Of Books and Fire:

Approaching the Alchemy of Carl Gustav Jung

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Thesis Abstract

Historical examinations of the alchemical thought of Carl Jung have hitherto focused on the shortcomings of his historiography and its applications, largely neglecting the fundaments, formation, and sequence of his alchemical findings within the context of his psychological research: a deficit for which the present study is offered as a needed corrective. The dissertation entails a chronological investigation of Jung's research spanning the period from his seminal 1911-1912 work, *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*, to his founding alchemical essays of 1935 and 1936, respectively entitled "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process" and "Notions of Redemption in Alchemy." In the first of three sections, *Transformations* is considered as a template for Jung's "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays, both in methodology and manner of exposition. Jung's *Red Book* is claimed, further, to have shaped the psychological content of those essays, as mediated through published works from the period, 1913 to 1918. The section then chronicles Jung's final path to the composition of his alchemical essays, as facilitated through an analysis of the quaternary Self symbol, which Jung associated with the historical symbol of the philosophers' stone. The middle section comprises detailed expositions of Jung's "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays, as well as commentary upon the materials, means, and methods of his historiography. The last section offers three discrete assessments of Jung's alchemical thought. It inquires first into the nature of Jung's historiography, probing the potential shortcomings of his alchemical essays given the historical character and content of the alchemical texts themselves. It also considers Jung's alchemical findings in light of other identified 'spiritual-alchemical' thinkers, in particular, Ethan Allen Hitchcock and Herbert Silberer. Finally, it yields an evaluation of Jung's alchemical conceptions within the context of his own experiences and writings. Although not supportive of the application of Jung's findings in the study of Western alchemical history, the dissertation recommends his thought as a creative twentieth-century contribution to such history, framing Jung, himself, as a purveyor of a distinctive 'psycho-alchemical' art.

Thesis declaration:

I hereby declare that my thesis/dissertation, entitled “Of Books and Fire: Approaching the Alchemy of Carl Gustav Jung,”

- is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text
- is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text
- does not exceed the prescribed word limit

To the memory of John Forrester

and

to the memory of my father

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"*Hic lapis exilis extat, precio quoque vilis,*
Spernitur à ſtultis amatur plus ab edoctis"

[This stone appears poor,
indeed, cheap in its price;
By the foolish it is spurned,
the more treasured by the wise]

—*Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant,* 1593
(attributed to Arnaldus de Villa Nova)

Introduction

Approaching Jung's Alchemy

0.1

Jung's manor-house dream

For his memoir, published posthumously as *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (*Memories*), the Swiss psychologist, Carl Jung (1875-1961), disclosed a memorable dream. Dated to around the year, 1926, the dream recounts his own embarkment, with a small peasant man, through a tunnel leading from a wartime front in South Tyrol, Italy, to a peaceful, Lombardian plain. Jung relates that the two men enter the grounds of a large manor house:

> When we are in the middle of the courtyard, something entirely unexpected happens: both gates shut with a bang. The peasant next to me jumps down from his seat and says, "Now we are caught in the seventeenth century!" I thought, yes, that's right! But what is there to do here? We'll be caught for years to come!"[1]

Jung reports having struggled to ascertain the meaning of this dream for a number of years: "I read through volumes of world history in order to find something that could explain the dream. But didn't find anything anywhere."[2] According to *Memories*, an account arranged and largely composed by Jung's secretary, Aniela Jaffé, an explanation came only after his acquisition of a particular Western alchemical text, namely the second volume of a two-part sixteenth-century collection of alchemical writings entitled *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (*Of the Art of Making Gold Which They Call Chemistry*).[3] Jung discerned an affinity between the symbols of

[1] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 203 (see note below).
[2] Ibid.; cf. ibid.
[3] *Memories*, ibid. In the interest of capturing Jung's original voice, this study draws upon not only *Memories*, but also Jaffé's Protocols, the manuscript that served as the basis of her memoir and that derives from her interviews with Jung. Concerning these texts, see, especially, Shamdasani (2005), 22ff.; also ibid. (2003), 22ff.; ibid. (2000); Charet (2000:1); ibid. (2000:2); Elms (2005).

the text and identified processes of his own psychology.[4] Writing with the voice of Jung, Jaffé reveals that "one night, while I was studying [the *Artis*], I suddenly recalled the dream that I was caught in the seventeenth century," the period in which alchemy had "reached its height":

> At last I grasped its meaning. "So that's it! Now I am condemned to study alchemy from the very beginning!"…I had very soon seen that analytical psychology coincided in a most curious way with alchemy…This was, of course, a momentous discovery: I had stumbled upon the historical counterpart of my psychology of the unconscious.[5]

0.2
Mysterium coniungtionis

Over the ensuing decades, Jung elucidated this 'historical counterpart' in a number of scholarly works, including *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944), his inaugural book on the topic; *The Psychology of the Transference* (1946); and *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (*The Mystery of the Conjunction*) (1955-1956).[6] Even a cursory review of such texts may generate a certain riddle: a *mysterium coniungtionis* or mystery of *Jung's* conjunction of twentieth-century psychology with a reputed pseudo-science of a bygone age. In the address of this 'mystery,' one may consider Jung's own introductory words to the English edition of *Psychology and Alchemy*:

> To the reader who knows little or nothing of my work, a word of explanation may be helpful. Some thirty-five years ago I noticed to my amazement that European and American men and women coming to me for psychological advice were producing in their dreams and fantasies symbols similar to, and often identical with, the symbols found in the mystery religions of antiquity, in mythology, folklore, fairytales, and the apparently meaningless formulations of such esoteric cults as alchemy. Experience showed, moreover, that these symbols brought with them new energy and new life to the people to whom they came.
>
> From long and careful comparison and analysis of these products of the unconscious I was led to postulate a "collective unconscious," a source of energy and insight in the depth of the human psyche which has operated in and through man from the earliest periods of which we have records.

[4] *Memories*, ibid.
[5] Ibid., 205.
[6] See, in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung* (*CW*)—and in its largely commensurate German edition, *Gesammelte Werke von C.G. Jung* (*GW*)—respectively, volumes 12, 16, and 14.

> In this present study of alchemy I have taken a particular example of symbol-formation, extending in all over some seventeen centuries, and have subjected it to intensive examination, linking it at the same time with an actual series of dreams recorded by a modern European not under my direct supervision and having no knowledge of what the symbols appearing in the dreams might mean. It is by such intensive comparisons as this (and not one but many) that the hypothesis of the collective unconscious—of an activity in the human psyche making for the spiritual development of the individual human being—may be scientifically established.[7]

0.3
Thesis overview

The present study may be envisioned as a systematic exposition and inspection of these claims, entailing a chronological investigation of their conception, logic, and means of disclosure. Tracking Jung's approach to and commencement of alchemical research over a period of roughly twenty-five years, the dissertation moves from the composition of his seminal 1911-1912 work, *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* (*Transformations*), to that of his founding *Psychology and Alchemy* essays of 1935 and 1936—an interval deemed essential to the proper understanding of Jung's psycho-alchemical thought. It proceeds according to the insight that Jung's own writings constitute a far greater influence upon his alchemical thought than the historical texts of his eventual review, hence the prioritization and critique of such works as *Transformations, The Relations Between the I and the Unconscious*, and the personal, calligraphic *Red Book* or *Liber Novus* (literally, *The New Book*). The present study may rightly be regarded as the first major historical treatment documenting Jung's approach to the subject of alchemy: more particularly, the first detailed chronicle demonstrating the connections between his founding alchemical essays and his previous non-alchemical work. In elucidating these essays as natural outgrowths of his previous thought, the dissertation reveals the likely reasons why alchemy proved so compelling to Jung, in the process reconstructing how—through various phases and transitions, inventions and discoveries, public and private texts—his psychological notions concerning alchemy burgeoned and matured.

[7] *CW:12*, v. The prefatory note is undated but was likely written just prior to publication of the English edition of the text in 1953. On the details of this case study, see Chapter 6.

0.4

The reception of Jung's alchemical thought

0.4.1 Introduction

In charting the reception of such thought, one may note first its limited conceptual documentation and analysis in accounts concerning the assessment of Jung. Biographies and memoirs have offered brief chronologies of Jung's engagement with alchemy, in most cases retracing the narrative constructions of Jaffé's *Memories*.[8] In writings focused more on Jung's abstract apprehensions and judgments, his investigation of alchemy has been treated either marginally, or selectively with regard to a particular topic or theme.[9] Among advocates of Jung's psychotherapeutic approach, who have generally lauded and sustained his alchemical thought, a small number of such supporters have, in fact, extended his alchemical notions through manifold methodologies and pursuits.[10] Further afield, one may discern the impact of Jung's alchemical formulations in works of such domains as religious studies,[11] occultism,[12] literature,[13] and art.[14]

[8] In the address of Jung's alchemical thought, see, above all, *Memories*, 201ff., as well as other firsthand accounts and retrospectives, including Bennet (1961), e.g., 112, 122, 140; Jaffé (1984 [1971]), 46ff.; von Franz (1975 [1972]), e.g., 199ff., 219ff.; van der Post (1975), 202, 206f.; Hannah (1991 [1976]), e.g., 229ff.; and Jaffé (1983 [1977]), 96ff. Of biographers on this topic, Wehr is perhaps the most extensive in his coverage: see Wehr (2001 [1985]), 245ff., 336f., 396ff.; ibid. (1989), 74ff. See also Stern (1976), 185ff.; Brome (1978), e.g., 193, 232ff., 288; Wilson (1984), 100ff.; Stevens (1990), e.g., 192ff., 229ff.; Noll (1997:2 [1994]), e.g., 284; McLynn (1996), e.g., 428ff., 469ff.; Noll (1997:1), e.g., 131, 159; Hayman (2001 [1999]), e.g., 282ff., 333, 341, 349, 386; Dunne (2003 [2000]), e.g., 75f., 184ff.; Bair (2003), e.g., 368ff., 395ff., 472ff.; Lachman (2010), e.g., 154ff., 184; and Shamdasani (2012), 164ff.

[9] See, for example, Progoff (1999 [1953]), 153f.; Ellenberger (1970), 719f.; Heisig (1979), 48f., 59f.; Ribi (2013 [1999]), e.g., 133ff., 230f., 254f. Of more particular treatments in this category, see, for instance, Bishop's consideration of alchemy and *Faust* (Bishop [2009], 107-127); Dourley's address of Jung and Gerard Dorn (Dourley [2011], 514ff.); Willard's discussion of Paracelsus, Dorn, Jung, and von Franz (Willard [2012], 425ff.); and Mather's *The Alchemical Mercurius* (2014), a thematic introduction to and meditation upon Jung's alchemical thought, as traced through recognized manifestations of the Mercurius concept.

[10] For early confirmation of Jung's views, see, for example, Fordham (1960); Harding (1973 [1963]), 359ff., 418ff. For elaborations and extensions of these views, see, above all, the writings of Marie-Louise von Franz, e.g., von Franz (1974 [1970]); ibid. (1997 [1979]); ibid. (1980) (see Chapter 6 for more on von Franz); see also, for example, Raphael (1965); Trinick (1967); Fabricius (1971); Grinnell (1973); Fordham (1974); Edinger (1994 [1978-1982]); Holt (1992:1 [1983]); Hubback (1983); Jacoby (1984); Samuels (1989), 128ff.; Garnett (1994); Schwartz-Salant (1995), 1-43; Miller et al. (1994); Marlan (1997); Giegerich (1998); Schwartz-Salant (1998); Raff (2000); Cavalli (2002); Henderson et al. (2003); Abt (2005); Marlan (2005); Cwik (2006); Schenk (2006); Chittock (2008); Hillman (2010); Roth (2011); and Connolly (2013). For an overview of this literature, see Marlan (2006).

