast at me. In his weakness he looked at me as if I were his father. Whatever other causes may have contributed to this faint - the atmosphere was very tense - the fantasy of father-murder was common to both cases.

MDR. pp.156,157.

TWO SKULLS

This was the dream. I was in a house I did not know, which had two stories. It was "my house." I found myself in the upper story, where there was a kind of salon furnished with fine old pieces in rococo style. On the walls hung a number of precious old paintings. I wondered that this should be my house, and thought, "Not bad." But then it occurred to me that I did not know what the lower floor looked like. Descending the stairs, I reached the ground floor. There everything was much older, and I realized that this part of the house must date from about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The furnishings were medieval; the floors were of red brick. Everywhere it was rather dark. I went from one room to another, thinking, "Now I really must explore the whole house." I came upon a heavy door, and opened it. Beyond it, I discovered a stone stairway that led down into the cellar. Descending again, I found myself in a beautifully vaulted room which looked exceedingly ancient. Examining the walls, I discovered layers of brick among the ordinary stone blocks, and chips of brick in the mortar. As soon as I saw this I knew that the walls dated from Roman times. My interest by now was intense. I looked more closely at the floor. It was of stone slabs, and in one of these I discovered a ring. When I pulled it, the stone slab lifted, and again I saw a stairway of narrow stone steps leading down into the depths. These, too, I descended, and entered a low cave cut into the rock. Thick dust lay on the floor, and in the dust were scattered bones and broken pottery, like remains of a primitive culture. I discovered two human skulls, obviously very old and half disintegrated. Then I awoke. What chiefly interested Freud in this dream were the two skulls. MIDR. pp. 158,159.

Letter 178J

Dear Professor Freud,

Küsnach-Zürich, 11 February 1910

I am a lazy correspondent. But this time I have (as always) excellent excuses. Preparing the *Jahrbuch* has taken me an incredible amount of time, as I had to work mightily with the blue pencil. The bulk of the manuscripts goes off today. It will be an impressive affair.

Enclosed is the list of addresses. Please let me know if I have forgotten anyone from abroad. You will see that I am setting about it on a rather large scale - I hope with your subsequent approval. Our cause is forging ahead. Only today I heard from a doctor in Munich that the medical students there are taking a massive interest in the new psychology, some of them poking fun at the gentlemen at the Clinic because they understand nothing about it.

Meanwhile I too have received an invitation from the apothecary Knapp in Bern to join the I.F. I have asked for time to think about it and have promised to submit the invitation to the Nuremberg Congress. Knapp wanted to have me also for lectures. The prospect appalls me. I am so thoroughly convinced that I would have to read myself the longest ethical lectures that I cannot muster a grain of courage to promote ethics in public, let alone from the psychoanalytical standpoint! At present I am sitting so precariously on the fence between the Dionysian and the Apollinian that I wonder whether it might not be worthwhile to reintroduce a few of the older cultural stupidities such as the monasteries. That is. I really don't know which is the lesser evil. Do you think this Fraternity could have any practical use? Isn't it one of Forel's coalitions against stupidity and evil, and must we not love evil if we are to break away from the obsession with virtue that makes us sick and forbids us the joys of life? If a coalition is to have any ethical significance it should never be an artificial one but must be nourished by the deep instincts of the race. Somewhat like Christian Science, Islam, Buddhism. Religion can be replaced only by religion. Is there perchance a new saviour in the I.F.? What sort of new myth does it hand out for us to live by? Only the wise are ethical from sheer intellectual presumption, the rest of us need the eternal truth of myth.

You will see from this string of associations that the problem does not leave me simply apathetic and cold. The ethical problem of sexual freedom really is enormous and worth the sweat of all noble souls. But 2000 years of Christianity can only be replaced by something equivalent. An ethical fraternity, with its mythical Nothing, not infused by any archaic-infantile driving force, is a pure vacuum and can never evoke in man the slightest trace

of that age-old animal power which drives the migrating bird across the sea and without which no irresistible mass movement can come into being. I imagine a far finer and more comprehensive task for psychoanalysis than alliance with an ethical fraternity. I think we must give it time to infiltrate into people from many centers, to revivify among intellectuals a feeling for symbol and myth, ever so gently to transform Christ back into the soothsaying god of the vine, which he was, and in this way absorb those ecstatic instinctual forces of Christianity for the *one* purpose of making the cult and the sacred myth what they once were - a drunken feast of joy where man regained the ethos and holiness of an animal. That was the beauty and purpose of classical religion, which from God knows what temporary biological needs has turned into a Misery Institute. Yet what infinite rapture and wantonness lie dormant in our religion, waiting to be led back to their true destination! A genuine and proper ethical development cannot abandon Christianity but must grow up within it, must bring to fruition its hymn of love, the agony and ecstasy over the dying and resurgent god, the mystic power of the wine, the awesome anthropophagy of the Last Supper - only *this* ethical development can serve this vital forces of religion. But a syndicate of interests dies out after 10 years. Psychoanalysis makes me "proud and discontent," I don't want to attach it to Forel, that hair-shirted John of the Locusts, but would like to affiliate it with everything that was ever dynamic and alive. One can only let this kind of thing grow. To be practical: I shall submit this crucial question for psychoanalysis to the Nuremberg Congress. I have abreacted enough for today - my heart was bursting with it. Please don't mind all this storming.

