THE RED BOOK

LIBER NOVUS

A Reader's Edition

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A Reader's Edition

C·G· JUNG

Edited and with an Introduction by
SONU SHAMDASANI

PREFACE BY ULRICH HOERNI

TRANSLATED BY MARK KYBURZ,
JOHN PECK, AND SONU SHAMDASANI

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THE RED BOOK: A READER'S EDITION

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THE YEARS, OF WHICH I HAVE SPOKEN TO YOU, when I pursued the inner images, were the most important time of my life. Everything else is to be derived from this. It began at that time, and the later details hardly matter anymore. My entire life consisted in elaborating what had burst forth from the unconscious and flooded me like an enigmatic stream and threatened to break me. That was the stuff and material for more than only one life. Everything later was merely the outer classification, the scientific elaboration, and the integration into life. But the numinous beginning, which contained everything, was then.

C. G. JUNG, 1957

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Preface to the Reader's Edition

More than a decade has passed since the memorable decision of the former society of heirs of C. G. Jung to release *The Red Book* for publication. Much consideration was given to what kind of audience this multilayered work should be directed: Professional readers of works on the history of psychology? The general reader? Visually receptive people, orientated toward images? Lovers of calligraphy? Collectors of beautiful books? Which aspects should the format and design of the publication foreground? These questions weren't easy to answer, since even the physical appearance of the precious original seemed to contain a message. Many proposals were discussed and discarded. It was W. W. Norton that finally found the appropriate solution: a complete facsimile edition, which was presented in its original format in 2009. Overwhelming success proved that the publisher was right. The work rapidly spread worldwide and is already available in nine languages. Evidently, it was possible to design an edition that did justice not only to the many facets of the work but also to the different types of audience. The list of people to whom the credit for this success is due is now of considerable length. However, two names especially deserve to be mentioned, Jim Mairs (W. W. Norton) and Sonu Shamdasani (Philemon Foundation).

The present Reader's Edition contains the complete text of the original. It is specifically aimed toward those who would like to engage deeply with the literary documentation of Jung's inner development. It would undoubtedly accord with Jung's intention if this edition helps readers to make their reading more fruitful for their own development.

Ulrich Hoerni
Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung
July 2012

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Preface

Since 1962, the existence of C. G. Jung's *Red Book* has been widely known. Yet only with the present publication is it finally accessible to a broad public. Its genesis is described in Jung's *Memories, Dreams, Reflections,* and has been the subject of numerous discussions in the secondary literature. Hence I will only briefly outline it here.

The year 1913 was pivotal in Jung's life. He began a self-experiment that became known as his "confrontation with the unconscious" and lasted until 1930. During this experiment, he developed a technique to "get to the bottom of [his] inner processes," "to translate the emotions into images," and "to grasp the fantasies which were stirring . . . 'underground.' " He later called this method "active imagination." He first recorded these fantasies in his *Black Books*. He then revised these texts, added reflections on them, and copied them in a calligraphic script into a book entitled *Liber Novus* bound in red leather, accompanied by his own paintings. It has always been known as the *Red Book*.

Jung shared his inner experiences with his wife and close associates. In 1925 he gave a report of his professional and personal development in a series of seminars at the Psychological Club in Zürich in which he also mentioned his method of active imagination. Beyond this, Jung was guarded. His children, for example, were not informed about his self-experiment and they did not notice anything unusual. Clearly, it would have been difficult for him to explain what was taking place. It was already a mark of favor if he allowed one of his children to watch him write or paint. Thus for Jung's descendants, the *Red Book* had always been surrounded by an aura of mystery. In 1930 Jung ended his experiment and put the *Red Book* aside—unfinished. Although it had its honored place in his study, he let it rest for decades. Meanwhile the insights he had gained through it directly informed his subsequent writings. In 1959, with the help of the old draft, he tried to complete the transcription of the text into the *Red Book* and to finish an incomplete

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painting. He also started on an epilogue, but for unknown reasons both the calligraphic text and epilogue break off in midsentence.

Although Jung actively considered publishing the *Red Book*, he never took the necessary steps. In 1916 he privately published the *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos* (Seven Sermons to the Dead), a short work that arose out of his confrontation with the unconscious. Even his 1916 essay, "The Transcendent Function," in which he described the technique of active imagination, was not published until 1958. There are a number of reasons why he did not publish the *Red Book*. As he himself stated, it was unfinished. His growing interest in alchemy as a research topic distracted him. In hindsight, he described the detailed working out of his fantasies in the *Red Book* as a necessary but annoying "aestheticizing elaboration." As late as 1957 he declared that the *Black Books* and the *Red Book* were autobiographical records that he did not want published in his *Collected Works* because they were not of a scholarly character. As a concession, he allowed Aniela Jaffé to quote excerpts from the *Red Book* and the *Black Books* in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*—a possibility which she made little use of.

In 1961, Jung died. His literary estate became the property of his descendants, who formed the Society of Heirs of C. G. Jung. The inheritance of Jung's literary rights brought an obligation and challenge to his heirs: to see through the publication of the German edition of his *Collected Works*. In his will, Jung had expressed the wish that the *Red Book* and the *Black Books* should remain with his family, without, however, giving more detailed instructions. Since the *Red Book* was not meant to be published in the *Collected Works*, the Society of Heirs concluded that this was Jung's final wish concerning the work, and that it was an entirely private matter. The Society of Heirs guarded Jung's unpublished writings like a treasure; no further publications were considered. The *Red Book* remained in Jung's study for more than twenty years, entrusted to the care of Franz Jung, who had taken over his father's house.

In 1983 the Society of Heirs placed the *Red Book* in a safe-deposit box, knowing that it was an irreplaceable document. In 1984 the

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newly appointed executive committee had five photographic duplicates made for family use. For the first time, Jung's descendants now had the opportunity to take a close look at it. This careful handling had its benefits. The *Red Book*'s well-preserved state is due, among other things, to the fact that it has only rarely been opened in decades.

When, after 1990, the editing of the German *Collected Works*—a *selection* of works—was drawing to a conclusion, the executive committee decided to start looking through all the accessible unpublished material with an eye to further publications. I took up this task, because in 1994, the Society of Heirs had placed the responsibility for archival and editorial questions on me. It turned out that there was an entire corpus of drafts and variants pertaining to the *Red Book*. From this it emerged that the missing part of the calligraphic text existed as a draft and that there was a manuscript entitled "Scrutinies," which continued where the draft ended, containing the *Seven Sermons*. Yet whether and how this substantial material could be published remained an open question. At first glance, the style and content appeared to have little in common with Jung's other works. Much was unclear and by the mid-1990s there was no one left who could have provided firsthand information on these points.

However, since Jung's time, the history of psychology had been gaining in importance and could now offer a new approach. While working on other projects I had come in contact with Sonu Shamdasani. In extensive talks we discussed the possibility of further Jung publications, both in general terms as well as with regard to the *Red Book*. The book had emerged within a specific context with which a reader at the turn of the twenty-first century is no longer familiar. But a historian of psychology would be able to present it to the modern reader as a historical document. With the help of primary sources he could embed it in the cultural context of its genesis, situate it within the history of science, and relate it to Jung's life and works. In 1999 Sonu Shamdasani developed a publication proposal following these guiding principles. On the basis of this proposal the Society of Heirs decided in spring 2000—not without discussion—

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to release the *Red Book* for publication and to hand over the task of editing it to Sonu Shamdasani.

I have been asked repeatedly why, after so many years, the *Red Book* is now being published. Some new understandings on our part played a major role: Jung himself did not—as it had seemed—consider the *Red Book* a secret. On several occasions the text contains the address "dear friends"; it is, in other words, directed at an audience. Indeed, Jung let close friends have copies of transcriptions and discussed these with them. He did not categorically rule out publication; he simply left the issue unresolved. Moreover, Jung himself stated that he had gained the material for all his later works from his confrontation with the unconscious. As a record of this confrontation the *Red Book* is thus, beyond the private sphere, central to Jung's works. This understanding allowed the generation of Jung's grandchildren to look at the situation in a new light. The decision-making process took time. Exemplary excerpts, concepts, and information helped them to deal more rationally with an emotionally charged matter. Finally, the Society of Heirs decided democratically that the *Red Book* could be published. It was a long journey from that decision to the present publication. The result is impressive. This edition would not have been possible without the cooperation of many people who devoted their skill and energy to a common goal.

On behalf of the descendants of C. G. Jung, I would like to express my sincere thanks to all the contributors.

April 2009
Ulrich Hoerni
Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung

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Acknowledgments

Given the unpublished copies in circulation, the *Red Book* would in all likelihood have eventually entered the public domain at some stage, in some form. In what follows, I would like to thank those who have enabled the present historical edition to come about. A number of people collaborated and they have each in their own way contributed to its realization.

The former Society of Heirs of C. G. Jung (dissolved in 2008) decided in spring 2000 after intensive discussion to release the work for publication. On the behalf of the Society of Heirs, Ulrich Hoerni, formerly its manager and president and presently the vice president of its successor, the Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung, planned the project with the support of the executive committee. Wolfgang Baumann, president from 2000 to 2004, signed the agreement in autumn 2000 that made possible the commencement of the work and committed the Society of Heirs to underwrite a major part of the costs. The Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung would like to thank: Heinrich Zweifel, publisher, Zürich, for advice in the planning phase on technical issues; The Donald Cooper Fund of the Swiss Federal Institute for Technology for a significant donation; Rolf Auf der Maur for legal advice and contractual assistance; Leo La Rosa and Peter Fritz for contractual negotiations.

At a critical moment in 2003, the editorial work was supported by the Bogette Foundation and an anonymous donor. From 2004, the editorial work was supported by the Philemon Foundation, an organization established with the sole purpose of raising funds to enable Jung's unpublished works to see the light of day. In this regard, I am indebted to Stephen Martin. Whatever the shortcomings of this edition, the editorial apparatus and the translation could not have attained anything like the current level without the support of the Board of the Philemon Foundation: Tom Charlesworth, Gilda Frantz, Nancy Furlotti, Judith Harris, James Hollis, Stephen Martin, and Eugene Taylor. The Philemon Foundation

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My work on this project would not have been possible without the support of Maggie Baron and Ximena Roelli de Angulo through numerous tribulations. It commenced and was made possible by research on the intellectual history of Jung's work sponsored by the Wellcome Trust between 1993 and 1998, by the Institut für Grenzgebiete der Psychologie in 1999, and the Solon Foundation between 1998 and 2001. Throughout the project, the Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine at University College London (formerly the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine) has been an ideal environment for my research. Confidentiality agreements precluded discussing my work on this project with my friends and colleagues: I thank them for their forbearance over the last thirteen years.

Between late 2000 and early 2003 the Society of Heirs of C. G. Jung supported the editorial work, which initiated the project. Ulrich Hoerni collaborted with aspects of the research and made a corrected transcription of the calligraphic volume. Susanne Hoerni transcribed Jung's *Black Books*. Presentations were made to members of the Jung family in 1999, 2001, and 2003, which were hosted by Helene Hoerni Jung (1999, 2001) and Andreas and Vreni Jung (2003). Peter Jung provided counsel through the publication deliberations and early stages of the editorial work. Andreas and Vreni Jung assisted during countless visits to consult books and manuscripts in Jung's library, and Andreas Jung provided invaluable information from the Jung family archives.

This edition came about through Nancy Furlotti, and Larry and Sandra Vigon, who led me to Jim Mairs at Norton, who had been responsible for the facsimile edition of Larry Vigon's modern-day *Liber Novus, Dream*. In Jim Mairs, the work could not have found a better editor. The design and layout of the work provided numerous challenges, elegantly resolved by Eric Baker, Larry Vigon, and

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Amy Wu. Carol Rose was tireless and ever-vigilant in copyediting the text. Austin O'Driscoll was of continuous assistance. For the Reader's Edition Laura Lindgren has designed an elegantly fitting layout and made a number of corrections. The calligraphic volume was scanned by Hugh Milstein and John Supra of Digital Fusion. The care and the precision of their work (focusing via sonar) met with and matched the care and precision of Jung's calligraphy in a remarkable fusion of the ancient and the modern. Dennis Savini made his photographic studio available for the scanning. At Mondadori Printing Nancy Freeman, Sergio Brunelli, and their colleagues took great care to ensure that the work was printed to the highest standards technically possible.