[11] See Eliade (1978 [1956]), 221ff.

[12] See Regardie (1970 [1938]), e.g., 124, 160.

[13] See Materer (1995) (Chapters 4, 5, 7, and 8); Lembert (2004), 75ff.; and Ziolkowski (2015) (Chapters 7 and 8).

[14] See, for instance, Warlick (2001), 27ff.; Zuch (2005).

0.4.2 Reception in the history of alchemy

One may note also the wide recognition of Jung's ideas in the history of alchemy, although with varying levels of engagement and decidedly mixed appraisals of their quality and worth. Among more popular surveys and studies of alchemy, Jung's thought has often been acknowledged and compendiously reviewed, only in a few cases contributing to the basis of a given author's historiographic approach.[15] Of surveys garnering more scholarly attention, one may consider the work, for example, of H.E. Fierz-David, who, with reference to Jung's 1944 study, proclaimed, the following year, that alchemists

> *projected*, as following the psychological expression, *inner experiences and images* into the material, whereby these, themselves, became symbols. The chemical reactions virtually turned into the living depiction of the unconscious soul of man and as such could be contemplated and interpreted.[16]

In 1949, Frank Sherwood Taylor attested that, although not presenting "a complete picture of alchemy," "C.G. Jung, in his recent *Psychologie und Alchemie* comes near to the truth when he claims that the alchemists, in studying matter symbolically, were also symbolizing their own mental content."[17] A number of additional surveyors have, at least in some measure, deferred to Jung's psychological expertise in the interest of explaining alchemical symbolism, including Eduard Farber (1952), E.J. Holmyard (1957), E.J. Dijksterhuis (1961), and William Brock (1992).[18] As recently as 2000, Hans-Werner Schütt posed the question, in his survey, of why alchemy, "which fundamentally ended in failure, was repeated again and again over centuries and in entirely different cultures," suggesting, with reference to Jung, that "a partial answer to that is upheld through the statements of analytical psychology."[19]

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[15] See, for example, Abraham (1998), vii, 123, 147; Burckhardt (1972 [1960]), 8f.; Powell (1976), 127f.; Coudert (1980), 148ff.; Gilchrist (1998 [1991]), 120ff.; Roberts (1994), 7, 66; Martin (2006), 93ff.; Maxwell-Stuart (2008), 154f.; Edson (2012), e.g., 8, 208, 217. Of such texts shaped more fundamentally by Jung's views, see Fabricius (1994 [1976]); McLean (1989); Haeffner (1991); and Abraham (1998), e.g., vii, 123, 147.

[16] Fierz-David (1952 [1945]), 25 (emphasis in original). Fierz-David served as professor of chemistry at the Swiss Polytechnic (E.T.H.), where Jung also lectured. His quoted text, *The History of the Development of Chemistry*, was, in fact, dedicated to Jung. For references to Fierz-David in Jung's works, see *CW:9.2*§394; *CW:16*§353; see also Weyer (1976), 74f.; Kirsch (2000), 16.

[17] See Taylor (1992 [1949]), 122f.; also 174. Concerning Taylor on Jung's interpretation of alchemy, see also Simcock (1987), 131; Brock (2011), 211f. For comparable acknowledgment of Jung's work in a survey contemporaneous with Taylor's, see Ganzenmüller (1950), 153.

[18] See Farber (1969 [1952]), 43f.; Holmyard (1990 [1957]), 163f.; Dijksterhuis (1961), 160; and Brock (1993 [1992]), 17. Similarly, John Read noted the importance of alchemy to psychology, although without direct mention of Jung (Read [1995 {1957}], 14f.).

[19] Schütt (2000), 525. For the brief address of Jung in another notable alchemical survey contemporaneous with Schütt's, see Pereira (2001), 276ff.

Among more detailed assessments by historians of alchemy, one may weigh first the predominantly positive responses to Jung's alchemical thought. In May, 1948, Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* received favorable reviews in two leading history-of-science journals, *Isis* and *Ambix*. In the former, Walter Pagel wrote that

> Jung's is the first (and largely successful) attempt at understanding [alchemy]. It obviously succeeds: (1) in placing alchemy into an entirely new perspective in the history of science, medicine, theology and general human culture, (2) in explaining alchemical symbolism, hitherto a complete puzzle, by utilizing modern psychological analysis for the elucidation of an historical problem and—vice versa—making use of the latter for the advancement of modern psychology; and all this in a scholarly, well documented and scientifically unimpeachable exposition.[20]

In *Ambix*, Gerard Heym stated that

> what Dr. Jung has done is to render us an invaluable service in explaining the process of thought of the alchemists…No one is better fitted than Dr. Jung to explain the synthetic meaning of a symbol, and here in this book he has definitely broken new ground by showing the immense importance of thinking in symbolical terms,—terms, not merely applicable to psychological states of the self, but especially valuable when we come to investigate the origins of scientific ideas.[21]

Writing in the same journal in 1973, Betty Jo Dobbs asserted, in her study of the natural philosopher and alchemist, Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665), that Jung

> has provided the historian of science with a promising approach to the historical problems of alchemical thought…Until the seventeenth century alchemy had always been composed of two inextricable parts: (1) a secret knowledge or understanding and (2) the labour at the furnace. According to Jung, these two sides of alchemy really were inextricable, for the secret knowledge about transformation was in reality an unconscious or semi-conscious understanding of certain psychological changes *internal* to the adept. Since he was unaware of their true nature, however,

[20] Pagel (1948), 48. The review also contained praise for Jung's 1942 study of Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim) (1493-1541), Pagel's subject of expertise (see Jung [1942:2]). For invocations of Jung's scholarship in Pagel's later writings, see Pagel (1982 [1958]), 122, 207; Pagel and Winder (1969), 122ff.
[21] Heym (1948), 65. The journal, *Ambix*, was launched in 1937 as the house organ of the Society for the Study of Alchemy & Early Chemistry, which, as Brock notes, Jung joined in 1946, contributing an article the same year (see Brock [2011], 207; also Jung [1946:1]). As one of the Society co-founders, Heym also wrote other favorable reviews in *Ambix* of Jung's works (see Heym [1946]; ibid. [1957]; see also on Heym, Hakl [2013], 132f.; Brock [2011], 193; and the *Ambix* obituary for Heym in 1972).

> the alchemist projected the process of change upon matter…which means that he "saw" the process taking place *externally*.[22]

Two years later, in her alchemical study of Isaac Newton, Dobbs restated and enlarged upon this affirmation of Jung's work, citing, in defense of her position, the endorsements of Pagel and Heym.[23] In 1979, Robert Halleux submitted that "the method of Jung can be an excellent tool of exegesis," and that he "scrupulously takes account of the results of scholarship regarding the dates and attribution of the [alchemical] works."[24] In his 1981 *Ambix* review of the second edition of *Psychology and Alchemy*, H.J. Sheppard declared cautiously though approvingly that

> alchemy appears as a symbolic quest—though whether that quest is explicable with certainty in the way Jung suggests depends upon the acceptance of the depth psychology of the great scholar. To the reviewer it seems the most satisfactory explanation to-date.[25]

In fact, as a self-described journal 'of alchemy and early chemistry,' *Ambix* may be used to demonstrate the relative academic acceptability of Jung's alchemical ideas through at least the mid-nineteen-nineties.[26]

Criticism of Jung's approach may be found already in the assessments of his stated defenders. His praise notwithstanding, Pagel remarked that, for Jung, "everything seems to be psychology and symbolism," noting more specifically that "he is prone to belittle the role of alchemy as a precursor to science and its actual foundations in serious philosophical, notably neo-Platonic, speculation."[27] Dobbs remarked that "Jung may have been rather selective in his choice of alchemists for intensive study," also that he "drew his alchemical materials from all periods without regard to the historical relationships which might be involved."[28] Despite his praise, Halleux called Jung's approach "*a priori* ahistorical."[29] More pointed criticism may be located first in Joachim Telle's monograph (1980) on the alchemical "Sun and Moon" picture-poem, wherein he laments, with reference to *The Psychology of the Transference*, that "the only more

[22] Dobbs (1973), 161 (emphasis in original). Not dissimilar to Dobbs's description, Hoheisel has considered the "chemical-metallurgical-technological sides" of Western alchemy, together with its "religious-spiritual aspects," as constituting an alchemical "double-face" (Hoheisel [1986], 61f.).
[23] See Dobbs (1983 [1975]), 26ff.
[24] Halleux (1979), 55.
[25] Sheppard (1981), 211. Like Heym, Sheppard showed consistent, though qualified, support for Jung's theories over the course of his many contributions to *Ambix* (see, for example, Sheppard [1957], 97ff.; ibid. [1960] 36ff.; ibid. [1977]; ibid. [1984]; ibid. [1985]).
[26] See, especially, von Franz (1965); also Zimmerman (1984); Brann (1985), 135f.; and Ryding (1994), 131. For a partial survey of this literature from a Jungian perspective, see Holt's *Harvest* article of 1987 (reprinted in Holt [1992:2], 385-411).
[27] Pagel (1948), 48.
[28] Dobbs (1983), 42; 40.
[29] Halleux, ibid.

extensive consideration contributing significantly to the present-day awareness of the picture-poem [*Bildgedicht*] stems from C.G. Jung."[30] Observing that "no attempt was made to collect and examine the traditions of the *Bildgedicht*," Telle declared that Jung

> neglected [its] historical-critical aspects. The *Bildgedicht* was evaluated here as an expression of "inner impressions" and manifestation of "unconscious projections" of the "unconscious psyche" and only called upon as an "Ariadne's thread" in order to depict certain tenets of depth psychology in light of its background, as detached from the picture-poem.[31]

In her study of late-Medieval alchemical iconography, Barbara Obrist (1982) offered a more protracted rebuttal of Jung's ideas, criticizing, among other historiographic faults, his periodization of Western alchemical history, unconscious projection theory (as summarized above by Fierz-David and Dobbs), and interpretation of alchemical metaphor.[32] For her, Jung's project partakes not of a critical, historical evaluation of alchemical images but rather of their "resymbolization" through psychological discourse.[33] On the historiographic influence of this project, she concluded that "by dint of being repeated, Jung's theories acquire the status of evidence and are no longer questioned by historians. But they are the product of an anti-historical vision which is properly discarded at the outset of this study."[34] Supporting the criticisms of Obrist and Telle, William Newman also questioned the Jungian interpretation of alchemical texts in his examinations of Thomas Vaughan (1622-1666) and Eirenaeus Philalethes (George Starkey [1628-1665]), published respectively in 1982 and 1994.[35] Expanding upon the latter investigation, Newman claimed, in 1996, that, regrettably, "the Jungian interpretation of alchemy is still alive and well," referencing the work not only of Dobbs, but also of Brock (1992) and Marco Beretta (1993).[36] As a direct challenge to this interpretative model, he undertook "the disentangling of Philalethes' works without assumptions drawn from Jungian psychology," elucidating thereby certain rhetorical strategies considered common in alchemical writing, most prominently the employment of secret names (*Decknamen*) for material processes and compounds.[37] Writing with Lawrence Principe in 2001, Newman petitioned further for the abandonment of the Jungian model, citing not only