With many kind regards,

Most sincerely yours, JUNG

Freud-Jung Letters, pp.293-295.

From Emma Jung

My dear Professor Freud,

Küsnach, 24 November 1911

Heartfelt thanks for your letter, Please don't worry, I am not always as despondent as I was in my last letter. I was afraid you were angry with me or had a bad opinion of me; that was what made me so downhearted. especially because my main complex was hit. Usually I am quite at one with my fate and see very well how lucky I am, but from time to time I am tormented by the conflict about how I can hold my own against Carl. I find I have no friends. all the people who associate with us really only want to see Carl. except for a few boring and to me quite uninteresting persons.

Naturally the women are all in love with him. and with the men I am instantly cordoned off as the wife of the father or friend. Yet I have a strong need for people and Carl too says I should stop concentrating on him and the children, but what on earth am I to do? What with my strong tendency to autoerotism it is very difficult. but also objectively it is difficult because I can never compete with Carl. In order to emphasize this I usually have to talk extra stupidly when in company.

I do my best to get transferences and if they don't turn out as I wished I am always very depressed. You will now understand why I felt so bad at the thought that I had lost your favour, and I was also afraid Carl might notice something. At any rate he now knows about the exchange of letters. as he was astonished to see one of your letters addressed to me; but I have revealed only a little of their content. Will you advise me, dear Herr Professor, and if necessary dress me down a bit? I am ever so grateful to you for your sympathy.

With warmest greetings to you and yours,

Emma Jung

Freud-Jung Letters. p.467.

From Emma Jung

Dear Professor Freud,

Küsnacht, 30 October (1911)

I don't really know how I am summoning the courage to write you this letter, but am certain it is not from presumption; rather I am following the voice of my unconscious, which I have so often found was right and which I hope will not lead me astray this time.

Since your last visit I have been tormented by the idea that your relation with my husband is not altogether as it should be, and since it definitely ought not to be like this I want to try to do whatever is in my power. I do not know whether I am deceiving myself when I think you are somehow not quite in agreement with "Transformations of Libido." You didn't speak of it at all and yet I think it would do you both so much good if you got down to a thorough discussion of it. Or is it something else? If so, please tell me what, dear Herr Professor; for I cannot bear to see you so resigned and I even believe that your resignation relates not only to your real children (it made a quite special impression on me when you spoke of it) but also to your spiritual sons; otherwise you would have so little need to be resigned.

Please do not take my action as officiousness and do not count me among the women who, you once told me, always spoil your friendships.

My husband naturally knows nothing of this letter and I beg you not to hold him responsible for it or to let any kind of unpleasant effects it may have on you glance off on him.

I hope nevertheless that you will not be angry with your very admiring
Emma Jung

Freud Jung Letters, pp.452,453.

From Emma Jung

My dear Professor Freud,

Küsnacht, 6 November (1911)

Your nice kind letter has relieved me of anxious doubts, for I was afraid that in the end I had done something stupid. Now I am naturally very glad and thank you with all my heart for your friendly reception of my letter, and particularly for the goodwill you show to all of us.

In explanation of my conjecture I would like to tell you, first, that it is not a question at all of things consciously perceived; you didn't even let us sympathize with your toothache, which ordinarily is a perfect justification for even the worst mood. If I talked about "Symbols" it was chiefly because I knew how eagerly Carl was waiting for your opinion; he had often said he was sure you would not approve of it, and for that reason was awaiting your verdict with some trepidation. Of course this was only a residue of the father (or mother) complex which is probably being resolved in this book, for actually Carl, if he holds something to be right, would have no need to worry about anybody else's opinion. So perhaps it is all to the good that you did not react at once so as not to reinforce this father-son relationship.

The second reason was provided by the conversation on the first morning after your arrival, when you told me about your family. You said then that your marriage had long been "amortized," now there was nothing more to do except die. And the children were growing up and then they become a real worry, and yet this is the only true joy. This made such an impression on me and seemed to me so significant that I had to think of it again and again, and I fancied it was intended just for me because it was meant symbolically at the same time and referred to my husband.

Please don't be angry if I venture to speak again about the "manifest content" of your talk. I wanted to ask then if you are sure that your children would not be helped by analysis. One certainly cannot be the child of a great man with impunity, considering the trouble one has in getting away from ordinary fathers. And when this distinguished father also has a streak of paternalism in him, as you yourself said! Didn't the fracture of your son's leg fit in with this picture? When I asked you about it you said you didn't have time to analyse your children's dreams because you had to earn money so that they could go on dreaming. Do you think this attitude is right? I would prefer to think that one *should not* dream at all, one should live. I have found with Carl also that the imperative "earn money" is only an evasion of something else to which he has resistances. Please forgive me this candor, it may strike you as brazen; but it disturbs my image of you because I somehow cannot bring it into harmony with the other side of your nature, and this

matters so much to me. The thought also occurred to me that it was perhaps on our account that you didn't send your son to study in Zürich; you did speak about it at one time and for us it would naturally have been a great pleasure to see him now and then.