From 2006, I was joined by Mark Kyburz and John Peck on the translation—a collaboration that was a privileged instruction in the art of translation. Our regular conference calls provided the welcome opportunity to discuss the text at a microscopic level, and the humor brought much-needed levity to the constant immersion in the spirit of the depths. Their contributions to the later stages of the editorial work have been invaluable. John Peck picked up several significant allusions that were beyond my ken.

Ximena Roelli de Angulo, Helene Hoerni Jung, Pierre Keller, and the late Leonhard Schlegel provided crucial recollections of the atmosphere in Jung's circle in the twenties, and figures involved in it. Leonhard Schlegel provided critical insights into the Dada movement and the collisions between art and psychology in this period.

Erik Hornung provided consultation concerning Egyptological references. Felix Walder assisted with a digital close-up of image 155, Ulrich Hoerni deciphered its small inscriptions, and Guy Attewell recognized the Arabic inscription. Ulrich Hoerni provided references to the Mithraic Liturgy (note 1, p. 578). David Oswald pointed to the *Mutus Liber* as Jung's possible referent in note 314 (p. 429). Thomas Feitknecht drew my attention to and assisted with the J. B. Lang papers. Stephen Martin recovered Jung's letters to J. B. Lang. Paul Bishop, Wendy Doniger and Rachel McDermott responded to queries.

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I would like to thank Ernst Falzeder for the reference in note 145 on p. 46, for transcribing Stockmayer's letters to Jung, and for extensively correcting the translation of the introduction and notes in the German edition.

I would like to thank the Foundation of the Works of C. G. Jung and the Paul and Peter Fritz Literary Agency for permission to cite from Jung's unpublished manuscripts and correspondences, and Ximena Roelli de Angulo for permission to cite from Cary Baynes's correspondence and diaries.

Responsibility for the establishment of the text, the introduction, and the apparatus remains my own. Like the donkey on page 126 (note 29), I am glad finally to be able to lay down this load.

Sonu Shamdasani

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Liber Novus
The "Red Book" of C. G. Jung[1]

SONU SHAMDASANI

C. G. Jung is widely recognized as a major figure in modern Western thought, and his work continues to spark controversies. He played critical roles in the formation of modern psychology, psychotherapy, and psychiatry, and a large international profession of analytical psychologists work under his name. His work has had its widest impact, however, outside professional circles: Jung and Freud are the names that most people first think of in connection with psychology, and their ideas have been widely disseminated in the arts, the humanities, films, and popular culture. Jung is also widely regarded as one of the instigators of the New Age movement. However, it is startling to realize that the book that stands at the center of his oeuvre, on which he worked for over sixteen years, is only now being published.

There can be few *unpublished* works that have already exerted such far-reaching effects upon twentieth-century social and intellectual

1. The following draws, at times directly, on my reconstruction of the formation of Jung's psychology in *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology: The Dream of a Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Jung referred to the work both as *Liber Novus* and as *The Red Book*, as it has become generally known. Because there are indications that the former is its actual title, I have referred to it as such throughout for consistency. A number of these themes are elaborated more fully in my *C. G. Jung: A Biography in Books* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012).

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history as Jung's *Red Book*, or *Liber Novus* (New Book). Nominated by Jung to contain the nucleus of his later works, it has long been recognized as the key to comprehending their genesis. Yet aside from a few tantalizing glimpses, it has remained unavailable for study.

The Cultural Moment

The first few decades of the twentieth century saw a great deal of experimentation in literature, psychology, and the visual arts. Writers tried to throw off the limitations of representational conventions to explore and depict the full range of inner experience—dreams, visions, and fantasies. They experimented with new forms and utilized old forms in novel ways. From the automatic writing of the surrealists to the gothic fantasies of Gustav Meyrink, writers came into close proximity and collision with the researches of psychologists, who were engaged in similar explorations. Artists and writers collaborated to try out new forms of illustration and typography, new configurations of text and image. Psychologists sought to overcome the limitations of philosophical psychology, and they began to explore the same terrain as artists and writers. Clear demarcations among literature, art, and psychology had not yet been set; writers and artists borrowed from psychologists, and vice versa. A number of major psychologists, such as Alfred Binet and Charles Richet, wrote dramatic and fictional works, often under assumed names, whose themes mirrored those of their "scientific" works.[2] Gustav Fechner, one of the founders of psychophysics and experimental psychology, wrote on the soul life of plants and of the earth as a blue angel.[3] Meanwhile writers such as André Breton and Philippe Soupault assiduously read and utilized the works of psychical researchers and abnormal psychologists, such as Frederick Myers, Théodore Flournoy, and Pierre Janet. W. B. Yeats utilized spiritualistic auto-

2. See Jacqueline Carroy, *Les personnalités multiples et doubles: entre science et fiction* (Paris: PUF, 1993).
3. See Gustav Theodor Fechner, *The Religion of a Scientist*, ed. and tr. Walter Lowrie (New York: Pantheon, 1946).

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matic writing to compose a poetic psychocosmology in *A Vision*.[4] On all sides, individuals were searching for new forms with which to depict the actualities of inner experience, in a quest for spiritual and cultural renewal. In Berlin, Hugo Ball noted:

> The world and society in 1913 looked like this: life is completely confined and shackled. A kind of economic fatalism prevails; each individual, whether he resists it or not, is assigned a specific role and with it his interests and his character. The church is regarded as a "redemption factory" of little importance, literature as a safety valve . . . The most burning question day and night is: is there anywhere a force that is strong enough to put an end to this state of affairs? And if not, how can one escape it?[5]

Within this cultural crisis Jung conceived of undertaking an extended process of self-experimentation, which resulted in *Liber Novus*, a work of psychology in a literary form.

We stand today on the other side of a divide between psychology and literature. To consider *Liber Novus* today is to take up a work that could have emerged only before these separations had been firmly established. Its study helps us understand how the divide occurred. But first, we may ask,

Who was C. G. Jung?

Jung was born in Kesswil, on Lake Constance, in 1875. His family moved to Laufen by the Rhine Falls when he was six months old. He was the oldest child and had one sister. His father was a pastor in the Swiss Reformed Church. Toward the end of his life, Jung wrote a memoir entitled "From the Earliest Experiences of

4. See Jean Starobinski, "Freud, Breton, Myers," in *L'oeuil vivante II: La relation critique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), and W. B. Yeats, *A Vision* (London: Werner Laurie, 1925). Jung possessed a copy of the latter.
5. Hugo Ball, *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary*, ed. John Elderfield, tr. A. Raimes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 1.

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My Life," which was subsequently included in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* in a heavily edited form.[6] Jung narrated the significant events that led to his psychological vocation. The memoir, with its focus on significant childhood dreams, visions, and fantasies, can be viewed as an introduction to *Liber Novus*.

In the first dream, he found himself in a meadow with a stone-lined hole in the ground. Finding some stairs, he descended into it, and found himself in a chamber. Here there was a golden throne with what appeared to be a tree trunk of skin and flesh, with an eye on the top. He then heard his mother's voice exclaim that this was the "man-eater." He was unsure whether she meant that this figure actually devoured children or was identical with Christ. This profoundly affected his image of Christ. Years later, he realized that this figure was a penis and, later still, that it was in fact a ritual phallus, and that the setting was an underground temple. He came to see this dream as an initiation "in the secrets of the earth."[7]

In his childhood, Jung experienced a number of visual hallucinations. He also appears to have had the capacity to evoke images voluntarily. In a seminar in 1935, he recalled a portrait of his maternal grandmother which he would look at as a boy until he "saw" his grandfather descending the stairs.[8]

One sunny day, when Jung was twelve, he was traversing the Münsterplatz in Basel, admiring the sun shining on the newly restored glazed roof tiles of the cathedral. He then felt the approach of a terrible, sinful thought, which he pushed away. He was in a state of anguish for several days. Finally, after convincing himself that it was God who wanted him to think this thought, just as it had been God who had wanted Adam and Eve to sin, he let himself contemplate it, and saw God on his throne unleashing an almighty turd on

6. On how this mistakenly came to be seen as Jung's autobiography, see my *Jung Stripped Bare by His Biographers, Even* (London, Karnac, 2004), ch. 1, "'How to catch the bird': Jung and his first biographers." See also Alan Elms, "The auntification of Jung," in *Uncovering Lives: The Uneasy Alliance of Biography and Psychology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
7. *Memories*, p. 30.
8. "Fundamental psychological conceptions," CW 18, §397.

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the cathedral, shattering its new roof and smashing the cathedral. With this, Jung felt a sense of bliss and relief such as he had never experienced before. He felt that it was an experience of the "direct living God, who stands omnipotent and free above the Bible and Church."[9] He felt alone before God, and that his real responsibility commenced then. He realized that it was precisely such a direct, immediate experience of the living God, who stands outside Church and Bible, that his father lacked.

This sense of election led to a final disillusionment with the Church on the occasion of his First Communion. He had been led to believe that this would be a great experience. Instead, nothing. He concluded: "For me, it was an absence of God and no religion. Church was a place to which I no longer could go. There was no life there, but death."[10]

Jung's voracious reading started at this time, and he was particularly struck by Goethe's *Faust*. He was struck by the fact that in Mephistopheles, Goethe took the figure of the devil seriously. In philosophy, he was impressed by Schopenhauer, who acknowledged the existence of evil and gave voice to the sufferings and miseries of the world.

Jung also had a sense of living in two centuries, and felt a strong nostalgia for the eighteenth century. His sense of duality took the form of two alternating personalities, which he dubbed NO. 1 and 2. NO. 1 was the Basel schoolboy, who read novels, and NO. 2 pursued religious reflections in solitude, in a state of communion with nature and the cosmos. He inhabited "God's world." This personality felt most real. Personality NO. 1 wanted to be free of the melancholy and isolation of personality NO. 2. When personality NO. 2 entered, it felt as if a long dead yet perpetually present spirit had entered the room. NO. 2 had no definable character. He was connected to history, particularly with the Middle Ages. For NO. 2, NO. 1, with his failings and ineptitudes, was someone to be put up with.

9. *Memories*, p. 57.
10. Ibid., p. 73.

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This interplay ran throughout Jung's life. As he saw it, we are all like this—part of us lives in the present and the other part is connected to the centuries.

As the time drew near for him to choose a career, the conflict between the two personalities intensified. NO. 1 wanted to pursue science, NO. 2, the humanities. Jung then had two critical dreams. In the first, he was walking in a dark wood along the Rhine. He came upon a burial mound and began to dig, until he discovered the remains of prehistoric animals. This dream awakened his desire to learn more about nature. In the second dream, he was in a wood and there were watercourses. He found a circular pool surrounded by dense undergrowth. In the pool, he saw a beautiful creature, a large radiolarian. After these dreams, he settled for science. To solve the question of how to earn a living, he decided to study medicine. He then had another dream. He was in an unknown place, surrounded by fog, making slow headway against the wind. He was protecting a small light from going out. He saw a large black figure threateningly close. He awoke, and realized that the figure was the shadow cast from the light. He thought that in the dream, NO. 1 was himself bearing the light, and NO. 2 followed like a shadow. He took this as a sign that he should go forward with NO. 1, and not look back to the world of NO. 2.

In his university days, the interplay between these personalities continued. In addition to his medical studies, Jung pursued an intensive program of extracurricular reading, in particular the works of Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Swedenborg,[11] and writers on

11. Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) was a Swedish scientist and Christian mystic. In 1743, he underwent a religious crisis, which is depicted in his *Journal of Dreams*. In 1745, he had a vision of Christ. He then devoted his life to relating what he had heard and seen in Heaven and Hell and learned from the angels, and in interpreting the internal and symbolic meaning of the Bible. Swedenborg argued that the Bible had two levels of meaning: a physical, literal level, and an inner, spiritual level. These were linked by correspondences. He proclaimed the advent of a "new church" that represented a new spiritual era. According to Swedenborg, from birth one acquired evils from one's parents which are lodged in the natural man, who is diametrically opposed to the spiritual man. Man is destined for Heaven, and he cannot reach there without spiritual regeneration and a new birth. The means to this lay in charity and faith. See Eugene Taylor, "Jung on Swedenborg, redivivus," *Jung History*, 2, 2 (2007), pp. 27–31.