[30] Telle (1980), 3.
[31] Ibid. For additional criticism of Jung's approach (and that of certain adherents, including Fabricius and Raphael), see also ibid., 82ff., 121.
[32] Obrist (1982), 11ff.
[33] Ibid., 33.
[34] Ibid., 14.
[35] See Newman (1982), 126f.; ibid. (1994), 115ff.; also his reviews of the above works by Telle and Obrist: respectively, ibid. (1983); ibid. (1985).
[36] See Newman (1996), 161; also Brock (1993), ibid.; Beretta (1993), 77.
[37] Newman (ibid.), 161, 188.

evidence related to the *Decknamen* hypothesis, but also ostensible disproofs of Jung's theory of the collective unconscious.[38]

0.4.3 Reception in the history of esotericism

Independent from the reception hitherto traced out, Jung's alchemical thought has also been framed in what may be considered a newly emergent form of intellectual history, a self-identified 'history of esotericism.' As promulgated by Antoine Faivre (1994), such an approach entails the analysis of specified texts arising in "the Latin West since the end of the fifteenth century," but reflecting, potentially, earlier movements and traditions, including forms of "Hellenistic religiosity (Stoicism, Gnosticism, Hermetism, Neopythagoreanism) and…the three Abrahamic religions."[39] The texts are selected, according to Faivre, on the basis of four fundamental criteria, which provide a definition of 'esoterically' denominated discourse: the exhibition of symbolic or real correspondences; ideas of living nature; notions of imagination and mediation (facilitating communication with nature as exercised through revealed correspondences); and experiences of transmutation.[40] Recognizing his alchemical work as early as 1971, Faivre credits Jung as "the great explorer of the psychological treasures of the esoteric corpus," evaluating Jung's psychology as "a kind of neognosis" and his "archetypology" as contributing to the restoration of "an important strain of esotericism."[41] Applying Faivre's framework, Wouter Hanegraaff (1996) claimed that Jung "psychologized esotericism but…also sacralised psychology."[42] He assessed Jung's "scientific psychology" as a combination of "esoteric traditions, Romantic *Naturphilosophie*, evolutionist vitalism, 'neopagan' solar worship, *völkisch* mythology and a considerable dose of occultism."[43] Karen-Claire Voss (1998) employed Faivre's esoteric schema in her own investigation of spiritual-alchemical themes, invoking Jung's analysis in elucidation of the so-called *hieros gamos* (holy

[38] See Principe and Newman (2001), 404-406, 426; also related criticism in Newman and Principe (1998), 35f.; ibid. (2002), 35ff.; and Principe (2008), 218f. In their more general assessment of Jung, the authors rely principally upon the aforementioned scholarship of Richard Noll (see Noll [1997:1]; ibid. [1997:2])—a reliance questioned, considering the polemical nature of Noll's writings, both by Tilton and Călian (Tilton [2003], 18ff.; Călian [2010], 175). For problematizations of Noll's views, see, especially, Shamdasani (1998); also Toews (1996); Decker (1996).
[39] Faivre (1994), 7.
[40] Ibid., 10-13. Faivre articulates two non-essential criteria as well: the recognition of a concordance among diverse religious traditions; and the acknowledgment and emphasis upon the means of transmitting a defined (esoteric) doctrine, as through authenticated channels and specified initiatory rites (see ibid., 14f.).
[41] See ibid., 107; 291; 10. See also ibid., 299; ibid. (1971), 871f.; ibid. (2010 [1992], 106f.; ibid. (1995), 63, 68; ibid. (2000 [1996]), 223, 238.
[42] Hanegraaff (1996), 513.
[43] Ibid., 507. Hanegraaff relied in this appraisal, and in his more general survey of Jung, chiefly upon Noll's 1994 study (see ibid., 496ff.). (He affirmed the value of Noll's scholarship in 2012, commending, in particular, its "historical contextualization of Jung's intellectual development" [see ibid. {2012}, 282f.].) For his address of Jung (and alchemy), see ibid., 277-295; ibid. (2013), 66f., 84, 137f.

marriage) and related "Sun and Moon" picture-poem.[44] In 2003, Hereward Tilton offered an historical analysis of the early modern alchemist, Michael Maier (1569-1622), incorporating in his study the methodological insights of Hanegraaff and Faivre. As a means of contextualizing his subject, Tilton provided an examination of Jung's alchemical historiography and its scholarly reception, situating the works of both Maier and Jung in an 'esoterically' determined lineage of spiritual-alchemical texts.[45] Citing the appraisals of, among other scholars, Heym, Halleux, Obrist, and Dobbs, Tilton focused primarily upon the assessments of Principe and Newman, objecting, in consideration of Jung's views, to their supposedly reductionist "devaluation of religious sentiments" and presentist concentration upon material substances and processes identified in alchemical texts.[46] Tilton defended Jung's work as a "religious artefact," protesting the exclusion of "certain voices (principally those of the psychoanalysts) from the realms of [historiographic] discourse," although indicating too that "modern psychoanalysis" exhibits "reductionist assumptions" regarding religious phenomena in its own right.[47]

0.4.4 Jung as a spiritual-alchemical thinker

Their broader framework aside, historians of esotericism, like other scholars, have situated Jung within a more particular spiritual-alchemical tradition, although with apparent variability concerning the tradition's constituent cohorts. One may note that, prior to Jung's pursuit of the topic, Arthur Edward Waite (1893) had already traced the "spiritual interpretation of alchemy" from early representatives like Jakob Böhme (1575-1624) to later exponents like Mary Anne Atwood (1817-1910) and Ethan Allen Hitchcock (1798-1870).[48] Acknowledging Waite's work on the subject, J.B Craven (1910) and H. Stanley Redgrove (1922) highlighted this tradition as well, the latter discussing a "transcendental theory of alchemy" that entailed "the perfection,

[44] See Voss (1998); also ibid. (1990); Faivre and Voss (1995). Voss appears not to have been aware of Telle's work, the historiographical aims of which she may have found at odds with her own (see Voss [1998], 147f.).
[45] See Tilton (2003), 1-34.
[46] Ibid., 11, 33.
[47] Ibid., 2; 11; 15f. Highlighting such criticisms of Principe and Newman, Daniel writes in a 2005 review of Tilton's work that it "draws attention to an unfolding historiographical debate—a 'turf war' of sorts—concerning the nature and development of alchemy and the best way to contextualize spiritual alchemy within the broader art" (Daniel [2005], 659). See also on this topic, Tilton (2007), 102ff. For a kindred response to the claims of Newman and Principe, including consideration of Tilton's address of their work, see Călian (2010).
[48] See Waite (1893), 54, 60, 76; also ibid. (1888); ibid. (1926). Concerning Waite, see Merkur (1993), 55-58; Principe and Newman (2001), 393ff.; Tilton (2003), 18f.; Principe (2013), 100.

not of material substances, but of man in a spiritual sense."[49] Drawing Jung into such a framework, Heym wrote, in his aforementioned review, of three texts bespeaking the "speculative interpretation" of alchemy: Maier's *Symbols of the Golden Table of the Twelve Nations* (1617), Atwood's *Suggestive Mystery into the Hermetic Mystery* (1850), and Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy*.[50] In 1951, I. Bernard Cohen surveyed the spiritual-alchemical thought of Hitchcock, specifically, considering him in an interpretative matrix along with such writers as Böhme, Atwood, Herbert Silberer (1882-1923), and Jung.[51] Subsequent writers recognized, in this context, the more particular lineage of Hitchcock, Silberer, and Jung, including Luther H. Martin Jr. (1975) and Joseph Needham (1983).[52] In her 1982 study, Obrist considered Jung's views as "inspired essentially by the esoteric literature of the seventeenth century and by its extensions, like those of theosophists, including Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925)."[53] First in 1990 and then more expansively in 1993, Dan Merkur outlined Jung's "theory of spiritual alchemy" alongside other such theories, including those of Atwood, Waite, Steiner, and Silberer.[54] In 1996, Hanegraaff surmised that Jung's interpretation of spiritual alchemy was "rooted in 19th-century esoteric/Romantic and occultist worldviews," admitting, however, that "the history of spiritual and psychological interpretations of alchemy prior to Jung is in urgent need of further investigation."[55] In 2001, Principe and Newman emphasized the affinities of Jung's spiritual-alchemical interpretation with those, primarily, of Hitchcock, Atwood, and Waite, finding more distant connections to such figures as Böhme, Khunrath, and Robert Fludd (1574-1637).[56] Two years later, Tilton tracked the legacy of Maier's thought through texts of Rosicrucian and Freemasonic attribution, extending this history to include such later purveyors of spiritual alchemy as Hitchcock, Silberer, and Jung.[57] In 2013, Principe retraced and expanded upon his previous work with Newman, emphasizing Jung's thought in connection with that of Atwood, Hitchcock, and other nineteenth-century exponents of a "spiritual/occultist view."[58] One may note, finally, the examination of Jung by Maillard (2002) and Ziolkowski

[49] See Craven (1968 [1910]); Redgrove (1922 [1911]), 2ff. As representatives of this transcendental theory, Redgrove considers such writers as Böhme, Vaughan, and Heinrich Khunrath (c. 1560-1601) (ibid., 74f.; 77ff.; 70).
[50] Heym (1948), 64.
[51] See Cohen (1951).
[52] See Martin (1975); Needham et al. (1986 [1983]), 1-20. In his 1981 review of *Psychology and Alchemy*, Sheppard also recognized this lineage (see Sheppard [1981], 210).
[53] Obrist (1982), 18.
[54] See Merkur (1990); ibid. (1993), 37ff., 55ff.
[55] Hanegraaff (1996), 512.
[56] See Principe and Newman (2001), 387ff.
[57] Tilton (2003), 2, 22ff.
[58] See Principe (2013), 102; and, more generally, 94-106. See also, in this vein, ibid. (2011), 307; and Haage's contribution in Hanegraaff (2006), 13f.