Another thing I must mention is your resignation in science, if one can call it that. You may imagine how overjoyed and honored I am by the confidence you have in Carl, but it almost seems to be as though you were sometimes giving too much—do you not see in him the follower and fulfiller more than you need? Doesn't one often give much because one wants to keep much?

Why are you thinking of giving up already instead of enjoying your well-earned fame and success? Perhaps for fear of letting the right moment for it pass you by? Surely this will never happen to you. After all, you are not so old that you could speak now of the "way of regression," what with all these splendid and fruitful ideas you have in your head! Besides, the man who has discovered the living fountain of p.s.a. (or don't you believe it is one?) will not grow old so quickly.

No, you should rejoice and drink to the full the happiness of victory after having struggled for so long. And do not think of Carl with a father's feeling: "He will grow, but I must dwindle," but rather as one human being thinks of another, who like you has his own law to fulfill.

Don't be angry with me.

With warm love and veneration, Emma Jung

Freud-Jung Letters, pp. 455-457.

From Emma Jung

Dear Professor Freud,

Küsnacht, 14 November (1911)

You were really annoyed by my letter, weren't you? I was too, and now I am cured of my megalomania and am wondering why the devil the unconscious had to make you, of all people, the victim of this madness. And here I must confess, very reluctantly, that you are right: my last letter, specially the tone of it, was really directed to the father-*imago*, which should of course be faced without fear. This thought never entered my head; I thought that, knowing the transference side of my father-attitude towards you, it would all be quite clear and do me no harm. After I had thought so long before writing to you and had, so I believed, fully understood my own motives, the unconscious has now played another trick on me, with particular finesse: for you can imagine how delighted I am to have made a fool of myself in front of you. I can only pray and hope that your judgment will not prove too severe.

There is one thing, however, I must vigorously defend myself against, and that is the way you take my "amiable carpings," as you call them. Firstly I do not mean at all that Carl should set no store by your opinion; it goes without saying that one recognizes an authority, and if one cannot it is only a sign of over-compensated insecurity. So that is not what I mean, it was only the rest of it that made him anxious and uncertain which seemed superfluous to me. Truth to tell, I must confess that I have missed the mark here too, without suspecting it. Lately Carl has been analyzing his attitude to his work and has discovered some resistances to it. I had connected these misgivings about Part II with his constant worry over what you would say about it, etc. It seemed out of the question that he could have resistances to his own work; but now it appears that this fear of your opinion was only a pretext for not going on with the self-analysis which this work in fact means. I realize that I have thus projected something from my immediate neighbourhood into distant Vienna and am vexed that it is always the nearest thing that one sees worst.

You have also completely misunderstood my admittedly uncalled-for meddling in your family affairs. Truthfully I didn't mean to cast a shadow on your children. I know they have turned out well and have never doubted it in the least. I hope you don't seriously believe that I wanted to say they were "doomed to be degenerate." I have written nothing that could even remotely mean anything of the sort. I know that with your children it is a matter of physical illnesses, but just wanted to raise the question whether these physical symptoms might not be somehow psychically conditioned, so that there might for instance be a reduced power of resistance. Since I have made some very astonishing discoveries in myself in this respect and do not consider

myself excessively degenerate or markedly hysterical, I thought similar phenomena possible with other people too. I shall be grateful for enlightenment.

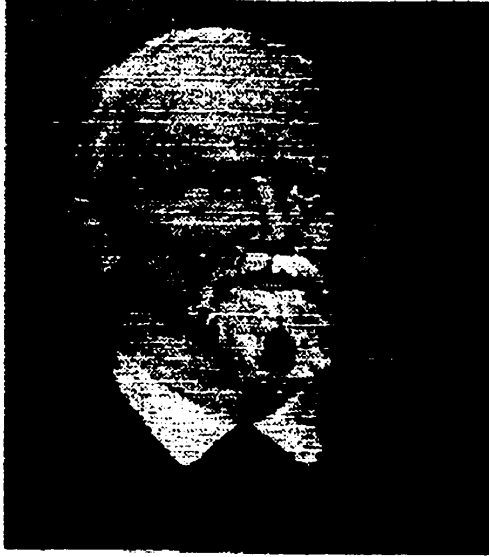
That you should think it worthwhile to discuss your most personal affairs with me is something for which I thank you with all my heart. What you tell me sounds so convincing that I simply have to believe it, although much in me struggles against it. But I must admit that you have the experience and I do not, consequently I am unable to make any convincing rejoinders. You are quite right about one thing, though: despite everything and everybody, the whole affair is only a blessing in clumsy disguise which I beg you to forgive.

Please write nothing of this to Carl; things are going badly enough with me as it is.

Emma Jung

Freud-Jung Letters, pp.462,463.