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spiritualism. Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* made a great impression on him. He felt that his own personality NO. 2 corresponded to Zarathustra, and he feared that his personality NO. 2 was similarly morbid.[12] He participated in a student debating society, the Zofingia society, and presented lectures on these subjects. Spiritualism particularly interested him, as the spiritualists appeared to be attempting to use scientific means to explore the supernatural, and prove the immortality of the soul.

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of modern spiritualism, which spread across Europe and America. Through spiritualism, the cultivation of trances—with the attendant phenomena of trance speech, glossolalia, automatic writing, and crystal vision—became widespread. The phenomena of spiritualism attracted the interest of leading scientists such as Crookes, Zollner, and Wallace. It also attracted the interest of psychologists, including Freud, Ferenczi, Bleuler, James, Myers, Janet, Bergson, Stanley Hall, Schrenck-Notzing, Moll, Dessoir, Richet, and Flournoy.

During his university days in Basel, Jung and his fellow students took part in séances. In 1896, they engaged in a long series of sittings with his cousin Helene Preiswerk, who appeared to have mediumistic abilities. Jung found that during the trances, she would become different personalities, and that he could call up these personalities by suggestion. Dead relatives appeared, and she became completely transformed into these figures. She unfolded stories of her previous incarnations and articulated a mystical cosmology, represented in a mandala.[13] Her spiritualistic revelations carried on until she was caught attempting to fake physical apparitions, and the séances were discontinued.

On reading Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Text-Book of Psychiatry* in 1899, Jung realized that his vocation lay in psychiatry, which represented a fusion of the interests of his two personalities. He under-

12. *Memories,* p. 120.
13. See CW 1, §66, fig. 2.

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went something like a conversion to a natural scientific framework. After his medical studies, he took up a post as an assistant physician at Burghölzli hospital at the end of 1900. The Burghölzli was a progressive university clinic, under the directorship of Eugen Bleuler. At the end of the nineteenth century, numerous figures attempted to found a new scientific psychology. It was held that by turning psychology into a science through introducing scientific methods, all prior forms of human understanding would be revolutionized. The new psychology was heralded as promising nothing less than the completion of the scientific revolution. Thanks to Bleuler, and his predecessor Auguste Forel, psychological research and hypnosis played prominent roles at the Burghölzli.

Jung's medical dissertation focused on the psychogenesis of spiritualistic phenomena, in the form of an analysis of his séances with Helene Preiswerk.[14] While his initial interest in her case appeared to be in the possible veracity of her spiritualistic manifestations, in the interim, he had studied the works of Frederic Myers, William James, and, in particular, Théodore Flournoy. At the end of 1899, Flournoy had published a study of a medium, whom he called Hélène Smith, which became a best seller.[15] What was novel about Flournoy's study was that it approached her case purely from the psychological angle, as a means of illuminating the study of subliminal consciousness. A critical shift had taken place through the work of Flournoy, Frederick Myers, and William James.They argued that regardless of whether the alleged spiritualistic experiences were valid, such experiences enabled far-reaching insight into the constitution of the subliminal, and hence into human psychology as a whole. Through them, mediums became important subjects of the new psychology. With this shift, the methods used by the mediums—such as automatic writing, trance speech, and crystal vision—were appropriated by the psychologists, and became prominent

14. *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena: A Psychiatric Study*, 1902, CW 1.
15. Théodore Flournoy, *From India to the Planet Mars: A Case of Multiple Personality with Imaginary Languages*, ed. Sonu Shamdasani, tr. D. Vermilye (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1900/1994).

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experimental research tools. In psychotherapy, Pierre Janet and Morton Prince used automatic writing and crystal gazing as methods for revealing hidden memories and subconscious fixed ideas. Automatic writing brought to light subpersonalities, and enabled dialogues with them to be held.[16] For Janet and Prince, the goal of holding such practices was to reintegrate the personality.

Jung was so taken by Flournoy's book that he offered to translate it into German, but Flournoy already had a translator. The impact of these studies is clear in Jung's dissertation, where he approaches the case purely from a psychological angle. Jung's work was closely modeled on Flournoy's *From India to the Planet Mars*, both in terms of subject matter and in its interpretation of the psychogenesis of Helene's spiritualistic romances. Jung's dissertation also indicates the manner in which he was utilizing automatic writing as a method of psychological investigation.

In 1902, he became engaged to Emma Rauschenbach, whom he married and with whom he had five children. Up till this point, Jung had kept a diary. In one of the last entries, dated May 1902, he wrote: "I am no longer alone with myself, and I can only artificially recall the scary and beautiful feeling of solitude. This is the shadow side of the fortune of love."[17] For Jung, his marriage marked a move away from the solitude to which he had been accustomed.

In his youth, Jung had often visited Basel's art museum and was particularly drawn to the works of Holbein and Böcklin, as well as to those of the Dutch painters.[18] Toward the end of his studies, he was much occupied with painting for about a year. His paintings from this period were landscapes in a representational style, and show highly developed technical skills and fine technical proficiency.[19] In

16. Pierre Janet, *Névroses et idées fixes* (Paris: Alcan, 1898); Morton Prince, *Clinical and Experimental Studies in Personality* (Cambridge, MA: Sci-Art, 1929). See my "Automatic writing and the discovery of the unconscious," *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture* 54 (1993), pp. 100–131.
17. *Black Book 2*, p. 1 (*JFA*; all the *Black Books* are in the *JFA*).
18. *MP*, p. 164.
19. See Gerhard Wehr, *An Illustrated Biography of Jung*, tr. M. Kohn (Boston: Shambala, 1989), p. 47; Aniela Jaffé, ed., *C. G. Jung: Word and Image* (Princeton: Princeton University Press/Bollingen Series, 1979), pp. 42–43.

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1902/3, Jung left his post at the Burghölzli and went to Paris to study with the leading French psychologist Pierre Janet, who was lecturing at the Collège de France. During his stay, he devoted much time to painting and visiting museums, going frequently to the Louvre. He paid particular attention to ancient art, Egyptian antiquities, the works of the Renaissance, Fra Angelico, Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, and Frans Hals. He bought paintings and engravings and had paintings copied for the furnishing of his new home. He painted in both oil and watercolor. In January 1903, he went to London and visited its museums, paying particular attention to the Egyptian, Aztec, and Inca collections at the British Museum.[20]

After his return, he took up a post that had become vacant at the Burghölzli and devoted his research to the analysis of linguistic associations, in collaboration with Franz Riklin. With co-workers, they conducted an extensive series of experiments, which they subjected to statistical analyses. The conceptual basis of Jung's early work lay in the work of Flournoy and Janet, which he attempted to fuse with the research methodology of Wilhelm Wundt and Emil Kraepelin. Jung and Riklin utilized the associations experiment, devised by Francis Galton and developed in psychology and psychiatry by Wundt, Kraepelin, and Gustav Aschaffenburg. The aim of the research project, instigated by Bleuler, was to provide a quick and reliable means for differential diagnosis. The Burghölzli team failed to come up with this, but they were struck by the significance of disturbances of reaction and prolonged response times. Jung and Riklin argued that these disturbed reactions were due to the presence of emotionally stressed complexes, and used their experiments to develop a general psychology of complexes.[21]

This work established Jung's reputation as one of the rising stars of psychiatry. In 1906, he applied his new theory of complexes to study the psychogenesis of dementia praecox (later called schizophrenia) and to demonstrate the intelligibility of delusional for-

20. *MP*, p. 164, and unpublished letters, JFA.
21. "Experimental researches on the associations of the healthy," 1904, *CW* 2.

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mations.[22] For Jung, along with a number of other psychiatrists and psychologists at this time, such as Janet and Adolf Meyer, insanity was not regarded as something completely set apart from sanity, but rather as lying on the extreme end of a spectrum. Two years later, he argued that "If we feel our way into the human secrets of the sick person, the madness also reveals its system, and we recognize in the mental illness merely an exceptional reaction to emotional problems which are not strange to us."[23]

Jung became increasingly disenchanted by the limitations of experimental and statistical methods in psychiatry and psychology. In the outpatient clinic at the Burghölzli, he presented hypnotic demonstrations. This led to his interest in therapeutics, and to the use of the clinical encounter as a method of research. Around 1904, Bleuler introduced psychoanalysis into the Burghölzli, and entered into a correspondence with Freud, asking Freud for assistance in his analysis of his own dreams.[24] In 1906, Jung entered into communication with Freud. This relationship has been much mythologized. A Freudocentric legend arose, which viewed Freud and psychoanalysis as the principal source for Jung's work. This has led to the complete mislocation of his work in the intellectual history of the twentieth century. On numerous occasions, Jung protested. For instance, in an unpublished article written in the 1930s, "The schism in the Freudian school," he wrote: "I in no way exclusively stem from Freud. I had my scientific attitude and the theory of complexes before I met Freud. The teachers that influenced me above all are Bleuler, Pierre Janet, and Théodore Flournoy."[25] Freud and Jung clearly came from quite different intellectual traditions, and were drawn together by shared interests in the psychogenesis of mental disorders and psychotherapy. Their intention was to form a scientific psychotherapy based on the new psychology and, in turn,

22. *On the Psychology of Dementia Praecox: An Attempt*, CW 3.
23. "The content of the psychoses," CW 3, §339.
24. Freud archives, Library of Congress. See Ernst Falzeder, "The story of an ambivalent relationship: Sigmund Freud and Eugen Bleuler," *Journal of Analytical Psychology* 52 (2007), pp. 343–68.
25. *JA*.

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to ground psychology in the in-depth clinical investigation of individual lives.

With the lead of Bleuler and Jung, the Burghölzli became the center of the psychoanalytic movement. In 1908, the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* (Yearbook for Psychoanalytic and Psychopathological Researches) was established, with Bleuler and Freud editors in chief and Jung as managing editor. Due to their advocacy, psychoanalysis gained a hearing in the German psychiatric world. In 1909, Jung received an honorary degree from Clark University for his association researches. The following year, an international psychoanalytic association was formed with Jung as the president. During the period of his collaboration with Freud, he was a principal architect of the psychoanalytic movement. For Jung, this was a period of intense institutional and political activity. The movement was riven by dissent and acrimonious disagreements.

The Intoxication of Mythology

In 1908, Jung bought some land by the shore of Lake Zürich in Küsnacht and had a house built, where he was to live for the rest of his life. In 1909, he resigned from the Burghölzli, to devote himself to his growing practice and his research interests. His retirement from the Burghölzli coincided with a shift in his research interests to the study of mythology, folklore, and religion, and he assembled a vast private library of scholarly works. These researches culminated in *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido,* published in two installments in 1911 and 1912. This work can be seen to mark a return to Jung's intellectual roots and to his cultural and religious preoccupations. He found the mythological work exciting and intoxicating. In 1925 he recalled, "it seemed to me I was living in an insane asylum of my own making. I went about with all these fantastic figures: centaurs, nymphs, satyrs, gods and goddesses, as though they were patients and I was analyzing them. I read a Greek or a Negro myth as if a

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lunatic were telling me his anamnesis."[26] The end of the nineteenth century had seen an explosion of scholarship in the newly founded disciplines of comparative religion and ethnopsychology. Primary texts were collected and translated for the first time and subjected to historical scholarship in collections such as Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*.[27] For many, these works represented an important relativization of the Christian worldview.

In *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*, Jung differentiated two kinds of thinking. Taking his cue from William James, among others, Jung contrasted directed thinking and fantasy thinking. The former was verbal and logical, while the latter was passive, associative, and imagistic. The former was exemplified by science and the latter by mythology. Jung claimed that the ancients lacked a capacity for directed thinking, which was a modern acquisition. Fantasy thinking took place when directed thinking ceased. *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* was an extended study of fantasy thinking, and of the continued presence of mythological themes in the dreams and fantasies of contemporary individuals. Jung reiterated the anthropological equation of the prehistoric, the primitive, and the child. He held that the elucidation of current-day fantasy thinking in adults would concurrently shed light on the thought of children, savages, and prehistoric peoples.[28] In this work, Jung synthesized nineteenth-century theories of memory, heredity, and the unconscious and posited a phylogenetic layer to the unconscious that was still present in everyone, consisting of mythological images. For Jung, myths were symbols of the libido and they depicted its typical movements. He used the comparative method of anthropology to draw together a vast panoply of myths, and then subjected them to analytic interpretation. He later termed his use of the comparative method "amplification." He claimed that there had to be typical myths, which corresponded to the ethnopsychological development

26. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 24.
27. Jung possessed a complete set of this.
28. Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, CW B, §36. In his 1952 revision of this text, Jung qualified this (*Symbols of Transformation*, CW 5, §29).