(2015) in the context not only of Hitchcock and Silberer, but of a larger, alchemically-themed literary tradition, with consideration given to both poetry and prose.[59]

0.5
Orientation and objectives of the present study

0.5.1 Defining the history of alchemy broadly

The present study upholds a broad definition of what the history of alchemy should rightly entail, including not only such material endeavors as the pursuit of chrysopoeia (gold-making) and of healing elixirs, but also enterprises ostensibly more spiritual, occult, or abstract in form. Modelling the field as a whole, it strikes an accord with Bruce Moran's assertion that "as both a textual and a practical domain, [alchemy] combined representation with performance, spiritual experience with material agency, speculative philosophy with the examination of 'empirical particulars.'"[60] Tara Nummedal's reflection also resonates in its address of the apparent panoply of Western alchemical labor and discourse:

> We might imagine a spectrum of practice, with the most scholarly alchemists on one end, deeply immersed in the work of sorting out the rich and varied textual vestiges of historical and contemporary engagements with alchemy, and those who engaged alchemy primarily with their hands on the other end, making (or trying to make) medicines, waters, the philosophers' stone, and other alchemical products. And yet most alchemists fell somewhere in between, in some way combining words and works by reading, writing, and doing.[61]

In light of such commentary, Jung's alchemical writings may be regarded as a fitting token to the complexity of alchemical history, especially in its emphasis upon the potentially immaterial objectives of its historical subjects. Pagel's 1948 pronouncement may thus still ring true: "Jung's work…deserves special attention…as a monumental reminder of the part played by non-scientific motives in the History of Science."[62]

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[59] See Maillard (2002); Ziolkowski (2015), 149ff. For other literary treatments of alchemy (though with only passing mention of Jung), see Pinkus (2010); Eggert (2015).
[60] Moran (2011), 300.
[61] Nummedal (2011), 336. For support of a capacious and multifaceted approach to the history of alchemy, inclusive of both material and non-material pursuits, see also Călian (2010) 177; Rampling (2010) 497; Martinón-Torres (2011), 236f.; Principe (2011), 310; Matus (2012), 940; and Nummedal (2013), 312.
[62] Pagel (1948), 48. Drawing a distinction between Jung's (valuable) highlighting of the 'non-scientific' aspects of alchemical texts and his advancement of an archetypal psychology, Altizer writes, in his 1954 review of

0.5.2 Upholding criticisms of Jung's historiography

The judged utility of Jung's theories in this manner should not be mistaken, however, as a confirmation of his claims, which are discerned here to encompass quite specific, though unsubstantiated processes and results. Indeed, in its chronicling and elucidation of Jung's alchemical thought, the present study stands as a defense neither of his historiography nor of its underlying psychology. If affirming Jung's corpus, again with the words of Pagel, as a "scholarly, well documented…exposition," a Western alchemical "atlas" or "encyclopaedia" arranged around identified psychological themes, the present inquiry, nevertheless, endorses a number of the criticisms posed by aforementioned scholars: Pagel, for example, is correct in his assertion that Jung belittles the philosophical underpinnings of alchemy, misrepresenting, in particular, the presence and perpetuation of neo-Platonic motifs; Dobbs is also justified in her highlighting of Jung's tendentiousness regarding his selection and stress of certain alchemical figures and texts; and Newman is right in his questioning of psychical explanations where a *Decknamen* theory may suffice.[63] Together with Telle's cited remarks, such criticisms find support, in fact, in my previous work: an investigation of Jung's 1946 study, *The Psychology of the Transference*, and its (mis-)use of the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, specifically, its "Sun and Moon" picture-poem.[64]

As conveyed through the above *Psychology and Alchemy* prefatory note, Jung's alchemical investigations are aptly regarded as products of an essayed psycho-history, a novel form of psychodynamic scholarship that aims to combine clinical insights with patterns and themes from historical texts. It is, from this standpoint, incorrect to characterize Jung's methodology as strictly 'anti-historical' or 'ahistorical'—attributions, respectively, of Obrist and Halleux. In place of sequences and events typical of more conventional histories, Jung offered, instead, a supposedly substratal history of psychical patterns or archetypes, the symbolic outgrowths of which he identified and tracked through narratives of the Western (and non-Western) mind. In the pursuit of such an archetypal psychology, he appealed for the reorientation not only of whole historical realms, most prominently, that of Western alchemy, but also of wide-ranging religious and scientific fields of interest (including Christianity and Eastern religions on the one

Psychology and Alchemy, that "Jung succeeds in demonstrating that alchemy was essentially a form of religious philosophy combining pagan, gnostic, and Christian trends. He is less successful in demonstrating that the goal of alchemy was the integration of the 'self' (the numinous totality and quintessence of the psyche) with the archetypes of the collective unconscious" (Altizer [1954], 222; see also, in this vein, Brehm [1976], 54, 57; Tilton [2003], 14f.).

[63] Supporting Pagel's 'atlas' and 'encyclopaedia' designations, Beretta judged, in 2014, that "Jung's survey [of alchemy], regardless of its aims, still proves to be a useful historical source" (Beretta [2014], 422). For a similar stance, see Eliade (1978), 196.

[64] See Wagner (2011).

hand, and sociology, anthropology, and physics on the other). His effort stands as an at least erstwhile attempt to rationalize history according to established patterns of psychodynamic psychology, posing in the process a new form of scientific holism, a novel variety of culturally consilient discourse.[65]

Notwithstanding Jung's effort, the implementation of his alchemical theories in professional historical contexts (leaving aside potential applications in psychological, artistic, and spiritual-religious domains) may prove justifiable only through sustained demonstration of their hermeneutic powers and cogency in the face of more conventional explanatory accounts—what may be assumed for at least a majority of contemporary historians as lacking in a critical regard. As judged here, the texts of the Western alchemical tradition are rightly studied, above all, with reference to and reliance upon their own respective historical contexts, introducing an extrinsic interpretative model only with great caution and even greater skepticism, if considered worthwhile at all. Obrist was, therefore, warranted in 'discarding at the outset' of her 1982 study Jung's alchemical theories and overall approach, opting justly to probe medieval iconography in its own unalienable features and intrinsic historical frames. Sheppard, as seen, accredited Jung's alchemical interpretation as 'the most satisfactory explanation to-date,' highlighting, however, the dependency of such accreditation upon 'the acceptance of the depth psychology of the great scholar.' Justifiably chary of such acceptance—not least due to the increased marginalization of depth psychology since Sheppard's writing—the contemporary historian may reasonably maintain that the burden of proof lies chiefly, if not solely, with psychological practitioners, following Newman's contention of 1996.[66] Such 'proof' may be judged as entailing not only the accommodation of Jung's constructs to historical alchemical texts—a kind of conceptual settlement achievable through the application of other interpretative schemata as well[67]—but also a critical level of predictiveness between data of historical derivation and those generated through clinical or other psychological means. Such historico-philosophical considerations aside, historical treatments of Jung's alchemical approach are,

[65] Jung's attempted disciplinary shifts may be compared to the "transgressive 'boundary work'" of his onetime colleague, the American psychologist and philosopher, William James (1842-1910), as Bordogna has described (see Bordogna [2008], 7ff.). Jung's rationalization of history is comparable to that of Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), and Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), all of whose work Jung recognized and referenced (see, respectively, *CW:11*§576; *CW:10*§922; Jung, *Letters* [1], 525). Relatedly, Jung's 'holism' may be considered as a means of 're-enchanting' and 'revitalizing' mechanistic nineteenth-century models of science, in a manner that Harrington has explored (although with only passing mention of Jung) (see Harrington [1996]). Jung's archetypal investigation of the psyche offers parallels with more recent projects of human innateness, not least E.O. Wilson's controversial theories of sociobiology and of natural- and social-scientific 'consilience' (see Wilson [1978]; ibid. [1998]).

[66] Newman (1996), 160.

[67] Notably, Waite wrote in a similar fashion of Hitchcock's interpretative model, remarking—with perhaps some exaggeration—that "with this method any meaning could be extracted from any allegorical writings" (Waite [1888], 24). (On the similarities between the models of Hitchcock and Jung, see Chapter 9.)

from my viewpoint, more profitably turned away, at present, from dedicated historiographic critiques, toward more elaborate historicizations of Jung's alchemical methods and insights: a shift in focus heralded by the study herein.[68]

0.5.3 Historicizing Jung's alchemical thought

As evinced by the scholarship heretofore surveyed, Jung's alchemical writings may be historicized in at least three salient ways, two of which are actively embraced over the course of this inquiry. The approach not taken concerns a broadly conceived history of esotericism, which, at least as outlined by Faivre, may be justifiably regarded as an 'extrinsic interpretative model,' to which the aforementioned caveats apply. A more prudent course entails the placement of Jung within an identified spiritual-alchemical tradition, which, at least in certain measure, is opted for instead. Building upon the suggestions of Cohen, Hanegraaff, Principe, and others, the study affirms the potential affinities of a wide swath of spiritual-alchemical exponents, from Böhme and Khunrath to Atwood and Waite. Sustaining the particular emphasis of Martin and Tilton, it elaborates this spiritual-alchemical context explicitly vis-à-vis Hitchcock and Silberer, authors with whom Jung is held to have shared the greatest rapport. Much more than this broader context, however, the study concentrates upon the development of Jung's alchemical thought as it emerges from the complex web of his own experiences, conceptualizations, and texts. Jung's approach to alchemy is considered singular in many regards, and worthy of detailed study on its own historical terms. Although recognizing the potential significance of other kinds of properties and traits, Jung pursued alchemy on account of its perceived *psychological* characteristics, which he endeavored at length to discover and disclose. One cannot hope, therefore, to understand his alchemical thought without sufficient investigation of what, for him, psychology embodied and implied. Thus far, however, historical assessments of Jung have not engaged deeply with the fundaments, formation, and sequence of his alchemical findings in connection with the character and chronology of his psychological research, a deficit for which the present study is offered as a needed corrective. On the dearth of such psychologically engaged scholarship, Sonu Shamdasani remarked, in 2012, that

> there has been little sustained inquiry into the symbolic aspects that Jung highlighted; nor has there been much close study of the genesis of Jung's work…One would do well to consider the real

[68] Following, however, the greater historicization of Jung's own approach, further validatory studies of his alchemical scholarship may prove warranted, as pertaining, for instance, to his consideration of the works of the Belgian Paracelsist, Gerhard Dorn (c. 1530-1584), or his posited '*lapis*-Christ parallel' (see Chapter 3). For recognition of Jung's work on the latter topic, in particular, see Pagel (1948), 47; Crisciani (1973), 173; Dobbs (1983), 34; Linden (1984), 121; Hoheisel (1986), 62; and Kiss et al. (2006), 145.

> referent of his alchemical works to be not medieval alchemy per se but the symbolism of the individuation process. The hermeneutic key that Jung was using to read alchemical texts consisted of his own self-experimentation, as presented in *Liber Novus*, and similar processes he was able to foster and observe in his patients.[69]

Biographical narratives have outlined the history of Jung's alchemical thought, as seen, but largely as drawn from Jaffé's memoir, and only to a limited extent. The present study takes account, too, of *Memories*—and its underlying Protocols—but relies chiefly upon the contents and interrelations of Jung's own writings, underscoring the ideational processes and progressions that anticipate and inform his alchemical views.[70] If not validating Jung's history of alchemy, it validates, as it were, the history of Jung's history of alchemy, in this way affirming his address of the topic in the larger history of alchemy itself.

0.5.4 Framing Jung as an alchemist

Indeed, the dissertation upholds Jung's thought as not merely a scholarly but also creative contribution to the history of alchemy broadly conceived, identifying him, accordingly, as a kind of 'alchemist' in his own right. Such an identification finds confirmation through the internal logic of his own psycho-alchemical framework. Briefly stated, alchemists for Jung were regarded as unwitting forerunners of his own analytical psychology, 'proto-psychologists' who explored and documented archetypes of the unconscious through their experiments, visions, and dreams. By extension, Jung may be envisaged as a kind of advanced alchemist, capable of dispensing with the material apparatus and operations of his predecessors in his more conscious revelation of unconscious processes and forms.[71] Jung's own logic aside, one may consider, on the topic of Jung's creative contribution to the history of alchemy, the further remarks of Shamdasani:

> While [Jung's works on the psychology of alchemy] present original historical research and formidable scholarship, they were by no means purely academic studies, as in many ways the key

[69] Shamdasani (2012), 207. On the scholarly neglect of Jung's alchemical works, see also Heisig (1979), 107f.
[70] Where possible, the original versions of Jung's writings are employed here (and in many instances translated anew)—an important consideration given that many of his works underwent multiple revisions over the course of his career. (Jung's writings aside, new translations are offered where original Latin, German, and French sources are cited directly.)
[71] According to Jaffé, Jung identified one of the proponents of his alchemical theories, John Trinick, as "one of the rare alchemists of our time"—an indirect commentary, perhaps, on Jung's own alchemical status (see Trinick [1967], 12).