Pastor Johann Elias Bacheler Jung
1799 and 1800



JUNG'S PAINTING OF PHILEMON - (from the Red book)

Of Fish and Spirits and empty rooms - Dream # 3

As with all problems that concerned me personally or scientifically, that of the *conjunctio* was accompanied or heralded by dreams. In one of these dreams both this and the Christ problem were condensed in a remarkable image.

I dreamed once more that my house had a large wing which I had never visited. I resolved to look at it, and finally entered. I came to a big double door. When I opened it, I found myself in a room set up as a laboratory. In front of the window stood a table covered with many glass vessels and all the paraphernalia of a zoological laboratory. This was my father's workroom. However, he was not there. On shelves along the walls stood hundreds of bottles containing every imaginable sort of fish. I was astonished: so now my father was going in for ichthyology!

As I stood there and looked around I noticed a curtain which bellied out from time to time, as though a strong wind were blowing. Suddenly Hans, a young man from the country, appeared. I told him to look and see whether a window were open in the room behind the curtain. He went, and was gone for some time. When he returned, I saw an expression of terror on his face. He said only, "Yes, there is something. It's haunted in there!"

Then I myself went, and found a door which led to my mother's room. There was no one in it. The atmosphere was uncanny. The room was very large, and suspended from the ceiling were two rows of five chests each, hanging about two feet above the floor. They looked like small garden pavilions, each about six feet in area, and each containing two beds. I knew that this was the room where my mother, who in reality had long been dead, was visited, and that she had set up these beds for visiting spirits to sleep. They were spirits who came in pairs, ghostly married couples, so to speak, who spent the night or even the day there.

Opposite my mother's room was a door. I opened it and entered a vast hall; it reminded me of the lobby of a large hotel. It was fitted out with easy chairs, small tables, pillars, sumptuous hangings, etc. A brass band was

playing loudly; I had heard music all along in the background, but without knowing where it came from. There was no one in the hall except the brass band blaring forth dance tunes and marches.

The brass band in the hotel lobby suggested ostentatious jollity and worldliness. No one would have guessed that behind this loud façade was the other world, also located in the same building. The dream-image of the lobby was, as it were, a caricature of my bonhomie or worldly joviality. But this was only the outside aspect; behind it lay something quite different, which could not be investigated in the blare of the band music: the fish laboratory and the hanging pavilions for spirits. Both were awesome places in which a mysterious silence prevailed. In them I had the feeling: Here is the dwelling of night; whereas the lobby stood for the daylight world and its superficiality.

The most important images in the dream were the “reception room for spirits” and the fish laboratory. The former expresses in somewhat farcical fashion the *conjunctio*; the latter indicates my preoccupation with Christ, who himself is the fish (*ichthys*). Both were subjects that were to keep me on the go for more than a decade.

It is remarkable that the study of fish was attributed to my father. In the dream he was a caretaker of Christian souls, for, according to the ancient view, these are fish caught in Peter’s net. It is equally remarkable that in the same dream my mother was guardian of departed spirits. Thus both my parents appeared burdened with the problem of the “cure of souls,” which in fact was really my task. Something had remained unfinished and was still with my parents; that is to say, it was still latent in the unconscious and hence reserved for the future. I was being reminded that I had not yet dealt with the major concern of “philosophical” alchemy, the *conjunctio*, and thus had not answered the question which the Christian soul put to me. Also the major work on the Grail legend, which my wife had made her life’s task, was not completed. I recall how often the quest for the Grail and the fisher king came to my mind while I was working on the *ichthys* symbol in *Aion*. Had it not been for my unwillingness to intrude upon my wife’s field, I would unquestionably have had to include the Grail legend in my studies of

alchemy.

My memory of my father is of a sufferer stricken with an Amfortas wound, a "fisher king" whose wound would not heal—that Christian suffering for which the alchemists sought the panacea. I as a "dumb" Parsifal was the witness of this sickness during the years of my boyhood and, like Parsifal, speech failed me. I had only inklings. In actuality my father had never interested himself in theriomorphic Christ-symbolism. On the other hand he had literally lived right up to his death the suffering prefigured and promised by Christ, without ever becoming aware that this was a consequence of the *imitatio Christi*. He regarded his suffering as a personal affliction for which you might ask a doctor's advice; he did not see it as the suffering of the Christian in general. The words of Galatians 2:20: "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," never penetrated his mind in their full significance, for any thinking about religious matters sent shudders of horror through him. He wanted to rest content with faith, but faith broke faith with him. Such is frequently the reward of the *sacrificium intellectus*. "Not all men can receive this precept, but only those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who is able to receive this, let him receive it." (Matthew 19:11 f.) Blind acceptance never leads to a solution; at best it leads only to a standstill and is paid for heavily in the next generation.

The theriomorphic attributes of the gods show that the gods extend not only into superhuman regions but also into the sub-human realm. The animals are their shadows, as it were, which nature herself associates with the divine image. The "*pisciculi Christianorum*" show that those who imitate Christ are themselves fish—that is, unconscious souls who require the *cura animarum*. The fish laboratory is a synonym for the ecclesiastical "cure of souls." And just as the wounder wounds himself, so the healer heals himself. Significantly, in the dream the decisive activity is carried out by the dead upon the dead, in the world beyond consciousness, that is, in the unconscious.