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of complexes. Following Jacob Burckhardt, Jung termed such typical myths “primordial images” (*Urbilder*). One particular myth was given a central role: that of the hero. For Jung, this represented the life of the individual, attempting to become independent and to free himself from the mother. He interpreted the incest motif as an attempt to return to the mother to be reborn. He was later to herald this work as marking the discovery of the collective unconscious, though the term itself came at a later date.[29]

In a series of articles from 1912, Jung’s friend and colleague Alphonse Maeder argued that dreams had a function other than that of wish fulfillment, which was a balancing or compensatory function. Dreams were attempts to solve the individual’s moral conflicts. As such, they did not merely point to the past, but also prepared the way for the future. Maeder was developing Flournoy’s views of the subconscious creative imagination. Jung was working along similar lines, and adopted Maeder’s positions. For Jung and Maeder, this alteration of the conception of the dream brought with it an alteration of all other phenomena associated with the unconscious.

In his preface to the 1952 revision of *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*, Jung wrote that the work was written in 1911, when he was thirty-six: “The time is a critical one, for it marks the beginning of the second half of life, when a metanoia, a mental transformation, not infrequently occurs.”[30] He added that he was conscious of the loss of his collaboration with Freud, and was indebted to the support of his wife. After completing the work, he realized the significance of what it meant to live without a myth. One without a myth “is like one uprooted, having no true link either with the past, or with the ancestral life which continues within him, or yet with contemporary human society.”[31] As he further describes it:

29. “Address on the founding of the C. G. Jung Institute, Zürich, 24 April, 1948,” *CW 18*, §1131.
30. *CW* 5, p. xxvi.
31. Ibid., p. xxix.

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> I was driven to ask myself in all seriousness: "what is the myth you are living?" I found no answer to this question, and had to admit that I was not living with a myth, or even in a myth, but rather in an uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities which I was beginning to regard with increasing distrust . . . So in the most natural way, I took it upon myself to get to know "my" myth, and I regarded this as the task of tasks—for—so I told myself—how could I, when treating my patients, make due allowance for the personal factor, for my personal equation, which is yet so necessary for a knowledge of the other person, if I was unconscious of it?[32]

The study of myth had revealed to Jung his mythlessness. He then undertook to get to know his myth, his "personal equation."[33] Thus we see that the self-experimentation which Jung undertook was in part a direct response to theoretical questions raised by his research, which had culminated in *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*.

"My Most Difficult Experiment"

In 1912, Jung had some significant dreams that he did not understand. He gave particular importance to two of these, which he felt showed the limitations of Freud's conceptions of dreams. The first follows:

> I was in a southern town, on a rising street with narrow half landings. It was twelve o'clock midday—bright sunshine. An old Austrian customs guard or someone similar passes by me, lost in thought. Someone says, "that is one who cannot die. He died already 30–40 years ago, but has not yet managed to decompose." I was very surprised. Here a striking figure came, a knight of powerful build, clad in yellowish armor. He looks solid and

32. Ibid.
33. Cf. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 25.

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> inscrutable and nothing impresses him. On his back he carries a red Maltese cross. He has continued to exist from the 12th century and daily between 12 and 1 o'clock midday he takes the same route. No one marvels at these two apparitions, but I was extremely surprised.
>
> I hold back my interpretive skills. As regards the old Austrian, Freud occurred to me; as regards the knight, I myself.
>
> Inside, a voice calls, "It is all empty and disgusting." I must bear it.[34]

Jung found this dream oppressive and bewildering, and Freud was unable to interpret it.[35] Around half a year later Jung had another dream:

> I dreamt at that time (it was shortly after Christmas 1912), that I was sitting with my children in a marvelous and richly furnished castle apartment—an open columned hall—we were sitting at a round table, whose top was a marvelous dark green stone. Suddenly a gull or a dove flew in and sprang lightly onto the table. I admonished the children to be quiet, so that they would not scare away the beautiful white bird. Suddenly this bird turned into a child of eight years, a small blond girl, and ran around playing with my children in the marvelous columned colonnades. Then the child suddenly turned into the gull or dove. She said the following to me: "*Only in the first hour of the night can I become human, while the male dove is busy with the twelve dead.*" With these words the bird flew away and I awoke.[36]

34. *Black Book 2*, pp. 25–26.
35. In 1925, he gave the following interpretation to this dream: "The meaning of the dream lies in the principle of the ancestral figure: not the Austrian officer—obviously he stood for the Freudian theory—but the other, the Crusader, is an archetypal figure, a Christian symbol living from the twelfth century, a symbol that does not really live today, but on the other hand is not wholly dead either. It comes out of the times of Meister Eckhart, the time of the culture of the Knights, when many ideas blossomed, only to be killed again, but they are coming again to life now. However, when I had this dream, I did not know this interpretation" (*Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 42).
36. *Black Book 2*, pp. 17–18.

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In *Black Book* 2, Jung noted that it was this dream that made him decide to embark on a relationship with a woman he had met three years earlier (Toni Wolff).[37] In 1925, he remarked that this dream "was the beginning of a conviction that the unconscious did not consist of inert material only, but that there was something living down there."[38] He added that he thought of the story of the *Tabula smaragdina* (emerald tablet), the twelve apostles, the signs of the Zodiac, and so on, but that he "could make nothing out of the dream except that there was a tremendous animation of the unconscious. I knew no technique of getting at the bottom of this activity; all I could do was just wait, keep on living, and watch the fantasies."[39] These dreams led him to analyze his childhood memories, but this did not resolve anything. He realized that he needed to recover the emotional tone of childhood. He recalled that as a child, he used to like to build houses and other structures, and he took this up again.

While he was engaged in this self-analytic activity, he continued to develop his theoretical work. At the Munich Psycho-Analytical Congress in September 1913, he spoke on psychological types. He argued that there were two basic movements of the libido: extraversion, in which the subject's interest was oriented toward the outer world, and introversion, in which the subject's interest was directed inward. Following from this, he posited two types of people, characterized by a predominance of one of these tendencies. The psychol-

37. Ibid., p. 17.
38. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 42.
39. Ibid., pp. 40–41. E. A. Bennet noted Jung's comments on this dream: "At first he thought the 'twelve dead men' referred to the twelve days before Christmas for that is the dark time of the year, when traditionally witches are about. To say 'before Christmas' is to say 'before the sun lives again,' for Christmas day is at the turning point of the year when the sun's birth was celebrated in the Mithraic religion . . . Only much later did he relate the dream to Hermes and the twelve doves" (*Meetings with Jung: Conversations recorded by E. A. Bennet during the Years 1946–1961* [London: Anchor Press, 1982; Zürich, Daimon Verlag, 1985], p. 93). In 1951 in "The psychological aspects of the Kore," Jung presented some material from *Liber Novus* (describing them all as part of a dream series) in an anonymous form ("case Z."), tracing the transformations of the anima. He noted that this dream "shows the anima as elflike, i.e., only partially human. She can just as well be a bird, which means that she may belong wholly to nature and can vanish (i.e., become unconscious) from the human sphere (i.e., consciousness)" (CW 9, 1, §371). See also *Memories*, pp. 195–96.

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ogies of Freud and Adler were examples of the fact that psychologies often took what was true of their type as generally valid. Hence what was required was a psychology that did justice to both of these types.[40]

The following month, on a train journey to Schaffhausen, Jung experienced a waking vision of Europe being devastated by a catastrophic flood, which was repeated two weeks later, on the same journey.[41] Commenting on this experience in 1925, he remarked: "I could be taken as Switzerland fenced in by mountains and the submergence of the world could be the debris of my former relationships." This led him to the following diagnosis of his condition: "I thought to myself, 'If this means anything, it means that I am hopelessly off.'"[42] After this experience, Jung feared that he would go mad.[43] He recalled that he first thought that the images of the vision indicated a revolution, but as he could not imagine this, he concluded that he was "menaced with a psychosis."[44] After this, he had a similar vision:

> In the following winter I was standing at the window one night and looked North. I saw a blood-red glow, like the flicker of the sea seen from afar, stretched from East to West across the northern horizon. And at that time someone asked me what I thought about world events in the near future. I said that I had no thoughts, but saw blood, rivers of blood.[45]

In the years directly preceding the outbreak of war, apocalyptic imagery was widespread in European arts and literature. For example, in 1912, Wassily Kandinsky wrote of a coming univer-

40. "On the question of psychological types," CW 6.
41. See below, p. 123.
42. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, pp. 47–48.
43. Barbara Hannah recalls that "Jung used to say in later years that his tormenting doubts as to his own sanity should have been allayed by the amount of success he was having at the same time in the outer world, especially in America" (C. G. *Jung: His Life and Work. A Biographical Memoir* [New York: Perigree, 1976], p. 109).
44. *Memories*, p. 200.
45. *Draft*, p. 8.

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sal catastrophe. From 1912 to 1914, Ludwig Meidner painted a series of works known as the apocalyptic landscapes, with scenes of destroyed cities, corpses, and turmoil.[46] Prophecy was in the air. In 1899, the famous American medium Leonora Piper predicted that in the coming century there would be a terrible war in different parts of the world that would cleanse the world and reveal the truths of spiritualism. In 1918, Arthur Conan Doyle, the spiritualist and author of the Sherlock Holmes stories, viewed this as having been prophetic.[47]

In Jung's account of the fantasy on the train in *Liber Novus*, the inner voice said that what the fantasy depicted would become completely real. Initially, he interpreted this subjectively and prospectively, that is, as depicting the imminent destruction of his world. His reaction to this experience was to undertake a psychological investigation of himself. In this epoch, self-experimentation was used in medicine and psychology. Introspection had been one of the main tools of psychological research.

Jung came to realize that *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* "could be taken as myself and that an analysis of it leads inevitably into an analysis of my own unconscious processes."[48] He had projected his material onto that of Miss Frank Miller, whom he had never met. Up to this point, Jung had been an active thinker and had been averse to fantasy: "as a form of thinking I held it to be altogether impure, a sort of incestuous intercourse, thoroughly immoral from an intellectual viewpoint."[49] He now turned to analyze his fantasies, carefully noting everything, and had to overcome considerable resistance in doing this: "Permitting fantasy in myself had the same effect as would be produced on a man if he came into

46. Gerda Breuer and Ines *Wagemann, Ludwig Meidner: Zeichner, Maler, Literat 1884–1966* (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 124–49. See Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 145–77.
47. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The New Revelation and the Vital Message* (London: Psychic Press, 1918), p. 9.
48. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 28.
49. Ibid.

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his workshop and found all the tools flying about doing things independently of his will."[50] In studying his fantasies, Jung realized that he was studying the myth-creating function of the mind.[51]

Jung picked up the brown notebook, which he had set aside in 1902, and began writing in it.[52] He noted his inner states in metaphors, such as being in a desert with an unbearably hot sun (that is, consciousness). In the 1925 seminar, he recalled that it occurred to him that he could write down his reflections in a sequence. He was "writing autobiographical material, but not as an autobiography."[53] From the time of the Platonic dialogues onward, the dialogical form has been a prominent genre in Western philosophy. In 387 CE, St. Augustine wrote his *Soliloquies,* which presented an extended dialogue between himself and "Reason," who instructs him. They commenced with the following lines:

> When I had been pondering many different things to myself for a long time, and had for many days been seeking my own self and what my own good was, and what evil was to be avoided, there suddenly spoke to me—what was it? I myself or someone else, inside or outside me? (this is the very thing I would love to know but don't).[54]

While Jung was writing in *Black Book* 2,

> I said to myself, "What is this I am doing, it certainly is not science, what is it?" Then a voice said to me, "That is art." This made the strangest sort of impression upon me, because it was not in any sense my impression that what I was writing was art.