> referent was not what the alchemists may or may not have been engaged with but Jung's presentation of his conception of the individuation process and its depiction in symbols.[72]

Elaborating upon this insight, one may justly envision Jung, through his fusion of alchemical materials with conceptualizations of the individuation process, as participating inventively in the 'spectrum' of alchemical practice as described by Nummedal, 'combining words and works by reading, writing, and doing': sorting, on the one hand, 'the rich and varied textual vestiges' of historical alchemy, and, on the other, pursuing 'alchemical products'—'making (or trying to make) medicines'—in the laboratory of the clinical suite. Such activity may also be reconciled with Hanegraaff's definition of alchemy, offered in 2013:

> Alchemy is best understood as a complex historical and cultural phenomenon…characterized by basic procedures of transmutation that may be pursued as science in laboratory settings *and* function as narratives in religious, philosophical or even psychological discourse.[73]

On the identification of Jung's undertaking as an explicitly 'alchemical' occupation, Tilton deserves credit for his passing though provocative estimation of "Jung's interpretation of alchemy" as an "alchemy" all its own, an equation enabled through Umberto Eco's representation of alchemy as a predominantly hermeneutic enterprise.[74] Although not writing of Jung's 'alchemy' *per se*, Obrist recognized, already in her work, a sort of Jungian 'resymbolization' of Western alchemical images, as indicated, thereby conceding—albeit with censure—the inherently creative aspects of Jung's project:

> Jungian works on alchemical illustrations are not the start of a critical analysis, that is, of historical research concerning their genesis, their evolution, and their functioning interior to the texts they accompany, but the start of what could be called a process of resymbolization, which, all in all, is no less worrying for psychology than for history.[75]

Supported by such insights, the present study strives to uncover the constitution and causes of this 'resymbolization,' seeking, in the process, to historicize Jung's transmutational theory and practice—much as may be desired for singular alchemies of old.

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[72] Shamdasani (2012), 202.
[73] Hanegraaff (2013), 25. One may understand 'laboratory' here both as a place of chemical research (as, presumably, Hanegraaff intends) and as one of psychological investigation—a double purport befitting of Jung's alchemical view.
[74] See Tilton (2003), 18; also Eco (1990), 18ff.
[75] Obrist (1982), 33.

0.6
Thesis plan and structure

The study comprises ten chapters, the first seven of which offer a chronological analysis of the period considered critical to the formation and development of Jung's alchemical thought, namely, that from his pivotal *Transformations* text, originally published in two parts in 1911 and 1912, to his founding *Psychology and Alchemy* essays of 1935 and 1936, respectively entitled "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process" and "Notions of Redemption in Alchemy." These chapters may be thought to supply a kind of *solutio* (<L. loosening, release) of their entailed historical content, providing a cumulative analysis to the synthesis that follows. Chapter 1 concentrates upon the *Transformations* installments, which together are claimed as embodying Jung's 'proto-alchemical' work: composed roughly twenty years before the initiation of his alchemical research, the texts served as a template, both in methodology and manner of exposition, for his founding alchemical essays. In *Transformations*, Jung laid the foundation for his aforementioned theory of the collective unconscious, which allowed not only the historicization of clinical data—manifested in the work, primarily, through a selected case study—but also the psychologization of findings from historical texts. If *Transformations* furnished the psychological *structure* of Jung's alchemical essays, then his *Red Book* shaped their psychological *content*, affording critical guidance in the elucidation of psycho-historical themes: this is the primary claim of Chapter 2, which covers the period, roughly, from 1913 to 1918. It renders, chiefly, an outline of Jung's *Red Book* project, in which he undertook, through application of his *Transformations* principles and results, an exploration of his own psyche, presumably accessing and documenting content not only of personal import, but of collective significance as well. The chapter also depicts the ways in which Jung began to translate the processes and forms of his *Red Book* experiment into an abstract psychological language, as seen in a number of theoretical essays from the same period.

The following three chapters chart Jung's final path to the composition of his alchemical essays, as focused upon his life and career through the year, 1934. They include two separate chronologies, the first of which tracks Jung's engagements and potential encounters with patently alchemical themes. The second traces the prefigurations of what may be considered the primary symbol of Jung's alchemical thought, that of the quaternary Self, which he came to identify with the alchemical symbol of the philosophers' stone (*lapis philosophorum*).[76] The

[76] Apposite to Jung's regard of the concept, Abraham has called the philosophers' stone "the much sought-after goal of the opus alchymicum and the most famous of all alchemical ideas. The Stone is the arcanum of all arcana, possessing the power to perfect imperfection in all things, able to transform the earthly man into an

chronicling of this symbol through Jung's private and public works serves not only to illuminate his road to alchemy, but to exemplify, more generally, the complex, often non-intellectual process by which his psycho-alchemical apprehensions were formulated and advanced. Chapters 6 and 7 provide, respectively, the first detailed expositions of Jung's "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays, offering, as it were, distillations of the various elements of these works in order to facilitate the evaluation of their respective premises and claims. Analysis of these essays are tendered as an effective means by which to penetrate and survey Jung's alchemical thought, more generally. Although complicating such thought in later writings, Jung presents many of his core ideas in these essays, the comprehension of which may serve, thus, as an adaptable interpretative key. Ancillary to these chapters especially, the appendix offers a timeline of texts and events considered essential to the covered chronology.

The final three chapters offer a kind of synthesis or *coagulum* (<L. binding) to the *solutio* that came before, contextualizing Jung's alchemical thought in three respective ways. Chapter 8 concerns an assessment of Jung's historiography, probing the potential shortcomings of Jung's alchemical essays given the historical character and content of the alchemical texts themselves. Chapter 9 develops Jung's thought within a delimited spiritual-alchemical historical framework, namely with regard to Silberer and Hitchcock. It details, especially, the hitherto unexplored—and in certain instances, unexpected—parallels between themes of Silberer's 1914 text, *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, and those in the subsequent writings of Jung. Functioning also as a conclusion, Chapter 10 yields a final evaluation of Jung's alchemical conceptions from within the context of his own experiences and thought. It affirms the ways in which the fruits of his alchemical essays may be traced to notions of previous periods and texts—not least *Liber Novus* and *Transformations*—proposing revisions, in the process, to the standard history of Jaffé.

In its examination of Jung's thought, the study may be conceived as encompassing three distinct layers of alchemical discourse—layers profitably minded by the reader throughout. The most prominent of these concerns the internal logic and perspective of Jung's psycho-alchemical model, including his reception of historical texts. Below this may be imagined another layer concerning, apart from Jung's readings, the content and significance of those texts themselves. Although heeded throughout the study, this layer is 'excavated' only briefly in Chapter 8. A supervening 'top' layer pertains to Jung's 'alchemy' *per se*, explored primarily in end-of-chapter remarks or as otherwise distinguished from the history of Jung himself. In the cultivation of this layer, the study introduces a number of new terms and expressions—e.g.,

illumined philosopher" (Abraham [1998], 145). See also, on the stone, Principe (2013), 64f., 112ff.; Holmyard (1990), 15ff.; Read (1995), 28ff.; Ragai (1992); also Ziolkowski (2015), 9ff.; Haeffner (1991), 240ff.

Liber Altus, *lapis comparationis*, and *ars herme(neu)tica*—designed not only to encapsulate important principles in the history of Jung's alchemical thought, but also to aid in the envisagement of such thought as an 'alchemy' all its own.

Section I (*Solutio*):

Jung’s approach to alchemy

Chapter 1

Transformations and Symbols of the Libido

1.1

Jung's house dream as a spur to his *Transformations* research

In his recollections with Jaffé, Jung noted a critical dream, from 1909, in which he found himself in a two-story house. He had become, by this year, an internationally recognized researcher and psychiatrist, whose publications included studies concerning dementia praecox and his word association experiments of 1905.[77] Also by this time, he had established a professional and personal relationship with Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), whose psychoanalytic movement he helped in this period to advance.[78] As Jung relates, the dream involved a descent from the dwelling's second story to, progressively, a ground floor, cellar and subterranean "cave" [*Höhle*].[79] Each of the levels, judging by their contents and respective designs, had offered a successively greater step back in time. Jung assessed the upper level, which felt most like 'his house,' as belonging to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, the lower level to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the cellar to Roman times, and the cave, presumably, to prehistory. The dream was one of many, apparently, that Jung and Freud shared with each other during their seven-week trip to America, where each delivered lectures at Clark University.[80]

For Jung, the dream represented something 'natural,' insofar as he considered the unconscious, itself, as "something natural, as a natural function that is entirely independent from consciousness."[81] More exceptionally, the dream represented to him something historical as well. In Jaffé's wording, it "constituted a kind of structural diagram of the human psyche," "a history of successive layers of consciousness."[82] The upper level, which featured a salon, signified consciousness—it was "lived in"—while the ground level exhibited one's personal

[77] See, respectively, *CW:3* and *CW:2*.
[78] As an introduction to Jung's relation to Freud and his thought, see, for instance, Freud/Jung, 3ff.; *CW:4*, Part I.
[79] Protocols; cf. *Memories,* 158f.
[80] For more on this event, see Rosenzweig (1992).
[81] Protocols.
[82] *Memories,* 161.

psychic history, where many complexes (such as Freud's Oedipus complex) abide; the subterranean levels represented more distant and rather impersonal layers of psychic history.[83] Jung noted, in *Memories*, that the dream stirred his youthful interest in archaeology, and that soon after his return from America at the end of September, 1909, he "took up a book on Babylonian excavations, and read various works on myths."[84] Of the latter he wrote with excitement to Freud:

> I am obsessed by the thought of one day writing a comprehensive account of this whole field, after years of fact-finding and preparation, of course. The net should be cast wide. Archaeology or rather mythology has got me in its grip, it's a mine of marvellous material.[85]

'Archaeology or rather mythology'—the linkage suggests, as in the foregoing *Memories* remark, a correspondence between these fields, one betokening the archaeology of mind intimated through his house dream. Years hence, Jung remembered this dream as heralding his theory of the collective unconscious and of archetypes, its constituent components.[86] More immediately, the dream appears to have spurred the research and composition of his pivotal psycho-historical study of 1911 and 1912, *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido: Contributions to the Developmental History of Thought*, in which the groundwork for that theory was laid.[87]

1.2
Antecedents and inspirations of Jung's *Transformations* approach

1.2.1 Schopenhauer and von Hartmann

Transformations may be approached through consideration of authors that, to varying degrees, resonated with and potentially shaped its psycho-mythic conclusions and design. In light of Jung's formulation of 'archetypes,' envisaged already in *Transformations* as *urtümlicher Bilder*

[83] Protocols; *Memories*, ibid. Concerning 'complexes,' see, for instance, *CW:2*§167; *CW:3*, 38ff. On the Oedipus complex, see below.
[84] *Memories*, 162.
[85] Freud/Jung, 251 (14.10.1909).
[86] As an introduction to Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, see, for instance, Ellenberger (1970), 705ff.; Progoff (1999), 53ff.
[87] The text was originally published in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* (*Jahrbuch*) in two installments in August, 1911, and September, 1912.