At the stage of my life, therefore, I was still not conscious of an essential aspect of my task, nor would I have been able to give a satisfactory

interpretation of the dream. I could only sense its meaning. I still had to overcome the greatest inner resistances before I could write *Answer to Job*.

The inner root of this book is to be found in *Aion*. There I had dealt with the psychology of Christianity, and Job is a kind of prefiguration of Christ. The link between them is the idea of suffering. Christ is the suffering servant of God, and so was Job. In the case of Christ the sins of the world are the cause of suffering, and the suffering of the Christian is the general answer. This leads inescapably to the question: Who is responsible for these sins? In the final analysis it is God who created the world and its sins, and who therefore became Christ in order to suffer the fate of humanity.

In *Aion* there are references to the bright and dark side of the divine image. I cited the "wrath of God," the commandment to fear God, and the petition "Lead us not into temptation." The ambivalent God-image plays a crucial part in the Book of Job. Job expects that God will, in a sense, stand by him against God; in this we have a picture of God's tragic contradictoriness. This was the main theme of *Answer to Job*.

There were outside forces, too, which impelled me to write this book. The many questions from the public and from patients had made me feel that I must express myself more clearly about the religious problems of modern man. For years I had hesitated to do so, because I was fully aware of the storm I would be unleashing. But at last I could not help being gripped by the problem, in all its urgency and difficulty, and I found myself compelled to give an answer. I did so in the form in which the problem had presented itself to me, that is, as an experience charged with emotion. I chose this form deliberately, in order to avoid giving the impression that I was bent on proclaiming some eternal truth. My *Answer to Job* was meant to be no more than the utterance of a single individual, who hopes and expects to arouse some thoughtfulness in his public. I was far from wanting to enunciate a metaphysical truth. Yet the theologians tax me with that very thing, because theological thinkers are so used to dealing with eternal truths that they know no other kinds. When the physicist says that the atom is of such and such a composition, and when he sketches a model of it, he too does not intend to

express anything like an eternal truth. But theologians do not understand the natural sciences and, particularly, psychological thinking. The material of analytical psychology, its principal facts, consist of *statements* -of statements that occur frequently in consistent form at various places and at various times.

MDR. pp.213-217.

In my father's house: Dream #4

The problem of Job in all its ramifications had likewise been foreshadowed in a dream. It started with my paying a visit to my long-deceased father. He was living in the country-I did not know where. I saw a house in the style of the eighteenth century, very roomy, with several rather large outbuildings. I had originally been, I learned, an inn at a spa, and it seemed that many great personages, famous people and princes, had stopped there. Furthermore, several had died and their sarcophagi were in a crypt belonging to the house. My father guarded these as custodian.

He was, as I soon discovered, not only the custodian but also a distinguished scholar in his own right which he had never been in his lifetime. I met him in his study, and, oddly enough, Dr. Y.-who was about my age-and his son, both psychiatrists, were also present. I do not know whether I had asked a question whether my father wanted to explain something of his own accord, but in any case he fetched a big Bible down from a shelf, a heavy folio volume like the Merian Bible in my library. The Bible my father held was bound in shiny fishskin. He opened it at the Old Testament - I guessed that he turned to the Pentateuch-and began interpreting a certain passage. He did this so swiftly and so learnedly that I could not follow him. I noted only that what he said betrayed a vast amount of variegated knowledge, the significance of which I dimly apprehended but could not properly judge or grasp. I saw that Dr. Y. understood nothing at all, and his son began to laugh. They thought that my father was going off the deep end and what he said was simply senile prattle. But it was quite clear to me that it was not due to morbid excitement, and that there was nothing silly about what he was saying. On the contrary, his argument was so intelligent and so learned that we in our stupidity simply could not follow it. It dealt with something extremely important which fascinated him. That was why he was speaking with such intensity; his mind was flooded with profound ideas. I was annoyed and thought it was a pity that he had to talk in the presence of three such idiots as we.

The two psychiatrists represented a limited medical point of view which, of course, also infects me as a physician. They represent my shadow -

first and second editions of the shadow, father and son.

Then the scene changed. My father and I were in front of the house, facing a kind of shed where, apparently, wood was stacked. We heard loud thumps, as if large chunks of wood were being thrown down or tossed about. I had the impression that at least two workmen must be busy there, but my father indicated to me that the place was haunted. Some sort of poltergeists were making the racket, evidently.

We then entered the house, and I saw that it had very thick walls. We climbed a narrow staircase to the second floor. There a strange sight presented itself: a large hall which was the exact replica of the *divan-i-kaas* (council hall) of Sultan Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri. It was a high, circular room with a gallery running along the wall, from which four bridges led to a basin-shaped center. The basin rested upon a huge column and formed the sultan's round seat. From this elevated place he spoke to his councilors and philosophers, who sat along the walls in the gallery. The whole was a gigantic mandala. It corresponded precisely to the real *divan-i-kaas*.