50. Ibid.
51. *MP*, p. 23.
52. The subsequent notebooks are black, hence Jung referred to them as the *Black Books*.
53. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 48.
54. St. Augustine, *Soliloquies and Immortality of the Soul,* ed. and tr. Gerard Watson (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1990), p. 23. Watson notes that Augustine "had been through a period of intense strain, close to a nervous breakdown, and the Soliloquies are a form of therapy, an effort to cure himself by talking, or rather, writing" (p. v).

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> Then I came to this, "Perhaps my unconscious is forming a personality that is not I, but which is insisting on coming through to expression." I don't know why exactly, but I knew to a certainty that the voice that had said my writing was art had come from a woman . . . Well I said very emphatically to this voice that what I was doing was not art, and I felt a great resistance grow up within me. No voice came through, however, and I kept on writing. This time I caught her and said, "No it is not," and I felt as though an argument would ensue.[55]

He thought that this voice was "the soul in the primitive sense," which he called the anima (the Latin word for soul).[56] He stated that "In putting down all this material for analysis, I was in effect writing letters to my anima, that is part of myself with a different viewpoint from my own. I got remarks of a new character—I was in analysis with a ghost and a woman."[57] In retrospect, he recalled that this was the voice of a Dutch patient whom he knew from 1912 to 1918, who had persuaded a psychiatrist colleague that he was a misunderstood artist. The woman had thought that the unconscious was art, but Jung had maintained that it was nature.[58] I have previously argued that the woman in question—the only Dutch woman in Jung's circle at this time—was Maria Moltzer, and that the psychiatrist in question was Jung's friend and colleague Franz Riklin, who increasingly forsook analysis for painting. In 1913, he became a student of Augusto Giacometti's, the uncle of Alberto Giacometti, and an important early abstract painter in his own right.[59]

55. Ibid., p. 42. In Jung's account here, it seems that this dialogue took place in the autumn of 1913, though this is not certain, because the dialogue itself does not occur in the *Black Books*, and no other manuscript has yet come to light. If this dating is followed, and in the absence of other material, it would appear that the material the voice is referring to is the November entries in *Black Book 2*, and not the subsequent text of *Liber Novus* or the paintings.
56. Ibid., p. 44.
57. Ibid., p. 46.
58. *MP*, p. 171.
59. Riklin's painting generally followed the style of Augusto Giacometti: semi-figurative and fully abstract works, with soft floating colors. Private possession, Peter Riklin. There is one painting of Riklin's from 1915/6, *Verkündigung*, in the Kunsthaus in

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The November entries in *Black Book 2* depict Jung's sense of his return to his soul. He recounted the dreams that led him to opt for his scientific career, and the recent dreams that had brought him back to his soul. As he recalled in 1925, this first period of writing came to an end in November: "Not knowing what would come next, I thought perhaps more introspection was needed . . . I devised such a boring method by fantasizing that I was digging a hole, and by accepting this fantasy as perfectly real."[60] The first such experiment took place on December 12, 1913.[61]

As indicated, Jung had had extensive experience studying mediums in trance states, during which they were encouraged to produce waking fantasies and visual hallucinations, and had conducted experiments with automatic writing. Practices of visualization had also been used in various religious traditions. For example, in the fifth of the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola, individuals are instructed on how to "see with the eyes of the imagination the length, breadth and depth of hell," and to experience this with full sensory immediacy.[62] Swedenborg also engaged in "spirit writing." In his spiritual diary, one entry reads:

> 26 JAN. 1748.—Spirits, if permitted, could possess those who speak with them so utterly, that they would be as though they were entirely in the world; and indeed, in a manner so manifest, that they could communicate their thoughts through their medium, and even by letters; for they have sometimes, and indeed often, directed my hand when writing, as though it were

Zürich, which was donated by Maria Moltzer in 1945. Giacometti recalled: "Riklin's psychological knowledge was extraordinarily interesting and new to me. He was a modern magician. I had the feeling that he could do magic" (*Von Stampa bis Florenz: Blätter der Erinnerung* [Zürich: Rascher, 1943], pp. 86–87).

60. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 51.
61. The vision that ensued is found below in *Liber Primus*, chapter 5, "Descent into Hell in the Future," p. 147.
62. St. Ignatius of Loyola, "The spiritual exercises," in *Personal Writings*, tr. J. Munitiz and P. Endean (London: Penguin, 1996), p. 298. In 1939/40, Jung presented a psychological commentary on the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola at the ETH (*Philemon Series*, forthcoming).

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quite their own; so that they thought it was not I, but themselves writing.[63]

From 1909 onward in Vienna, the psychoanalyst Herbert Silberer conducted experiments on himself in hypnagogic states. Silberer attempted to allow images to appear. These images, he maintained, presented symbolic depictions of his previous train of thought. Silberer corresponded with Jung and sent him offprints of his articles.[64]

In 1912, Ludwig Staudenmaier (1865–1933), a professor of experimental chemistry, published a work entitled *Magic as an Experimental Science*. Staudenmaier had embarked on self-experimentations in 1901, commencing with automatic writing. A series of characters appeared, and he found that he no longer needed to write to conduct dialogues with them.[65] He also induced acoustic and visual hallucinations. The aim of his enterprise was to use his self-experimentation to provide a scientific explanation of magic. He argued that the key to understanding magic lay in the concepts of hallucinations and the "under consciousness" (*Unterbewußtsein*), and gave particular importance to the role of personifications.[66] Thus we see that Jung's procedure closely resembled a number of historical and contemporary practices with which he was familiar.

From December 1913 onward, he carried on in the same procedure: deliberately evoking a fantasy in a waking state, and then entering into it as into a drama. These fantasies may be understood as a type of dramatized thinking in pictorial form. In reading his fantasies, the impact of Jung's mythological studies is clear. Some of the figures and conceptions derive directly from his readings, and the form and style bear witness to his fascination with the world

63. This passage was reproduced by William White in his *Swedenborg: His Life and Writings*, vol. 1 (London: Bath, 1867), pp. 293–94. In Jung's copy of this work, he marked the second half of this passage with a line in the margin.

64. See Silberer, "Bericht über eine Methode, gewisse symbolische Halluzinations-Erscheinungen hervorzurufen und zu beobachten," *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen 2* (1909), pp. 513–25.

65. Staudenmaier, *Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft* (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1912), p. 19.

66. Jung had a copy of Staudenmaier's book, and marked some passages in it.

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of myth and epic. In the *Black Books*, Jung wrote down his fantasies in dated entries, together with reflections on his state of mind and his difficulties in comprehending the fantasies. The *Black Books* are not diaries of events, and very few dreams are noted in them. Rather, they are the records of an experiment. In December 1913, he referred to the first of the black books as the "book of my most difficult experiment."[67]

In retrospect, he recalled that his scientific question was to see what took place when he switched off consciousness. The example of dreams indicated the existence of background activity, and he wanted to give this a possibility of emerging, just as one does when taking mescalin.[68]

In an entry in his dream book on April 17, 1917, Jung noted: "since then, frequent exercises in the emptying of consciousness."[69] His procedure was clearly intentional—while its aim was to allow psychic contents to appear spontaneously. He recalled that beneath the threshold of consciousness, everything was animated. At times, it was as if he heard something. At other times, he realized that he was whispering to himself.[70]

From November 1913 to the following July, he remained uncertain of the meaning and significance of his undertaking, and concerning the meaning of his fantasies, which continued to develop. During this time, Philemon, who would prove to be an important figure in subsequent fantasies, appeared in a dream. Jung recounted:

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67. *Black Book 2*, p. 58.
68. *MP*, p. 381.
69. "Dreams," *JFA*, p. 9.
70. *MP*, p. 145. To Margaret Ostrowski-Sachs, Jung said "The technique of active imagination can prove very important in difficult situations—where there is a visitation, say. It only makes sense when one has the feeling of being up against a blank wall. I experienced this when I separated from Freud. I did not know what I thought. I only felt, 'It is not so.' Then I conceived of 'symbolic thinking' and after two years of active imagination so many ideas rushed in on me that I could hardly defend myself. The same thoughts recurred. I appealed to my hands and began to carve wood—and then my way became clear" (From *Conversations with C. G. Jung* [Zürich: Juris Druck Verlag, 1971], p. 18).

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> 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 the kingfisher with its characteristic colors. Since I did not understand this dream image, I painted it in order to impress it upon my memory.[71]

While he was painting this image, he found a dead kingfisher (which is very rarely found in the vicinity of Zürich) in his garden by the lake shore.[72]

The date of this dream is not clear. The figure of Philemon first appears in the *Black Books* on January 27, 1914, but without kingfisher wings. To Jung, Philemon represented superior insight, and was like a guru to him. He would converse with him in the garden. He recalled that Philemon evolved out of the figure of Elijah, who had previously appeared in his fantasies:

> Philemon was a pagan and brought with him an Egypto-Hellenic atmosphere with a Gnostic coloration . . . It was he who taught me psychic objectivity, the reality of the psyche. Through the conversations with Philemon, the distinction was clarified between myself and the object of my thought . . . Psychologically, Philemon represented superior insight.[73]

On April 20, Jung resigned as president of the International Psychoanalytical Association. On April 30, he resigned as a lecturer in the medical faculty of the University of Zürich. He recalled that he felt that he was in an exposed position at the university and

71. *Memories,* p. 207.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., pp. 207–8.

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felt that he had to find a new orientation, as it would otherwise be unfair to teach students.[74] In June and July, he had a thrice-repeated dream of being in a foreign land and having to return home quickly by ship, followed by the descent of an icy cold.[75]

On July 10, the Zürich Psychoanalytical Society voted by 15 to 1 to leave the International Psychoanalytic Association. In the minutes, the reason given for the secession was that Freud had established an orthodoxy that impeded free and independent research.[76] The group was renamed the Association for Analytical Psychology. Jung was actively involved in this association, which met fortnightly. He also maintained a busy therapeutic practice. Between 1913 and 1914, he had between one and nine consultations per day, five days a week, with an average of between five and seven.[77]

The minutes of the Association for Analytical Psychology offer no indications of the process that Jung was going through. He does not refer to his fantasies, and continues to discuss theoretical issues in psychology. The same holds true in his surviving correspondences during this period.[78] Each year, he continued his military service duties.[79] Thus he maintained his professional activities and familial responsibilities during the day, and dedicated his evenings to his self-explorations.[80] Indications are that this partitioning of activities continued during the next few years. Jung recalled that during this period his family and profession "always remained a joyful reality and a guarantee that I was normal and really existed."[81]

The question of the different ways of interpreting such fantasies was the subject of a talk that he presented on July 24 before the Psycho-Medical Society in London, "On psychological understand-

74. Ibid., p. 219.
75. See below, p. 124.
76. *MZS*.
77. Jung's appointment books, *JFA*.
78. This is based on a comprehensive study of Jung's correspondences in the ETH up to 1930 and in other archives and collections.
79. These were: 1913, 16 days; 1914, 14 days; 1915, 67 days; 1916, 34 days; 1917, 117 days (Jung's military service books, *JFA*).
80. See below, p. 151.
81. *Memories*, p. 214.

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ing." Here, he contrasted Freud's analytic-reductive method, based on causality, with the constructive method of the Zürich school. The shortcoming of the former was that through tracing things back to antecedent elements, it dealt with only half of the picture, and failed to grasp the living meaning of phenomena. Someone who attempted to understand Goethe's *Faust* in such a manner would be like someone who tried to understand a Gothic cathedral under its mineralogical aspect.[82] The living meaning "only lives when we experience it in and through ourselves."[83] Inasmuch as life was essentially new, it could not be understood merely retrospectively. Hence the constructive standpoint asked, "how, out of this present psyche, a bridge can be built into its own future."[84] This paper implicitly presents Jung's rationale for not embarking on a causal and retrospective analysis of his fantasies, and serves as a caution to others who may be tempted to do so. Presented as a critique and reformulation of psychoanalysis, Jung's new mode of interpretation links back to the symbolic method of Swedenborg's spiritual hermeneutics.

On July 28, Jung gave a talk on "The importance of the unconscious in psychopathology" at a meeting of the British Medical Association in Aberdeen.[85] He argued that in cases of neurosis and psychosis, the unconscious attempted to compensate the one-sided conscious attitude. The unbalanced individual defends himself against this, and the opposites become more polarized. The corrective impulses that present themselves in the language of the unconscious should be the beginning of a healing process, but the form in which they break through makes them unacceptable to consciousness.