(archaic images), one may heed the work, for example, of Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860), who mused thusly upon the nature of Greek myth:

> The mythology of the Greeks has from the earliest times provided material for allegorical explanations and interpretations. For it invites one to this by furnishing patterns for the graphic demonstration of practically every fundamental idea. In fact it contains to a certain extent the prototypes [*Urtypen*] of all things and relations which, precisely as such, always and everywhere make their appearance…Mythology is the depository of physical and metaphysical truths which have been intentionally stored therein.[88]

As resonant with *Transformations* notions regarding the study of culture and the nature of cultural change, one may consider the German philosopher, Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906), who wrote that

> today, comparative philology and comparative mythology, ethnology, anthropology, and archaeology, unite in their teaching that the state of culture of our forefathers was the ruder and more primitive the more remote the era to which we descend.[89]

Von Hartmann's name may well have been appended to the following passage from *Transformations,* in which Jung situates the study of the unconscious upon a trans-individual, non-material ground:

> The unconscious is the generally diffused, which not only binds the individuals among themselves to the race, but also unites them backwards with the peoples of the past and their psychology. Thus the unconscious, surpassing the individual in its generality, is, in the first place, the object of a true psychology, which claims not to be psychophysical.[90]

In *Transformations*, Jung highlights the work of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, writing that

> it is a significant impression for one working in practical psychoanalysis when he realizes how uniform are the typical unconscious complexes…This fact gives to an essential portion of the Schopenhauer and Hartmann philosophies a deep psychological justification. The very evident

[88] Schopenhauer (1974), 408f. (trans. alt.).
[89] Hartmann, (1893:2), 14; cf. Jung (1916), 259, 433.
[90] Jung (1916), 199.

> uniformity of the unconscious mechanism serves as a psychological foundation for these philosophic views.[91]

Jung proclaimed later, in fact, that his psychology of archetypes—here espied as 'typical unconscious complexes'—was significantly influenced by these authors.[92]

1.2.2 Goethe, Burckhardt, and Nietzsche

If Jung's *Transformation* period—from October, 1909, to the time of publication of its second installment, September, 1912—may be characterized as a revival of his youthful philosophical interest in Schopenhauer and von Hartmann, it may also be marked as a homecoming of sorts with *Faust*, the two-part play by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832).[93] Jung finds in *Transformations* ample room for Goethe's literary work, justifying its use by way of an assertion by the famed Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897):

> Faust is nothing else than pure and legitimate myth, a great primitive conception, so to speak, in which everyone can divine in his own way his own nature and destiny. Allow me to make a comparison: What would the ancient Greeks have said had a commentator interposed himself between them and the Oedipus legend? There was a chord of the Oedipus legend in every Greek which longed to be touched directly and respond in its own way. And thus it is with the German nation and Faust.[94]

Burckhardt's collective myth 'in which everyone can divine in his own nature and destiny' becomes, in Jung's psychological handling, myth as relating to "products arising from the unconscious" (e.g., "dream images" and "conscious fantasies") and revealing of "wish tendencies in the soul."[95] Thus framed, *Faust* receives more than a dozen discrete citations in *Transformations,* a 'myth' relating to 'typical unconscious complexes' of the soul.

In facilitating the relation between psychology and myth, Jung draws also upon the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), who, in *Human, All Too Human*, offered a link between contemporary dream states and man's primitive past:

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[91] Jung (1912:2), 221.
[92] Ibid. (1993), 207.
[93] Jung considered the influence of all of these authors as formative (see *Memories*, Chapters II and III).
[94] Ibid. (1916), 490, f. 42. For a discussion of Burckhardt's relation to myth, see Gossman (2000), 314ff.
[95] Jung (1916), 37; 29; 39f.

> In our sleep and in our dreams we pass through the whole thought of earlier humanity. I mean, in the same way that man reasons in his dreams, he reasoned when in the waking state many thousands of years…In the dream this atavistic relic of humanity manifests its existence within us, for it is the foundation upon which the higher rational faculty developed, and which is still developing in every individual. The dream carries us back into earlier states of human culture, and affords us a means of understanding it better.[96]

1.2.3 Haeckel, Schubert, and Freud

In its fastening upon mythology for a new archaeology of mind, *Transformations* resonates with a number of medical and clinical writings as well. Findings of the naturalist and physician, Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), appear to inform the following admission, written by Jung to Freud:

> I feel more and more that a thorough understanding of the psyche (if possible at all) will only come through history or with its help. Just as an understanding of anatomy and ontogenesis is possible only on the basis of phylogenesis and comparative anatomy. For this reason antiquity now appears to me in a new and significant light. What we now find in the individual psyche—in compressed, stunted, or one-sidedly differentiated form—may be seen spread out in all its fullness in times past. Happy the man who can read these signs![97]

The jubilance of this passage, among others, poses Jung as such a man, able to 'read these signs' of history as a phylogenetic record of a telescoped ontogeny of mind.[98] In order to read such signs of the mythic past, Jung may, in effect, have foregrounded the work of another physician, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert (1780-1860), who countenanced a universal symbolism of dreams, a *Natursprache* ("natural language") manifest as well in states of delirium and somnambulism (suggesting a triple correspondence anticipating Jung's).[99] The Haeckelian analogy, after all, implies an ontogenetic universalism—a *shared* ontogeny of mind—such that the 'typical unconscious complexes' relate *between* a phylum's members as to its phylogeny, the members' collective past. Lastly, and much more immediately, Freud impacted upon Jung's early conception of a mythological archaeology of mind. Already in the

[96] Jung (1916), 28; cf. Nietzsche (2005:2 [1878]), 18.
[97] Freud/Jung, 269 (30.11/2.12.1909). Jung likely encountered Haeckel's works first at university (see Jung [1983], §287; also *Letters* [1], 9.6.1934; Nagy [1991], 132ff.).
[98] As early as 1866, Haeckel wrote that "the developmental history [*Entwicklungsgeschichte*] of the individual or ontogeny is merely a brief and compact repetition, a recapitulation, as it were, of the paleontological developmental history or phylogeny" (Haeckel [1866], xviii).
[99] See Schubert (1862), 6, 9, 33.

first edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams,* Jung had encountered the author's psychological adaptation of the Oedipus legend, introduced this way:

> According to my experience, which is now large, parents play a leading part in the infantile psychology of all later neurotics, and falling in love with one member of the parental couple and hatred of the other help to make up that fateful sum of material furnished by the psychic impulses…In their loving or hostile wishes towards their parents psycho-neurotics only show in exaggerated form feelings which are present less distinctly and less intensely in the minds of most children. Antiquity has furnished us with mythic material [*Sagenstoff*] to confirm this fact, the sweeping and universal effectiveness of which can only be explained by granting a similar universal applicability to the above-mentioned assumption in infantile psychology.[100]

Jung's 'excavation' of mythological texts—that 'mine of marvelous material'—was, by November, 1909, fully underway. After a weeks-long silence, he wrote to Freud, excusing himself thusly:

> One of the reasons why I didn't write for so long is that I was immersed every evening in the history of symbols, i.e., in mythology and archaeology…All my delight in archaeology (buried for years) has sprung into life again. Rich lodes open up for the phylogenetic basis of the theory of neurosis. Later I want to use some of it for the *Jahrbuch*.[101]

Jung's lucubrations were no doubt aided by the fact that he had resigned his position at the Burghölzli Asylum already the previous March, leaving a schedule dominated by private patients, lectures as *Privatdozent,* and, by the fall, the study of mythological texts.[102] Such study led conclusively, by Jung's account, to the finding that "the oldest and most natural myths…speak quite 'naturally' of the nuclear complex [*Kerncomplex*, i.e., Oedipus complex] of neurosis."[103] Despite the surety of his conclusion, related to Freud in mid-November, Jung bared of his research that "I am painfully aware of my utter dilettantism," finding succor, however, in the thought that he could have done worse: "It was a great comfort to me to learn that the Greeks themselves had long since ceased to understand their own myths and interpreted the life out of them just as our philologists do."[104] Indeed, Jung takes special aim at the nineteenth-century practice of philology—the historical and comparative study of language and

[100] Freud (1913), 221 (trans. alt.).
[101] Freud/Jung, 258 (8.11.1909).
[102] *Memories*, 117. On the Burghölzli period more generally, see ibid., Chapter IV.
[103] Freud/Jung, 263.
[104] Ibid.

texts (the erstwhile preserve, incidentally, of Jung's father)—reckoning that "our philology has been as hopelessly inept as our psychology. Each has failed the other."[105] Through this statement, Jung appears to communicate that just as psychoanalysis may reform and expand previous conceptions of mind, so too may a psychoanalytic study of myth—a new ethnology, by his suggestion—rectify and enhance the old philology of texts.[106]

1.2.4 Inman, Knight, Lazarus and Steinthal

Over the course of his research, Jung encountered a number of authors whom he apparently enlisted in the construction of that new ethnology—indeed, who appear to have guided and informed his methodological approach. Interestingly, one of the first of these, Thomas Inman (1820-1876), was, like Jung, also a doctor by training who found an avocation in mythology.[107] His *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism* (1869), cited in *Transformations*, "associates religion, a matter of the highest aim to man, with ideas of the most intensely earthly kind," discussing sexual symbolism with a frankness anticipating psychoanalytic modes of discourse.[108] Inman's work carries copious references to an older study by Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) entitled *Two Essays on the Worship of Priapus* (1786), to which Jung turned with greater apparent contentedness.[109] Concerning the phallic deity, Priapus, Knight adjured his reader that

> the forms and ceremonials of a religion are not always to be understood in their direct and obvious sense; but are to be considered as symbolical representations of some hidden meaning…though the symbols themselves…may appear in the highest degree absurd and extravagant…Whatever the Greeks and Egyptians meant by the symbol in question, it was certainly nothing ludicrous or licentious.[110]

Generalizing in his second essay on the Middle Ages, Knight located "the worship of the reproductive organs as representing the fertilizing, protecting, and saving powers of nature."[111] The author's de-emphasis of sexual significations; wide-ranging, comparative approach; and dense, circuitous style may all pose as prefigurations of *Transformations*—a template as well, incidentally, for Jung's subsequent comparative works.

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[105] Ibid., 269.
[106] See ibid., 264.
[107] See Freud/Jung, 251.
[108] Inman (1884), v.
[109] Freud/Jung, 258.
[110] Knight (1894), 14f.
[111] Ibid., 248.