In the dream I suddenly saw that from the center a steep flight of stairs ascended to a spot high up on the wall which no longer corresponded to reality. At the top of the stairs was a small door, and my father said, "Now I will lead you into highest presence." Then he knelt down and touched his forehead to the floor. I imitated him, likewise kneeling with great emotion. For some reason I could not bring my forehead quite down to the floor-there was perhaps a millimeter to spare. But at least I had made the gesture with him. Suddenly I knew-perhaps my father had told me- that that upper door led to a solitary chamber where lived Uriah, King David's general, whom David had shamefully betrayed for the sake of his wife Bathsheba, by commanding his soldiers to abandon Uriah in the face of the enemy.

I must make a few explanatory remarks concerning this dream. The initial scene describes how the unconscious task which I had left to my "father," that is, to the unconscious, was working out. He was obviously engrossed in the Bible-Genesis?-and eager to communicate his insights. The fishskin marks the Bible as an unconscious content, for fishes are mute and

unconscious. My poor father does not succeed in communicating either, for the audience is in part incapable of understanding, in part maliciously stupid.

After this defeat we cross the street to the “outer side,” where poltergeists are at work. Poltergeist phenomena usually take place in the vicinity of young people before puberty; that is to say, I am still immature and to unconscious. The Indian ambience illustrates the “other side.” When I was in India, the mandala structure of the *divan-i-kaas* had in actual fact powerfully impressed me as the representation of a content related to a center. The center is the seat of Akbar the Great, who rules over a subcontinent who is a “lord of this world,” like David. But even higher than David stands his guiltless victim, his loyal general Uriah, whom he abandoned to the enemy. Uriah is a prefiguration of Christ, the god-man who was abandoned by God. “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” On top of that, David had “taken unto himself” Uriah’s wife. Only later did I understand what this allusion to Uriah signified: not only was I forced to speak publicly, and very much to my detriment, about the ambivalence of the God-image in the Old Testament; but also, my wife would be taken from me by death.

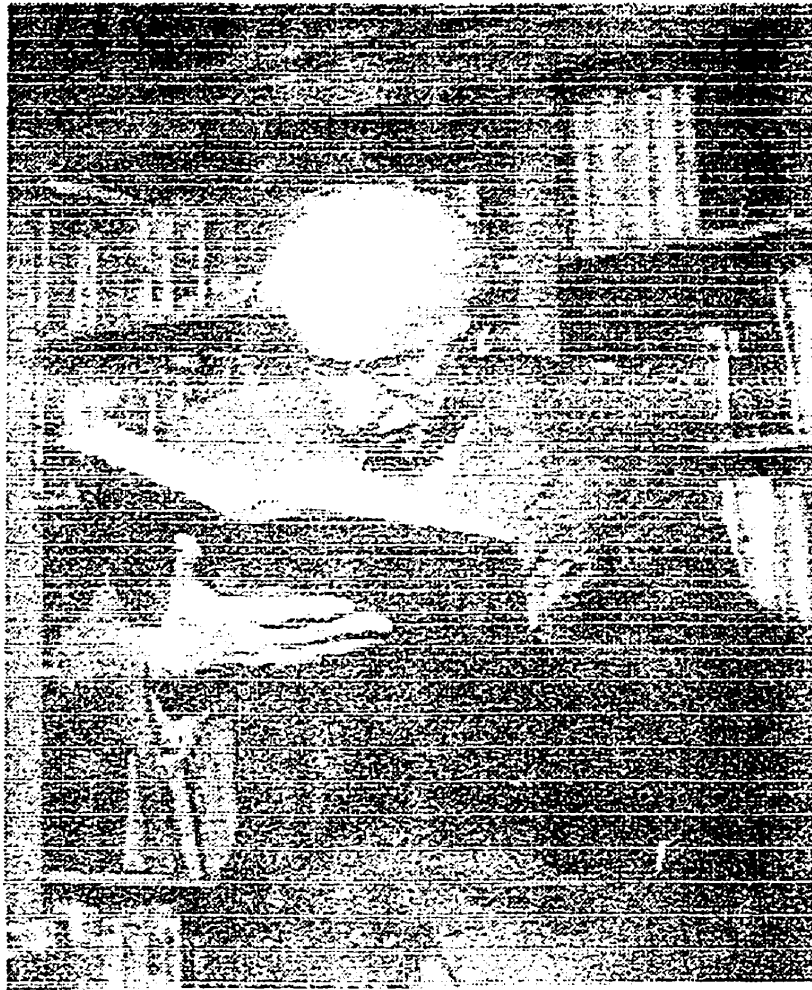
These were the things that awaited me, hidden in the unconscious. I had to submit to this fate, and ought really to have touched my forehead to the floor, so that my submission would be complete. But something prevented me from doing so entirely, and kept me just a millimeter away. Something in me was saying, “All very well, but not entirely.” Something in me was defiant and determined not to be a dumb fish: and if there were not something of the sort in free men, no Book of Job would be have been written several hundred years before the birth of Christ. Man always has some mental reservation, even in the face of divine decrees. Otherwise, where would be his freedom? And what would be the use of that freedom if it could not threaten Him who threatens it?