A month earlier, on June 28, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian empire, was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a nineteen-year-old Serb student. On August 1, war broke out. In 1925 Jung recalled, "I had the feeling that I was an over-

82. Jung, "On psychological understanding," *CW* 3, §396.
83. Ibid., §398.
84. Ibid., §399.
85. *CW* 3.

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compensated psychosis, and from this feeling I was not released till August 1st 1914."[86] Years later, he said to Mircea Eliade:

> As a psychiatrist I became worried, wondering if I was not on the way to "doing a schizophrenia," as we said in the language of those days . . . I was just preparing a lecture on schizophrenia to be delivered at a congress in Aberdeen, and I kept saying to myself: "I'll be speaking of myself! Very likely I'll go mad after reading out this paper." The congress was to take place in July 1914—exactly the same period when I saw myself in my three dreams voyaging on the Southern seas. On July 31st, immediately after my lecture, I learned from the newspapers that war had broken out. Finally I understood. And when I disembarked in Holland on the next day, nobody was happier than I. Now I was sure that no schizophrenia was threatening me. I understood that my dreams and my visions came to me from the subsoil of the collective unconscious. What remained for me to do now was to deepen and validate this discovery. And this is what I have been trying to do for forty years.[87]

At this moment, Jung considered that his fantasy had depicted not what would happen to *him*, but to Europe. In other words, that it was a precognition of a collective event, what he would later call a "big" dream.[88] After this realization, he attempted to see whether and to what extent this was true of the other fantasies that he experienced, and to understand the meaning of this correspondence between private fantasies and public events. This effort makes up much of the subject matter of *Liber Novus*. In *Scrutinies*, he wrote that the outbreak of the war had enabled him to understand much of what he had previously experienced, and had given him the courage

86. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 48.
87. *Combat* interview (1952), C. G. *Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters*, eds. William McGuire and R.F.C. Hull (Bollingen Series, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 233–34. See below, p. 125.
88. See below, p. 125.

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to write the earlier part of *Liber Novus*.[89] Thus he took the outbreak of the war as showing him that his *fear* of going mad was misplaced. It is no exaggeration to say that had war not been declared, *Liber Novus* would in all likelihood not have been compiled. In 1955/56, while discussing active imagination, Jung commented that "the reason why the involvement looks very much like a psychosis is that the patient is integrating the same fantasy-material to which the insane person falls victim because he cannot integrate it but is swallowed up by it."[90]

It is important to note that there are around twelve separate fantasies that Jung may have regarded as precognitive:

1–2. OCTOBER, 1913
Repeated vision of flood and death of thousands, and the voice that said that this will become real.

3. AUTUMN 1913
Vision of the sea of blood covering the northern lands.

4–5. DECEMBER 12, 15, 1913
Image of a dead hero and the slaying of Siegfried in a dream.

6. DECEMBER 25, 1913
Image of the foot of a giant stepping on a city, and images of murder and bloody cruelty.

7. JANUARY 2, 1914
Image of a sea of blood and a procession of dead multitudes.

8. JANUARY 22, 1914
His soul comes up from the depths and asks him if he will accept war and destruction. She shows him images of destruction, military weapons, human remains, sunken ships, destroyed states, etc.

9. MAY 21, 1914
A voice says that the sacrificed fall left and right.

89. See below, p. 474.

90. *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, CW 14, §756. On the myth of Jung's madness, first promoted by Freudians as a means of invalidating his work, see my *Jung Stripped Bare by His Biographers, Even*.

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10–12. JUNE–JULY 1914
Thrice-repeated dream of being in a foreign land and having to return quickly by ship, and the descent of the icy cold.[91]

Liber Novus

Jung now commenced writing the draft of *Liber Novus*. He faithfully transcribed most of the fantasies from the *Black Books*, and to each of these added a section explaining the significance of each episode, combined with a lyrical elaboration. Word-by-word comparison indicates that the fantasies were faithfully reproduced, with only minor editing and division into chapters. Thus the sequence of the fantasies in *Liber Novus* nearly always exactly corresponds to the *Black Books*. When it is indicated that a particular fantasy happened "on the next night," etc., this is always accurate, and not a stylistic device. The language and content of the material were not altered. Jung maintained a "fidelity to the event," and what he was writing was not to be mistaken for a fiction. The draft begins with the address to "My friends," and this phrase occurs frequently. The main difference between the *Black Books* and *Liber Novus* is that the former were written for Jung's personal use, and can be considered the records of an experiment, while the latter is addressed to a public and presented in a form to be read by others.

In November 1914, Jung closely studied Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, which he had first read in his youth. He later recalled, "then suddenly the spirit seized me and carried me to a desert country in which I read Zarathustra."[92] It strongly shaped the structure

91. See below, pp. 123–24, 147, 161, 196, 264, 375, 468.
92. James Jarrett, ed., *Nietzsche's Zarathustra: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1934–9* (Bollingen Series, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 381. On Jung's reading of Nietzsche, see Paul Bishop, *The Dionysian Self: C. G. Jung's Reception of Nietzsche* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter); Martin Liebscher, "Die 'unheimliche Ähnlichkeit.' Nietzsches Hermeneutik der Macht und analytische Interpretation bei Carl Gustav Jung," in *Ecce Opus. Nietzsche-Revisionen im 20. Jahrhundert*, eds. Rüdiger Görner and Duncan Large (London/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), pp. 37–50; "Jungs Abkehr von Freud im Lichte seiner Nietzsche-Rezeption," in *Zeitenwende-Wertewende*, ed. Renate Reschke (Berlin 2001), pp. 255–60; and Graham Parkes, "Nietzsche and Jung:

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and style of *Liber Novus*. Like Nietzsche in *Zarathustra*, Jung divided the material into a series of books comprised of short chapters. But whereas Zarathustra proclaimed the death of God, *Liber Novus* depicts the rebirth of God in the soul. There are also indications that he read Dante's *Commedia* at this time, which also informs the structure of the work.[93] *Liber Novus* depicts Jung's descent into Hell. But whereas Dante could utilize an established cosmology, *Liber Novus* is an attempt to shape an individual cosmology. The role of Philemon in Jung's work has analogies to that of Zarathustra in Nietzsche's work and Virgil in Dante's.

In the *Draft*, about 50 percent of the material is drawn directly from the *Black Books*. There are about thirty-five new sections of commentary. In these sections, he attempted to derive general psychological principles from the fantasies, and to understand to what extent the events portrayed in the fantasies presented, in a symbolic form, developments that were to occur in the world. In 1913, Jung had introduced a distinction between interpretation on the objective level in which dream objects were treated as representations of real objects, and interpretation on the subjective level in which every element concerns the dreamers themselves.[94] As well as interpreting his fantasies on the subjective level, one could characterize his procedure here as an attempt to interpret his fantasies on the "collective" level. He does not try to interpret his fantasies reductively, but sees them as depicting the functioning of general psychological principles in him (such as the relation of introversion to extraversion, thinking and pleasure, etc.), and as depicting literal or symbolic events that are going to happen. Thus the second layer of the *Draft* represents the first major and extended attempt to

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Ambivalent Appreciations," in *Nietzsche and Depth Psychology*, ed. Jacob Golomb, Weaver Santaniello, and Ronald Lehrer (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999), pp. 69, 213.

93. In *Black Book 2*, Jung cited certain cantos from "Purgatorio" on December 26, 1913 (p. 104). See below, note 213, p. 198.

94. In 1913 Maeder had referred to Jung's "excellent expression" of the "objective level" and the "subjective level." ("Über das Traumproblem," *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 5, 1913, pp. 657–58). Jung discussed this in the Zürich Psychoanalytical Society on 30 January 1914, MZS.

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develop and apply his new constructive method. The second layer is itself a hermeneutic experiment. In a critical sense, *Liber Novus* does not require supplemental interpretation, for it contains its own interpretation.

In writing the *Draft*, Jung did not add scholarly references, though unreferenced citations and allusions to works of philosophy, religion, and literature abound. He had self-consciously chosen to leave scholarship to one side. Yet the fantasies and the reflections on them in *Liber Novus* are those of a scholar and, indeed, much of the self-experimentation and the composition of *Liber Novus* took place in his library. It is quite possible that he might have added references if he had decided to publish the work.

After completing the handwritten *Draft*, Jung had it typed, and edited it. On one manuscript, he made alterations by hand (I refer to this manuscript as the *Corrected Draft*). Judging from the annotations, it appears that he gave it to someone (the handwriting is not that of Emma Jung, Toni Wolff, or Maria Moltzer) to read, who then commented on Jung's editing, indicating that some sections which he had intended to cut should be retained.[95] The first section of the work—untitled, but effectively *Liber Primus*—was composed on parchment. Jung then commissioned a large folio volume of over 600 pages, bound in red leather, from the bookbinders, Emil Stierli. The spine bears the title, *Liber Novus*. He then inserted the parchment pages into the folio volume, which continues with *Liber Secundus*. The work is organized like a medieval illuminated manuscript, with calligraphic writing, headed by a table of abbreviations. Jung titled the first book "The Way of What Is to Come," and placed beneath this some citations from the book of Isaiah and from the gospel according to John. Thus it was presented as a prophetic work.

In the *Draft*, Jung had divided the material into chapters. In the course of the transcription into the red leather folio, he altered some of the titles to the chapters, added others, and edited the material

95. For example, by page 39 of the *Corrected Draft*, "Awesome! Why cut?" is written in the margin. Jung evidently took this advice, and retained the original passages. See below, p. 151, second paragraph.

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once again. The cuts and alterations were predominantly to the second layer of interpretation and elaboration, and not to the fantasy material itself, and mainly consisted in shortening the text. It is this second layer that Jung continually reworked. In the transcription of the text in this edition, this second layer has been indicated, so that the chronology and composition are visible. As Jung's comments in the second layer sometimes implicitly refer forward to fantasies that are found later in the text, it is also helpful to read the fantasies straight through in chronological sequence, followed by a continuous reading of the second layer.

Jung then illustrated the text with some paintings, historiated initials, ornamental borders, and margins. Initially, the paintings refer directly to the text. At a later point, the paintings become more symbolic. They are active imaginations in their own right. The combination of text and image recalls the illuminated works of William Blake, whose work Jung had some familiarity with.[96]

A preparatory draft of one of the images in *Liber Novus* has survived, which indicates that they were carefully composed, starting from pencil sketches that were then elaborated.[97] The composition of the other images likely followed a similar procedure. From the paintings of Jung's which have survived, it is striking that they make an abrupt leap from the representational landscapes of 1902/3 to the abstract and semifigurative from 1915 onward.

Art and the Zürich School

Jung's library today contains few books on modern art, though some books were probably dispersed over the years. He possessed a catalogue of the graphic works of Odilon Redon, as well as a study

96. In 1921, he cited from Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (CW 6, §422n, §460); in *Psychology and Alchemy*, he refers to two of Blake's paintings (CW 12, figs. 14 and 19). On November 11, 1948, he wrote to Piloo Nanavutty, "I find Blake a tantalizing study, since he has compiled a lot of half- or undigested knowledge in his fantasies. According to my idea, they are an artistic production rather than an authentic representation of unconscious processes" (*Letters* 2, pp. 513–14).

97. See below, Appendix A.

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of him.[98] He likely encountered Redon's work when he was in Paris. Strong echoes of the symbolist movement appear in the paintings in *Liber Novus.*

In October of 1910, Jung went on a bicycle tour of northern Italy, together with his colleague Wolfgang Stockmayer.[99] In April 1914, he visited Ravenna, and the frescos and mosaics there made a deep impression on him. These works seemed to have had an impact on his paintings: the use of strong colors, mosaic-like forms, and two-dimensional figures without the use of perspective.

In 1913 when he was in New York, he likely attended the Armory Show, which was the first major international exhibition of modern art in America (the show ran to March 15, and Jung left for New York on March 4). He referred to Marcel Duchamp's painting *Nude Descending a Staircase* in his 1925 seminar, which had caused a furor there.[100] Here, he also referred to having studied the course of Picasso's paintings. Given the lack of evidence of extended study, Jung's knowledge of modern art probably derived more immediately from direct acquaintance.