Uriah, then, lives in a higher place than Akbar. He is even, as the dream said, the “highest presence,” an expression which properly is used only of God, unless we are dealing in Byzantinisms. I cannot help thinking here of the

Buddha and his relationship to the gods. For the devout Asiatic, the Tathagata is the All Highest, the Absolute. For that reason Hinayana Buddhism has been suspected of atheism-very wrongly so. By virtue of the power of the gods man is enabled to gain an insight into his Creator. He has even been given the power to annihilate Creation in its essential aspect, that is, man's consciousness of the world. Today he can extinguish all higher life on earth by radioactivity. The idea of world annihilation is already suggested by the Buddha: by means of enlightenment the Nidana-the chain of causality which leads inevitably to old age, sickness, and death-can be broken, so that the illusion of Being comes to an end. Schopenhauer's negation of the Will points prophetically to the problem of the future that has already come threateningly close. The dream discloses a thought and a premonition that have long been present in humanity: the idea of the creature that surpasses its creator by a small but decisive factor.

MDR. pp. 217-220.

JUNG IN THE LIBRARY AT KÜSNACHT



To Father Victor White

Dear Victor,

Bollingen, 19 December 1947

Our letters seem to feel that they have to cover a great distance! I have expected your letter with considerable curiosity and it confirms what I thought would be your immediate reaction. It's all very bewildering. Wylie's book, I find, is a most remarkable picture of the things a European has great difficulty to understand. Certainly such a book would be utterly impossible in Europe because it kills itself. Yet to my mind nobody can foretell the effect it may have upon the average American. Don't forget that "Mom" has not turned into a mother from a lovely girl on account of nothing but maturation. The animus of women is an answer to the spirit which rules the man. It has its origin in father's mind and shows what the girl has received from the lovely, kind, and incompetent father. His family weakness on the other hand he owes to the animus of his mother and thus the evil is handed on from generation to generation. I don't think that Wylie's book defeats its own ends in America. The general hide is enormously thick. W. is ethical, but he does not - not yet - understand religion. That is the reason why his outlook on a further moral development is so peculiarly hazy and so incredibly shallow. But that is decidedly no reason why it should not appeal to the American appetite, which ever so often prefers sawdust instead of real food.

You remember my unsympathetic dream figure of the dry Jesuit logician? Not very long after I wrote to you, I simply had to write a new essay I did not know about what. It occurred to me I should discuss some of the finer points about anima, animus, shadow, and last but not least the self. I was against it, because I wanted to rest my head. Lately I had suffered from severe sleeplessness and I wanted to keep away from all mental exertions. In spite of everything, I felt forced to write on blindly, not seeing at all what I was driving at. Only after I had written about 25 pages in folio, it began to dawn on me that Christ-not the man but the divine being-was my secret goal. It came to me as a shock, as I felt utterly unequal to such a task. A dream told me that my small fishing boat had been sunk and that a giant (whom I knew from a dream about 30 years ago) had provided me with a new, beautiful seagoing craft about twice the size of my former boat. Then I knew-nothing doing! I had to go on. My further writing led me to the archetype of the God-man and to the phenomenon of synchronicity which adheres to the archetype. Thus I came to discuss the fish symbol and new Christian aeon, the prophecy of the AntiChrist and the development of the latter from 1000 A.D. in mysticism and alchemy until the recent developments, which threaten to overthrow the Christian aeon altogether. I have found some beautiful material.

Last night I dreamt of at least 3 Catholic priests who were quite friendly and one of them had a remarkable library. I was the whole time under a sort of military order and I had to sleep in the barracks. There was a scarcity of beds, so that two men had to share one bed. My partner had already gone to bed. The bed was very clean, white, and fresh and he was a most venerable looking, very old man with white locks and a long flowing white beard. He offered me graciously one half of the bed and I woke up when I was just slipping into it. I must say that up to now I have handled the problem of Christ strictly on the level with the dogma, which is the leading thread through the maze of "my" unthought thoughts.

Ad "neurosis": I mean, of course, that it is as a rule better to leave neurotics to themselves as long as they do not suffer and seek health. There is enough of a task for the psychotherapist.

I am glad to hear that "they" gave you a hearty welcome in New York. Please give them my best regards.

The conditions in England are indeed lamentable. Perhaps it is just as well that you have more dreams to deal with than to write. The latter can wait, but what you are meant to be cannot wait. My best wishes for Xmas and New Year,

Yours cordially, C.G.

Letters: vol. 1, pp. 479 -481.

To Father Victor White

Dear Victor,

30 January 1948

Many thanks for your personal willingness to contribute to our endeavors! I have not yet heard from Rome.