During the First World War, there were contacts between the members of the Zürich school and artists. Both were part of avant-garde movements and intersecting social circles.[101] In 1913, Erika Schlegel came to Jung for analysis. She and her husband, Eugen Schlegel, had been friendly with Toni Wolff. Erika Schlegel was Sophie Taeuber's sister, and became the librarian of the Psychological Club. Members of the Psychological Club were invited to some of the Dada events. At the celebration of the opening of the Gallery Dada on March 29, 1917, Hugo Ball notes members of the Club in

98. Redon, *Oeuvre graphique complet* (Paris: Secrétariat, 1913); André Mellerio, *Odilon Redon: Peintre, Dessinateur et Graveur* (Paris: Henri Floury, 1923). There is also one book on modern art, which was harshly critical of it: Max Raphael, *Von Monet zu Picasso: Grundzüge einer Ästhetik und Entwicklung der Modernen Malerei* (Munich: Delphin Verlag, 1913).
99. See Jung to Freud, October 20, 1910, *The Freud/Jung Letters,* ed. William McGuire, tr. R. Mannheim and R. F. C. Hull (Princeton: Bollingen Series, Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 359.
100. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology,* p. 59.
101. See Rainer Zuch, *Die Surrealisten und C. G. Jung: Studien zur Rezeption der analytischen Psychologie im Surrealismus am Beispeil von Max Ernst, Victor Brauner und Hans Arp* (Weimar: VDG, 2004).

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the audience.[102] The program that evening included abstract dances by Sophie Taeuber and poems by Hugo Ball, Hans Arp, and Tristan Tzara. Sophie Taeuber, who had studied with Laban, arranged a dance class for members of the Club together with Arp. A masked ball was also held and she designed the costumes.[103] In 1918, she presented a marionette play, *King Deer,* in Zürich. It was set in the woods by the Burghölzli. Freud Analytikus, opposed by Dr. Oedipus Complex, is transformed into a parrot by the Ur-Libido, parodically taking up themes from Jung's *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* and his conflict with Freud.[104] However, relations between Jung's circle and some of the Dadaists became more strained. In May 1917, Emmy Hennings wrote to Hugo Ball that the "psycho-Club" had now gone away.[105] In 1918, Jung criticized the Dada movement in a Swiss review, which did not escape the attention of the Dadaists.[106] The critical element that separated Jung's pictorial work from that of the Dadaists was his overriding emphasis on meaning and signification.

Jung's self-explorations and creative experiments did not occur in a vacuum. During this period, there was great interest in art and painting within his circle. Alphonse Maeder wrote a monograph on Ferdinand Hodler[107] and had a friendly correspondence with him.[108] Around 1916, Maeder had a series of visions or waking fantasies, which he published pseudonymously. When he told Jung of these events, Jung replied, "What, you too?"[109] Hans Schmid also wrote and painted his fantasies in something akin to *Liber Novus*. Moltzer

102. *Flight Out of Time*, p. 102.
103. Greta Stroeh, "Biographie," in *Sophie Taeuber: 15 Décembre 1989–Mars 1990, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Paris-musées, 1989), p. 124; Aline Valangin interview, Jung biographical archive, Countway Library of Medicine, p. 29.
104. The puppets are in the Bellerive museum, Zürich. See Bruno Mikol, "Sur le théatre de marionnettes de Sophie Taeuber-Arp," in *Sophie Taeuber: 15 Décembre 1989–Mars 1990, Musée d'art moderne de la ville de Paris*, pp. 59–68.
105. Hugo Ball and Emmy Hennings, *Damals in Zürich: Briefe aus den Jahren 1915–1917* (Zürich: Die Arche, 1978), p. 132.
106. Jung, "On the unconscious," CW 10, §44; Pharmouse, *Dada Review* 391 (1919); Tristan Tzara, *Dada*, nos. 4–5 (1919).
107. *Ferdinand Holder: Eine Skizze seiner seelischen Entwicklung und Bedeutung für die schweizerisch-nationale Kultur* (Zürich: Rascher, 1916).
108. Maeder papers.
109. Maeder interview, Jung biographical archive, Countway Library of Medicine, p. 9.

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was keen to increase the artistic activities of the Zürich school. She felt that more artists were needed in their circle and considered Riklin as a model.[110] J. B. Lang, who was analyzed by Riklin, began to paint symbolic paintings. Moltzer had a book that she called her Bible, in which she put pictures with writings. She recommended that her patient Fanny Bowditch Katz do the same thing.[111]

In 1919, Riklin exhibited some of his paintings as part of the "New Life" at the Kunsthaus in Zürich, described as a group of Swiss Expressionists, alongside Hans Arp, Sophie Taeuber, Francis Picabia, and Augusto Giacometti.[112] With his personal connections, Jung could easily have exhibited some of his works in such a setting, had he so liked. Thus his refusal to consider his works as art occurs in a context where there were quite real possibilities for him to have taken this route.

On some occasions, Jung discussed art with Erika Schlegel. She noted the following conversation:

> I wore my pearl medallion (the pearl embroidery that Sophie had made for me) at Jung's yesterday. He liked it very much, and it prompted him to talk animatedly about art—for almost an hour. He discussed Riklin, one of Augusto Giacometti's students, and observed that while his smaller works had a certain aesthetic value, his larger ones simply dissolved. Indeed, he vanished wholly in his art, rendering him utterly intangible.

110. Franz Riklin to Sophie Riklin, May 20, 1915, Riklin papers.
111. On August 17, 1916, Fanny Bowditch Katz, who was in analysis with her at this time, noted in her diary: "Of her [i.e., Moltzer] book—her Bible—pictures and each with writing—which I must also do." According to Katz, Moltzer regarded her paintings as "purely subjective, not works of art" (July 31, Countway Library of Medicine). On another occasion, Katz notes in her diary that Moltzer "spoke of Art, real art, being the expression of religion" (August 24, 1916). In 1916, Moltzer presented psychological interpretations of some of Riklin's paintings in a talk at the Psychological Club (in my *Cult Fictions: Jung and the Founding of Analytical Psychology* [London: Routledge, 1998], p. 102). On Lang, see Thomas Feitknecht, ed., "*Die dunkle und wilde Seite der Seele*": *Hermann Hesse. Briefwechsel mit seinem Psychoanalytiker Josef Lang, 1916–1944* (Frankfurt: Suhrkampf, 2006).
112. "*Das Neue Leben," Erst Ausstellung*, Kunsthaus Zürich. J. B. Lang noted an occasion at Riklin's house at which Jung and Augusto Giacometti were also present (Diary, December 3, 1916, p. 9, Lang papers, Swiss Literary Archives, Berne).

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> His work was like a wall over which water rippled. He could therefore not analyze, as this required one to be pointed and sharp-edged, like a knife. He had fallen into art in a manner of speaking. But art and science were no more than the servants of the creative spirit, which is what must be served.
>
> As regards my own work, it was also a matter of making out whether it was really art. Fairy tales and pictures had a religious meaning at bottom. I, too, know that somehow and sometime it must reach people.[113]

For Jung, Franz Riklin appears to have been something like a doppelganger, whose fate he was keen to avoid. This statement also indicates Jung's relativization of the status of art and science to which he had come through his self-experimentation.

Thus, the making of *Liber Novus* was by no means a peculiar and idiosyncratic activity, nor the product of a psychosis. Rather, it indicates the close intersections between psychological and artistic experimentation with which many individuals were engaged at this time.

The Collective Experiment

In 1915, Jung held a lengthy correspondence with his colleague Hans Schmid on the question of the understanding of psychological types. This correspondence gives no direct signs of Jung's self-experimentation, and indicates that theories he developed during this period did not stem solely from his active imaginations, but also in part consisted of conventional psychological theorizing.[114] On March 5, 1915, Jung wrote to Smith Ely Jeliffe:

> I am still with the army in a little town where I have plenty of practical work and horseback riding . . . Until I had to join the

113. March 11, 1921, Notebooks, Schlegel papers.
114. *The Question of Psychological Types: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and Hans Schmid-Guisan 1915–1916*, ed. John Beebe and Ernst Falzeder, tr. Ernst Falzeder with Tony Woolfson, Philemon Series, Princeton University Press, forthcoming.

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> army I lived quietly and devoted my time to my patients and to my work. I was especially working about the two types of psychology and about the synthesis of unconscious tendencies.[115]

During his self-explorations, he experienced states of turmoil. He recalled that he experienced great fear, and sometimes had to hold the table to keep himself together,[116] and "I was frequently so wrought up that I had to eliminate the emotions through yoga practices. But since it was my purpose to learn what was going on within myself, I would do them only until I had calmed myself and could take up again the work with the unconscious."[117]

He recalled that Toni Wolff had become drawn into the process in which he was involved, and was experiencing a similar stream of images. Jung found that he could discuss his experiences with her, but she was disorientated and in the same mess.[118] Likewise, his wife was unable to help him in this regard. Consequently, he noted, "that I was able to endure at all was a case of brute force."[119]

The Psychological Club had been founded at the beginning of 1916, through a gift of 360,000 Swiss francs from Edith Rockefeller McCormick, who had come to Zürich to be analyzed by Jung in 1913. At its inception, it had approximately sixty members. For Jung, the aim of the Club was to study the relation of individuals to the group, and to provide a naturalistic setting for psychological observation to overcome the limitations of one-to-one analysis, as well as to provide a venue where patients could learn to adapt to social situations. At the same time, a professional body of analysts continued to meet together as the Association for Analytical Psychology.[120] Jung participated fully in both of these organizations.

115. John Burnham, *Jeliffe: American Psychoanalyst and Physician & His Correspondence with Sigmund Freud and* C. G. *Jung*, ed. William McGuire (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 196–97.
116. *MP*, p. 174.
117. *Memories*, p. 201.
118. *MP*, p. 174.
119. *Memories*, p. 201.
120. On the formation of the Club, see my *Cult Fictions:* C. G. *Jung and the Founding of Analytical Psychology*.

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Jung's self-experimentation also heralded a change in his analytic work. He encouraged his patients to embark upon similar processes of self-experimentation. Patients were instructed on how to conduct active imagination, to hold inner dialogues, and to paint their fantasies. He took his own experiences as paradigmatic. In the 1925 seminar, he noted: "I drew all my empirical material from my patients, but the solution of the problem I drew from the inside, from my observations of the unconscious processes."[121]

Tina Keller, who was in analysis with Jung from 1912, recalls that Jung "often spoke of himself and his own experiences":

> In those early days, when one arrived for the analytic hour, the so-called "red book" often stood open on an easel. In it Dr. Jung had been painting or had just finished a picture. Sometimes he would show me what he had done and comment upon it. The careful and precise work he put into these pictures and into the illuminated text that accompanied them were a testimony to the importance of this undertaking. The master thus demonstrated to the student that psychic development is worth time and effort.[122]

In her analyses with Jung and Toni Wolff, Keller conducted active imaginations and also painted. Far from being a solitary endeavor, Jung's confrontation with the unconscious was a collective one, in which he took his patients along with him. Those around Jung formed an avant-garde group engaged in a social experiment that they hoped would transform their lives and the lives of those around them.

121. *Introduction to Jungian Psychology*, p. 35.

122. "C. G. Jung: Some memories and reflections," *Inward Light* 35 (1972), p. 11. On Tina Keller, see Wendy Swan, C. G. *Jung and Active Imagination* (Saarbrücken: VDM, 2007).

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The Return of the Dead

Amid the unprecedented carnage of the war, the theme of the return of the dead was widespread, such as in Abel Gance's film *J'accuse*.[123] The death toll also led to a revival of interest in spiritualism. After nearly a year, Jung began to write again in the *Black Books* in 1915, with a further series of fantasies. He had already completed the handwritten draft of *Liber Primus* and *Liber Secundus*.[124] At the beginning of 1916, Jung experienced a striking series of parapsychological events in his house. In 1923, he narrated this event to Cary de Angulo (later Baynes). She recorded it as follows:

> One night your boy began to rave in his sleep and throw himself about saying he couldn't wake up. Finally your wife had to call you to get him quiet & this you could only do by cold cloths on him—finally he settled down and went on sleeping. Next morning he woke up remembering nothing, but seemed utterly exhausted, so you told him not to go to school, he didn't ask why but seemed to take it for granted. But quite unexpectedly he asked for paper and colored pencils and set to work to make the following picture—a man was angling for fishes with hook and line in the middle of the picture. On the left was the Devil saying something to the man, and your son wrote down what he said. It was that he had come for the fisherman because he was catching his fishes, but on the right was an angel who said, "No you can't take this man, he is taking only bad fishes and none of the good ones." Then after your son had made that picture he was quite content. The same night, two of your daughters thought that they had seen spooks in their rooms. The next day you wrote out the "Sermons to the Dead," and you knew after that nothing more would disturb your family, and nothing did.

123. See Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, pp. 18, 69, and 133–44.
124. There is a note added in *Black Book 5* at this point: "In this time the I and II parts [of the *Red Book*] were written. Directly after the beginning of the war" (p. 86). The main script is in Jung's hand, and 'of the Red Book' was added by someone else.

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> Of course I knew you were the fisherman in your son's picture, and you told me so, but the boy didn't know it.[125]

In *Memories,* Jung recounted what followed:

> Around five o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday the front doorbell began ringing frantically . . . Everyone immediately looked to see who was there, but there was no one in sight. I was sitting near the doorbell, and not heard it but saw it moving. We all simply stared at one another. The atmosphere was thick, believe me! Then I knew something had to happen. The whole house was as if there was a crowd present, crammed full of spirits. They were packed deep right up to the door and the air was so thick it was scarcely possible to breathe. As for myself, I was all aquiver with the question: "For God's sake, what in the world is this?" Then they cried out in chorus, "We have come back from Jerusalem where we found not what we sought." That is the beginning of the *Septem Sermones.*
>
> Then it began to flow out of me, and in the course of three evenings the thing was written. As soon as I took up the pen, the whole ghastly assemblage evaporated. The room quieted and the atmosphere cleared. The haunting was over.[126]

The dead had appeared in a fantasy on January 17, 1914, and had said that they were about to go to Jerusalem to pray at the holiest graves.[127] Their trip had evidently not been successful. The *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos* is a culmination of the fantasies of this period. It is a psychological cosmology cast in the form of a gnostic creation myth. In Jung's fantasies, a new God had been born in his soul, the God who is the son of the frogs, Abraxas. Jung understood this symbolically. He saw this figure as representing the uniting of the Christian God with Satan, and hence as depicting a transformation

125. *CFB.*
126. *Memories,* pp. 215–16.
127. See below, p. 334.

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of the Western God-image. Not until 1952 in *Answer to Job* did Jung elaborate on this theme in public.

Jung had studied the literature on Gnosticism in the course of his preparatory reading for *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*. In January and October 1915, while on military service, he studied the works of the Gnostics. After writing the *Septem Sermones* in the *Black Books*, Jung recopied it in a calligraphic script into a separate book, slightly rearranging the sequence. He added the following inscription under the title: "The seven instructions of the dead. Written by Basilides in Alexandria, the city where the East touches the West."[128] He then had this privately printed, adding to the inscription: "Translated from the Greek original into German." This legend indicates the stylistic effects on Jung of late-nineteenth-century classical scholarship. He recalled that he wrote it on the occasion of the founding of the Psychological Club, and regarded it as a gift to Edith Rockefeller McCormick for founding the Club.[129] He gave copies to friends and confidants. Presenting a copy to Alphonse Maeder, he wrote:

> I could not presume to put my name to it, but chose instead the name of one of those great minds of the early Christian era which Christianity obliterated. It fell quite unexpectedly into my lap like a ripe fruit at a time of great stress and has kindled a light of hope and comfort for me in my bad hours.[130]

On January 16, 1916, Jung drew a mandala in the *Black Books* (see Appendix A). This was the first sketch of the "Systema Munditotius." He then proceeded to paint this. On the back of it, he wrote in English: "This is the first mandala I constructed in the year 1916, wholly unconscious of what it meant." The fantasies in the *Black*

128. The historical Basilides was a Gnostic who taught in Alexandria in the second century. See note 81, pp. 508–9.
129. *MP*, p. 26.
130. January 19, 1917, *Letters* 1, pp. 33–34. Sending a copy of the *Sermones* to Jolande Jacobi, Jung described them as "a curiosity from the workshop of the unconscious" (October 7, 1928, JA).

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Books continued. The Systema Munditotius is a pictorial cosmology of the *Sermones*.

Between June 11 and October 2, 1917, Jung was on military service in Chateau d'Oex, as commander of the English prisoners of war. Around August, he wrote to Smith Ely Jeliffe that his military service had taken him completely away from his work and that, on his return, he hoped to finish a long paper about the types. He concluded the letter by writing: "With us everything is unchanged and quiet. Everything else is swallowed by the war. The psychosis is still increasing, going on and on."[131]

At this time, he felt that he was still in a state of chaos and that it only began to clear toward the end of the war.[132] From the beginning of August to the end of September, he drew a series of twenty-seven mandalas in pencil in his army notebook, which he preserved.[133] At first, he did not understand these mandalas, but felt that they were very significant. From August 20, he drew a mandala on most days. This gave him the feeling that he had taken a photograph of each day and he observed how these mandalas changed. He recalled that he received a letter from "this Dutch woman that got on my nerves terribly."[134] In this letter, this woman, that is, Moltzer, argued that "the fantasies stemming from the unconscious possessed artistic worth and should be considered as art."[135] Jung found this troubling because it was not stupid, and, moreover, modern painters were attempting to make art out of the unconscious. This awoke a doubt in him whether his fantasies were really spontaneous and natural. On the next day, he drew a mandala, and a piece of it was broken off, leaving the symmetry:

> Only now did I gradually come to what the mandala really is: "Formation, transformation, the eternal mind's eternal rec-

131. John C. Burnham, *Jeliffe: American Psychoanalyst and Physician*, p. 199.
132. *MP*, p.172.
133. See Appendix A.
134. *Memories*, p. 220.
135. Ibid.

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> reation." And that is the self, the wholeness of the personality, which, when everything is well, is harmonious, but which can bear no self deception. My mandala images were cryptograms on the state of my self, which were delivered to me each day.[136]

The mandala in question appears to be the mandala of August 6, 1917.[137] The second line is from Goethe's *Faust*. Mephistopheles is addressing Faust, giving him directions to the realm of the Mothers:

> MEPHISTOPHELES
> A glowing tripod will finally show you
> that you are in the deepest, most deepest ground.
> By its light you will see the Mothers:
> the one sits, others stand and walk,
> as it may chance. Formation, transformation
> the eternal mind's eternal recreation.
> Covered in images of all creatures,
> they do not see you, since they only see shades.
> Then hold your heart, since the danger is great,
> and go straight to that tripod,
> touch it with the key![138]

The letter in question has not come to light. However, in a subsequent unpublished letter from November 21, 1918, while at Chateau d'Oex, Jung wrote that "M. Moltzer has again disturbed me with letters."[139] He reproduced the mandalas in *Liber Novus*. He noted that it was during this period that a living idea of the self first came to him: "The self, I thought, was like the monad which I am, and which is my world. The mandala represents this monad, and

136. Ibid., p. 221.
137. See Appendix A.
138. *Faust*, 2, act 1. 6287f.
139. Unpublished letter, *JFA*. There also exists an undated painting by Moltzer that appears to be a quadrated mandala, which she described in brief accompanying notes as "A pictorial presentation of Individuation or of the Individuation process" (Library, Psychological Club, Zürich).

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corresponds to the microcosmic nature of the soul."[140] At this point, he did not know where this process was leading, but he began to grasp that the mandala represented the goal of the process: "Only when I began to paint the mandalas did I see that all the paths I took, all the steps I made, all led back to the one point, that is, to the center. The mandala became the expression of all paths."[141] In the 1920s, Jung's understanding of the significance of the mandala deepened.

The *Draft* had contained fantasies from October 1913 to February 1914. In the winter of 1917, Jung wrote a fresh manuscript called *Scrutinies*, which began where he had left off. In this, he transcribed fantasies from April 1913 until June 1916. As in the first two books of *Liber Novus*, Jung interspersed the fantasies with interpretive commentaries.[142] He included the *Sermones* in this material, and now added Philemon's commentaries on each sermon. In these, Philemon stressed the compensatory nature of his teaching: he deliberately stressed precisely those conceptions that the dead lacked. *Scrutinies* effectively forms *Liber Tertius* of *Liber Novus*. The complete sequence of the text would thus be:

Liber Primus: The Way of What Is to Come
Liber Secundus: The Images of the Erring
Liber Tertius: Scrutinies

During this period, Jung continued transcribing the *Draft* into the calligraphic volume and adding paintings. The fantasies in the *Black Books* became more intermittent. He portrayed his realization of the significance of the self, which took place in the autumn of

140. *Memories*, p. 221. The immediate sources that Jung drew on for his concept of the self appear to be the Atman/Brahman conception in Hinduism, which he discussed in 1921 *Psychological Types*, and certain passages in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*. (See note 29, p. 477).
141. Ibid.
142. On page 23 of the manuscript of *Scrutinies*, a date is indicated: "27/11/17," which suggests that they were written in the latter half of 1917, and thus after the mandala experiences at Chateau d'Oex.

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1917, in *Scrutinies*.[143] This contains Jung's vision of the reborn God, culminating in the portrayal of Abraxas. He realized that much of what was given to him in the earlier part of the book (that is, *Liber Primus* and *Liber Secundus*) was actually given to him by Philemon.[144] He realized that there was a prophetic wise old man in him, to whom he was not identical. This represented a critical disidentification. On January 17, 1918, Jung wrote to J. B. Lang:

> The work on the unconscious has to happen first and foremost for us ourselves. Our patients profit from it indirectly. The danger consists in the prophet's delusion which often is the result of dealing with the unconscious. It is the devil who says: Disdain all reason and science, mankind's highest powers. That is never appropriate even though we are forced to acknowledge [the existence of] the irrational.[145]

Jung's critical task in "working over" his fantasies was to differentiate the voices and characters. For example, in the *Black Books*, it is Jung's "I" who speaks the *Sermones* to the dead. In *Scrutinies*, it is not Jung's "I" but Philemon who speaks them. In the *Black Books*, the main figure with whom Jung has dialogues is his soul. In some sections of *Liber Novus*, this is changed to the serpent and the bird. In one conversation in January 1916, his soul explained to him that when the Above and Below are not united, she falls into three parts—a serpent, the human soul, and the bird or heavenly soul, which visits the Gods. Thus Jung's revision here can be seen to reflect his understanding of the tripartite nature of his soul.[146]

During this period, Jung continued to work over his material, and there is some indication that he discussed it with his colleagues.

143. See below, p. 461f.
144. See below, p. 474.
145. Private possession, Stephen Martin. The reference is to Mephistopheles' statement in *Faust*, (1.1851f.)
146. See below, p. 577.

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In March 1918 he wrote to J. B. Lang, who had sent him some of his own fantasies:

> I would not want to say anything more than telling you to continue with this approach because, as you have observed correctly yourself, it is very important that we experience the contents of the unconscious before we form any opinions about it. I very much agree with you that we have to grapple with the knowledge content of gnosis and neo-Platonism, since these are the systems that contain the materials which are suited to form the basis of a theory of the unconscious spirit. I have already been working on this myself for a long time, and also have had ample opportunity to compare my experiences at least partially with those of others. That's why I was very pleased to hear pretty much the same views from you. I am glad that you have discovered all on your own this area of work which is ready to be tackled. Up to now, I lacked workers. I am happy that you want to join forces with me. I consider it very important that you extricate your own material uninfluenced from the unconscious, as carefully as possible. My material is very voluminous, very complicated, and in part very graphic, up to almost completely worked through clarifications. But what I completely lack is comparative modern material. Zarathustra is too strongly consciously formed. Meyrink retouches aesthetically; furthermore, I feel he is lacking in religious sincerity.[147]

The Content

Liber Novus thus presents a series of active imaginations together with Jung's attempt to understand their significance. This work of understanding encompasses a number of interlinked threads: an attempt to understand himself and to integrate and develop the various components of his personality; an attempt to understand the

147. Private possession, Stephen Martin.

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