Many thanks also for the other contents of your letters! It took me a while to digest everything properly. I am particularly glad that you have sent me your dream you had at a time (1945) when you did not yet know me personally. It is very helpful to me. Your interpretation is quite correct as far as it goes. Of course the dream leads up to our personal discussion; it paves the way to it. Thus I am still left somewhat as the representative of the argument pro S. Spiritu. But the argument started in yourself. It is quite clear that the unconscious insists rather vehemently upon the problem of the S. Spir., which I can confirm from many of my own dreams, including the one I have sent to you, i.e., the one about the *senex venerabilis*. In your dream you are separated from me and connected with me by an anima-figure, as by the *platform*, by which you are either separated from the sea or enabled to reach it. Further on in Zurich you must celebrate Mass *among the women*. The female factor, i.e., the anima, is the bridge and the *conditio sine qua non*. The unknowable *Veritas Prima* solved the problem for the time being.

The emphasis on the anima means of course the totality of man: male plus female = conscious plus unconscious. Whatever the unconscious and whatever the S. Spir. is, the unconscious realm of the psyche is the place where the living Spirit that is more than man manifests itself. I should not hesitate to call your dream a manifestation of the S. Spir. that leads you on to deeper understanding, away from the narrowness of formulas and concepts to the living truth.

Something similar happened in my dream, of which, unfortunately, I have given you the mere outlines. While I stood before the bed of the Old Man, I thought and felt: *Indignus sum Domine*. I know Him very well: He was my "guru" more than 30 years ago, a real ghostly guru - but that is a long and - I am afraid - exceedingly strange story. It has been since confirmed by an old Hindu. You see, something has taken me out of Europe and the Occident and has opened for me the gates of the East as well, so that I should understand something of the *human* mind.

Soon after this particular dream, I had another one continuing a subject alluded to in the former dream, viz. the figure of the priest, the head of the library. His carriage and the fact that he unexpectedly had a short grey beard reminded me strongly of my own father. The second dream is very long and has many scenes, of which I can only relate the last one. In all parts of the dream I was concerned with my father. In the last scene I was in *his house* on the ground floor, very much preoccupied by a peculiar question which had

been raised at the beginning of the dream: "How is it possible that my mother celebrates her 70th birthday in this year 1948 while I am reaching my 74th year?" My father is going to answer it and he takes me up with him to the first floor by way of a narrow winding staircase in the wall. Coming out on the 1st floor, we find ourselves in a (circular) gallery, from which a small bridge leads to an isolated cup like platform in the centre of the room. (The room has otherwise no floor, it is open down to the ground floor.) From the platform a narrow staircase, almost a ladder, leads up to a small door high up in the wall. I know this is *his* room. The moment we enter the bridge, I fall on my knees, completely overcome by the sudden understanding that my father is going to lead me into the "supreme presence." By sympathy he kneels at my side and I try to touch the ground with my forehead. I almost reach it and then I woke up.

The peculiar 1st floor is exactly like the famous *diwan-i-khas* (hall of audience) of Akbar the Great in Fatehpur-Sikri, where he used to discuss philosophy and religion with the representatives of all philosophies and all creeds.

Oh yes, it is my way all right. I don't despise the fish. I am glad you share it with me. I can eat fish on Fridays. I have brethren and sisters in the spirit and where once I felt godforsaken and really lonely, there was my guru. Surely there is something the matter with the solitary man, if he is not a beast, he is conscious of St. Paul's words: "For we also are his offspring." The Divine Presence is more than anything else. There is more than one way to the rediscovery of the *genus divinum* in us. This is the only thing that really matters. Was there ever a more solitary man than St. Paul? Even his "evangelium" came to him immediately and he was up against the men in Jerusalem as well as the whole Roman Empire. I wanted the proof of a living Spirit and I got it. Don't ask me at what a price.

When I said that the Protestant has to digest his sins alone, I really meant: he must carry them, because how can God take him with his sins if he does not carry them? if he has been relieved from the weight of his burden?

Concerning "barracks" you are quite right; they mean submission and discipline, of which I could tell you a very long story indeed. Whoever has clearly understood what it means: *Qui fidelis est in minimo*, is overwhelmed with the dire necessity of submission and discipline of a subtler kind than the *regula S. Benedicti*. I don't want to prescribe a way to other people, because I know that my way has been prescribed to me by a hand far above my reach.

I know it all sounds so damned grand. I am sorry that it does, but I don't mean it. *It* is grand, and I am only trying to be a decent tool and don't feel grand at all.

Happily the cloud of sleeplessness has lifted recently. My brain had been too active. My paper about the fish symbol has disturbed the tranquility of

my mind in its deepest layers, as you can imagine.

In a Catholic Journal (published by Routledge and Sons) a somebody “condemns” my Essays on Cont. Hist. because my attitude to religion and to rational philosophy is, as he says, “ambiguous”. *O sancta simplicitas!*

I hope that your writing is progressing and that you enjoy your interest holiday in U.S. I have read Kravchenko’s book on Russia. Worth reading! You get an idea of the *princeps hujus mundi* and his remarkable works.

Cordially yours, C. G.

P.S. My mother=anima is younger than myself. When I was 3 years old I had my first anima-experience, the woman that was *not* my mother. It means a lot that escapes me for the time being.

Letters :vol. 1, pp. 491-493.

JUNG; THE VICAR OF KÜSNACHT



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