As already remarked, Jung appealed to Burckhardt in justifying his use of *Faust,* adducing the historian's commentary to avouch that such a text could represent a people's 'typical myth.' Coupled with this insight, Jung writes in *Transformations* that "*there are, indeed, typical myths that, quite essentially, are the instruments for the* völkerpsychologisch *processing of the complex* [*Komplexbearbeitung*]."[112] Wedded to his own notion of the complex, Jung's employment of the term, *Völkerpsychologie,* recalls the work of Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903) and Heymann Steinthal (1823-1899), who may be considered as offering an important precedent for the *Transformations* approach. In 1860, the two launched the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft,* a journal of "mental ethnology."[113] Introducing the inaugural issue, Lazarus and Steinthal defined the range of *Völkerpsychologie* this way:

> We turn not merely to those men who apply themselves professionally and particularly to psychology, but also to all who research the historical phenomena of language; religion; art and literature and science; customs and laws; the social; domestic and national conditions; in short to all who investigate the historical life of peoples following one of its various aspects of this kind, so as to strive to explain the found facts from the innermost parts of the mind, thus reducing them to their psychological causes.[114]

The study of such 'historical phenomena,' in other words, was intended to decipher and systematically record the 'psychology' of a national, ethnic or otherwise collective group, thereby capturing its 'mind' or *Geist*—in the authors' terminology, its *Volksgeist*. Of relevance to Jung's study, this so-named *Wissenschaft* ("science," "scholarship," "area of study") of *Völkerpsychologie* included for Lazarus and Steinthal the field, moreover, of mythology, which they took as "a form of apperception of nature and man, a perspective upon a certain stage of development of the *Volksgeist*."[115] In a letter to Freud, Jung evokes such a notion of *Volksgeist* in his sifting of mythological data, suggesting as well a *völkerpsychologisch* 'mental ethnology': "it…seems to me extremely difficult to estimate what was folkloristic and widely disseminated and what merely a poetic variant, doubtless very interesting to the philologist but quite unimportant to the ethnologist."[116] Once determined, however, Jung's 'widely-disseminated,' 'folkloristic' myths become in *Transformations* an analogue and antecedent of

[112] Jung (1911), 152 (emphasis in original).
[113] In *Transformations*, Jung cites Steinthal's work from the *Zeitschrift* (e.g., Jung [1916], 508, 512, 537).
[114] Lazarus et al. (1860), 1.
[115] Ibid., 44.
[116] Freud/Jung, 264.

the contemporary mind: "The fantasy [*Phantasie*] of modern people [is] nothing but a repetition of an old folk belief [*Volksglaubens*] that was originally widely disseminated."[117]

1.2.5 Creuzer

Such a link between modern fantasy and ancient myth appears to have been made explicitly through Jung's reading of another potential contributor to the *Transformations* design, Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771-1858). In *Memories*, Jung recounts that

> in the course of this reading [on myths] I came across Friedrich Creuzer's *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*—and that fired me! I read like mad, and worked with feverish interest through a mountain of mythological material, then through the Gnostic writers, and ended in total confusion. I found myself in a state of perplexity similar to the one I had experienced at the clinic when I tried to understand the meaning of psychotic states of mind. It was as if I were in an imaginary madhouse and were beginning to treat and analyse all the centaurs, nymphs, gods, and goddesses in Creuzer's book as though they were my patients.[118]

Jung reported to Freud as well his reading of *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* (*Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancients, particularly the Greeks*) soon after embarking upon his mythological research, although he may have long been familiar with this multi-volume study.[119] Creuzer, a professor of philology and ancient history at the University of Heidelberg, affirmed an expository purpose for his text, identifying it in his 1835 foreword not as a "philosophy of myths," but (in a manner perhaps agreeable to Jung) a "philological-mythological ethnography"—one ranging, by later editions, over a vast array of ancient Greek and Roman, Egyptian, Indian, and other traditional sources.[120] His study, in fact, entailed a Neoplatonic meditation on the nature and history of symbols. Such symbols stood as the idealist elements of myth, ministered by priestly castes and rendered through less ancient traditions in corrupted, fractured forms. Notwithstanding this corruption, the genealogy of myth may be traced and its truth-content thereby recovered through the philological comparison and analysis of texts. *Transformations* appears not only to have drawn upon the data of Creuzer's *Symbolism*—the 'gods and goddesses' of its scholarship—but also upon its manner of historiographical analysis and proof. Creuzer's idealist truth-content, however, unveiled

[117] Jung (1911), 145.
[118] *Memories*, 162.
[119] Freud/Jung, 258 (8.11.1909).
[120] Creuzer (1836), xv.

through ‘philological-mythological’ research, becomes for Jung instruments of the *Komplexbearbeitung,* or, more generally, agents of psychological fact.

1.2.6 Tylor

Jung remarks in *Memories* that Creuzer led him to the discovery of “the close relationship between ancient mythology and the psychology of primitives”[121]—an insight embraced by another likely inspiration of the *Transformations* design, the Oxford professor of anthropology, Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917). In his seminal 1871 study, *Primitive Culture,* Tylor observes that the “hypothetical primitive condition corresponds in a considerable degree to that of modern savage tribes.”[122] He notes as well a further linkage between ‘savages’ and children,[123] a correspondence asseverated in *Transformations*, where children and primitives are associated as well:

> we pass through a period in childhood when the tendencies toward these archaic inclinations emerge again, and that we possess, through all our life, alongside the newly acquired, directed and adapted thought, a fantastic thought that corresponds to the thought of antiquity and the barbaric ages.[124]

To this triple correspondence, Tylor adds a further coupling with those engaged in art, relating that “a poet of our own day has still much in common with the minds of uncultured tribes in the mythologic stage of thought.”[125] Jung affirms this as well, writing of the phallus symbol, for example, as “an idea current not only in antiquity, but also apparent in the pornographic drawings of our children and artists.”[126] To these parallels of signification may be added a fifth mythic correspondence to manifestations of mental disease. Tylor notes tangentially, for instance, that

> the relation of morbid imagination to myth is peculiarly well instanced in the history of a widespread belief…which may be conveniently called the Doctrine of Werewolves…In various forms of mental disease, patients prowl shyly, long to bite and destroy mankind, and even fancy themselves

[121] *Memories*, 162.
[122] Tylor (1871:1), 19. Shamdasani notes that Jung held the German edition of *Primitive Culture* (1873), which survives with annotations (Shamdasani [2003], 295). Although *Primitive Culture* is not cited in *Transformations*, Jung shows a familiarity with Tylor’s work in later writings, particularly through critiques of his theories concerning animism. *Transformations* features, however, the work of one of Tylor’s followers, James George Frazer (see Jung [1916], 367, 455, 478).
[123] Tylor (ibid.), 27.
[124] Jung (1916), 35 (trans. alt.). On ‘savages’ and children, see ibid., 25f. To this correspondence Jung adds another with dreams (e.g., ibid., 422).
[125] Tylor (ibid.), 284.
[126] Jung (ibid.), 132.

> transformed into wild beasts…Such insane delusions do occur, and physicians apply to them the mythologic term of lycanthropy.[127]

For Jung, of course, the mythic signification of mental disease was more than of mere tangential concern. *Transformations*, in fact, hinges upon this correspondence, relating idiographic psychopathology to nomothetic patterns of myth. Jung relates, more particularly, his model of hysteria and dementia praecox to so-called mythic 'archaic traits':

> In the transference neurosis [i.e., hysteria], where merely a part of the immediate sexual libido is taken away from reality by the specific sexual repression, the substituted product is a fantasy of individual origin and significance, with only a trace of those archaic traits [*archaischen Züge*] found in the fantasies of those mental disorders [i.e., dementia praecox] in which a portion of the general human function of reality organized since antiquity has broken off. This portion can only be replaced by a generally valid archaic surrogate.[128]

Themes of personal origin, in other words, dominate the psychopathology of transference neuroses, while themes of archaic origin, offering mythic parallels, dominate that of dementia praecox as well as milder 'schizophrenic' disorders.

1.3
Jung's alignment of psychology with history

For Jung, this constellation of correspondences is ideally probed through the study of myth, providing a connection, thereby, between "the psychological construction of the historical relics and the structure of recent individual psychological products."[129] Indeed, he locates, in the world's myths, themes common to all humanity, designating such themes *urtümlicher Bilder* (archaic images) and, in subsequent texts, archetypes. He later noted that "the customary treatment of mythological motifs so far in separate departments of science, such as philology, ethnology, the history of civilization, and comparative religion, was not exactly a help to us in recognizing their universality."[130] What proved lacking, in his view, was a psychology of the unconscious: only a clinician could demonstrate, after all, the innateness of mythological

[127] Tylor (ibid.), 279.
[128] Jung (1916), 153f.
[129] Jung (1911), 123.
[130] *CW:9.1*§259.

manifestations, as through dream analyses and studies of psychosis. In such instances and by such an authority, Jung could pronounce that "typical mythologems were observed among individuals to whom all knowledge of this kind was absolutely out of the question, and where indirect derivation from religious ideas that might have been known to them, or from popular figures of speech, was impossible."[131] The clinicalizing of ethnological data thus provided a touchstone of their hitherto untapped value as phylogenetic records of the (ontogenetic) psyche. The ethnologizing of clinical data, for its part, may be seen from this view as placing psychodynamic research at psychology's *avant-garde*. In that new *psychological* study of man, such comparative literature proves, for Jung, both an invaluable and ineluctable resource:

> In the current state of affairs there is a more or less irrefutable demand for the psychoanalyst to extend the analysis of the problems of the individual through the enlistment of historical materials…For just as the psychoanalytic insights promote understanding of the historical-psychological structures [*Gebilde*], so conversely historical materials can shed new light on individual psychological problems.[132]

As a means of elucidating and elaborating clinical data, Jung employed this 'enlistment of historical materials' under a number of appellations in his later texts. These included the 'synthetic method,' 'constructive method,' and 'amplification,' which, as Jung describes in 1935, augments the psychologic datum through the introduction of "historical parallels," thus applying "the method of the philologist" to a newly appraised, psychical narrative or 'text.'[133]

1.4
The psycho-historical investigations of contemporaries: Freud, Riklin, Maeder, Rank, Abraham, Pfister, Jones, and Silberer

As evident in *Transformations*, the development of Jung's comparative method depended largely upon the fruits of his own scholarship, particularly in the selection and interpretation of source materials already surveyed. Also evident in his text, however, is the inspiration and instruction drawn from other psychoanalytic thinkers who, in the same period, were honing 'historical-psychological' methods of their own. Freud, of course, exerted considerable

[131] Ibid.
[132] Jung (1916), 7 (trans. alt.). Hinkle translates Jung's enlistment [*Hinzuziehung*] of historical materials as his "comparative study."
[133] *CW:18*§172-173 (Tavistock lectures [1935]).

influence upon Jung in this way, exemplified through his composition not only of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, but also *A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci* (1910), an essay in which he identified symbol significations in history as a technique by which to plumb the artist's psychology.[134] Other psychoanalytic thinkers as well developed a 'comparative method' in this period and, in addition to Freud, inspired and informed Jung's *Transformations* approach. Two of Jung's Burghölzli colleagues, the Swiss psychiatrists, Franz Riklin (1878-1938) and Alphonse Maeder (1882-1971), published notable comparative studies in 1908. Riklin produced a book-length analysis called *Wish Fulfillment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*, while Maeder issued a two-part paper entitled "Symbolism in Legends, Fairy Tales, Customs and Dreams."[135] In a letter to Jung, Freud paid homage to two other thinkers who, in his view, represented the "only two pioneers" of a psychoanalytic handling of mythology: Otto Rank (1884-1939), author in 1909 of *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero: An Attempt of a Psychological Interpretation of Myths*; and Karl Abraham (1877-1925), who published, in the same year, *Dream and Myth: A Study in Völkerpsychologie*.[136] In 1910, three additional studies appeared that utilized a comparative technique: a monograph by the Swiss minister and lay psychoanalyst, Oskar Pfister (1873-1956), called *The Piety of the Count Ludwig von Zinzendorf*; an essay, "On the Nightmare," by the British neurologist, Ernest Jones (1879-1958); and a more extensive paper entitled "Fantasy and Myth" by Herbert Silberer.[137] In *Transformations*, Jung refers the reader to all of the above works, although qualifying his endorsement this way:

> In the details the interpretations are in many places still uncertain, but this in no way compromises the total result. It would be significant enough if only the far-reaching analogy between the psychological makeup of the historical relics and the structure of the recent individual, psychological products alone were demonstrated.[138]

1.5

Frank Miller as Jung's *Transformations* subject

Of all the authors with whom Jung engaged in his research for *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*, only one, Frank Miller, became its organizing subject, around which the text's

[134] See Jung (1916), 3, 7; Freud/Jung, 329 (17.6.1910); Freud (1910).
[135] See Riklin (1908); Maeder (1908:1); ibid., (1908:2).
[136] See Rank (1914 [1909]); Abraham (1909).
[137] See Pfister (1910); Jones (1910); Silberer (1910).
[138] Jung (1911), 123.

psycho-historical insights were gathered. Of his *Transformations* research, Jung recalled the following in *Memories:*

> In the midst of these studies I came upon the fantasies of a young American altogether unknown to me, Miss Miller. The material had been published by my revered and fatherly friend, Théodore Flournoy, in the *Archives de Psychologie* (Geneva). I was immediately struck by the mythological character of the fantasies. They operated like a catalyst upon the stored-up and still disorderly ideas within me. Gradually, there formed out of them, and out of the knowledge of myths I had acquired, my book *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* [*Transformations and Symbols of the Libido*].[139]

Flournoy notes in his introduction to the 1905 essay, "*Quelques faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente*" ("Some Instances of Subconscious Creative Imagination") that its author, "Miss Frank Miller of New York," was a visiting student at the University of Geneva who later became a distinguished writer and lecturer in the United States.[140] She combines, according to Flournoy, the sensitivity and suggestibility of a medium with a 'critical mind,' by which fact, he lauds, "she can interest herself in cases of Spiritism, without becoming the prey of it like so many others."[141] She recognizes in particular that, in an analysis of her own fantasy and dream sequences, "she herself, and no one else, is the author of her automatic creations."[142]

Miller explains that through her own self-analysis, she intends "to throw some light upon the more complicated and mystifying phenomena of other persons who allow themselves to be taken in because they do not know how—or do not wish—to analyze the abnormal, subliminal or subconscious functions of their minds."[143] In her analysis, for example, of a hypnagogic episode cohering around an "apparition of an Aztec" named Chi-wan-to-pel, she submits that the basis for such a visionary sequence lay in the subconscious reconstruction of forgotten (but retrievable) memory fragments, introducing it thusly:

> I am sending you [Flournoy] a case which, in the hands of a person less careful of the exact truth and having no scruples to indulge in embroideries or amplifications [*se laisser aller aux broderies et aux amplifications*], could perfectly well have led to some fantastic novel that would outdo the fictitious cycles of your mediums.[144]

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[139] *Memories*, 162.
[140] Miller (1907), 288f.
[141] Ibid., 289.
[142] Ibid., 293.
[143] Miller (1907), 296.
[144] Miller (1906), 48.

It is not clear whether Jung's psycho-historical appraisals of Miller's fantasy and dream material would have been pronounced by her as so many 'embroideries and amplifications,' his text outdoing even the spiritualistic 'novel' envisioned by her. Had she reached such a conclusion, Jung may well have not given it much heed, judging at least by the measure of Miller's self-appraisals, which *Transformations* treats as psychologically naïve. For Jung, Miller's reminiscences serve to elucidate his evolving understanding of psychoanalytic theory, newly established upon historical and ethnological grounds. More specifically, he wants not only to trace out features of Miller's individual psychology using her collection of dreams and fantasies, but to proffer her psychology as 'ontogenetic repetition' [*ontogenetische Wiederholung*] of 'phylogenetic psychology' [*phylogenetische Psychologie*]—in Jung's own words, "to show the secret of the individual as one common to all."[145] Jung's emphasis upon the latter objective marks *Transformations* as a significant departure not only from Miller's own analysis, but from the analyses of Flournoy and Jung a decade before.[146]

1.6
The nature and features of *Transformations*

With *Transformations*, Jung not only originates a new genre of mythographic writing, a 'psychographic' form of literature that, by means of psychodynamic principles, elucidates and conjoins a wide array of mythic, literary and otherwise historical narratives; he also generates an enduring template upon which his later alchemical works are based. As seen in the writings of Creuzer and Tylor, Jung's Miller study embodies not merely an exposition of mythic artefacts, but also, as previously noted, a process of their modification and transformation. Indeed, transcending mythological exegesis, his study, like his predecessors', may be understood as an agent of mythopoeia, effectively conceiving new 'myths' through his various narrative selections, juxtapositions, and interpretative designs. Considered broadly, Jung's 'psychography' effectively 'writes the psyche' into his historic citations, weaving them into a tapestry of phylogenetic purport—a warp to the weft of Miller's ostensibly ontogenetic account.

Given its variety and blending of source materials, *Transformations* presents a motley tapestry indeed. Jung marshals evidence from a host of literary traditions, adducing to psychological ends such disparate texts as the *Rigveda*, *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, and Apuleius'

[145] Jung (1916), 490, f. 43.
[146] See Flournoy's 1899 study of the medium, Hélène Smith (Flournoy [1994]); also Jung's 1902 study of Hélène Preiswerk, based in part on the model of Flournoy (Jung, *CW:1*, §1-150).

Metamorphoses. Hiatuses of historical time as well as tradition present little obstacle in his presentation, as in a rather seamless evidentiary sequence from Mithraic liturgy to the respective writings of Symeon the New Theologian (c. 949-1022) and Nietzsche,[147] or in another sequence relating the writings of Goethe and Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843) to that of the first-century Roman poet, Marcus Manilius.[148] To such congeries of textual sources Jung adds etymological analyses and anamneses gathered from his own clinical research. Despite the heterogeneity of his evidence, their shared psychological underpinnings allow for their comparison, both internally and, crucially, with the material which Miller provides. Much like her own self-reflections, which Jung reframes through his own selective use, such comparative findings, to adopt his expression, "grant us a view into the mind of the author."[149] Over the course of *Transformations*, Jung's 'view,' incidentally, reveals Miller's psyche as precariously indisposed.[150]

Jung frames his Miller analysis, in general, upon a psychological understanding of the hero myth, which manifests in Miller's 'case' chiefly through her Chi-wan-to-pel account. The 'hero,' by Jung's reckoning, represents the figuratively incestuous libido: the retrogressive longing to return to the 'mother' of the inner world.[151] Although necessary for psychological transformation and renewal, this libidinal introversion incurs the risk of not escaping "the magic circle of the incestuous," which according to Jung afflicts Miller's psyche.[152] She should, by his account, accept the sacrifice the 'hero,' thereby severing the bond to the 'mother.'[153] Although descriptive of intrapsychic events, this libidinal conflict may emerge also through external relations and phenomena, as seen through Jung's identification of Miller's sexual arrest and unhealthful attachment to her family.[154] In his analysis of Miller, Jung suggests parallels to cases both of neurosis and dementia praecox.[155]

[147] Jung (1916), 101ff.
[148] Ibid., 181f.
[149] Jung (1911), 157. Jung provides full account of Miller's fantasy and dream material, but not her explanations thereof. A complete translation of Miller's article was offered much later, however, as an appendix to the *Collected Works* version of Jung's text (see *CW:5*, 445-462).
[150] Jung (1916), 205.
[151] Ibid., 329f., 463.
[152] Ibid., 428.
[153] Ibid., 321, 453, 479.
[154] Ibid., 335, 339, 454, 460.
[155] Ibid., 429, 462.

1.7

Transformations as a template for Jung's alchemical works

Both in its general comparative construction and specific rhetorical components, *Transformations* provided for Jung a critical template upon which his later alchemical works were based. In *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, for example, as in *Transformations*, Jung marshalled a great number of disparate texts in an analysis of symbol signification, in the former case in an effort to discern psycho-alchemical symbols of union and dissolution. Collated to that end were, for example, the opera of such long-familiar authorities like J. G. Frazer (1854-1941), Leo Frobenius (1873-1938), Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939), and Goethe; alchemical writers like Arnaldus de Villa Nova (c. 1240-1311), George Ripley (1415-1490) and Jakob Böhme; Christian luminaries such as Origen (c. 185-254), Augustine of Hippo (354-430) and Honorius of Autun (1080-1154); and contemporary authors like Károlyi Kerényi (1897-1973), Mircea Eliade (1907-1986), and Jung's own assistant and protégé, Marie-Louise von Franz (1915-1998). Complementing this eclectic strategy, Jung also trained his attention—as in the use, in *Transformations*, of Longfellow's "The Song of Hiawatha"—upon particular comparative works, seen, for example, in *The Psychology of the Transference* in his dissection of the "Sol and Luna" picture-poem, and in *Paracelsica* in his decipherment of the alchemical tract, *De vita longa*. Congruent with Jung's psychological framing of alchemy, clinical material, of course, larded all of his writings on the topic. Anamneses often served there as critical touchstones of textual interpretation and sometimes, like with the Miller 'case,' provided a study's organizing schema, as patently observed in "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process," which collected around dream sequences of the scientist, Wolfgang Pauli (see Chapter 6). Finally, socio-cultural commentary abounded in Jung's alchemical works—indeed, Jung's late writings, in general, contribute substantially to such discourse. Although not a work *prima facie* of alchemical import, *Aion* (1951) showed demonstrably Jung's plying of psycho-alchemical principles—analogues, in a certain manner, of his *Transformations*-period libido theories—in the interpretation (and prognostication) of macrohistoric trends. More particularly, Jung's processing of symbols in *Transformations* may be regarded as a paragon for his later symbolic treatments, a model that presents and evaluates both clinical and comparative evidence—the latter usually in much greater volume—in the explication of psychological principles and theories. Within the context of alchemy, such may be observed in Jung's assessment, for example, of the 'spirit Mercurius' (1943) and the 'philosophical tree' (1945). The model was also applied in Jung's numerous treatments of the quaternary symbol, which he

considered passingly in *Transformations* (see Chapter 3) and around which his later understanding of historical alchemy revolved.

1.8
The search for a precursor of psychodynamic psychology

If an inchoate form of the quaternary concept may be espied in Jung's *Transformations* period, so also may be glimpsed his incipient desire to place the psychology of the unconscious upon specific, historical grounds. In *Transformations*, more generally, Jung approaches historic symbols as both objects of modern, psychological understanding and, simultaneously, aids by which modern psychology may be understood. He asserts, as already seen, that 'just as the psychoanalytic insights promote understanding of the historical-psychological structures, so conversely historical materials can shed new light on individual psychological problems.' Jung thus presents the Miller 'case,' in relation to historic artefacts, as both their agent and object of illumination. Beyond, however, this general intercourse of psychological and historical data, Jung sought, in light of his later admissions, a more specific one: historical antecedence of the psychology of the unconscious. That a reasoned approach to the psyche, as found in twentieth-century psychoanalysis, would be so prefigured in history appears to arise out of Jung's notions of archaic images and the properties of their historic instantiation—ideas patently though dimly conceived in the course of his *Transformations* research.

Jung eventually secured, of course, this filiation in his identification of alchemy as a direct forebear of psychodynamic psychology. He struck such an affinity, though, not only with 'the alchemists,' but with 'the Gnostics' as well, that collection of heterodox religious thinkers of the early Christian era first approached by Jung after his Creuzer study.[156] In *Transformations*, Jung writes of the Gnostics' "spiritual rebirth" as an example of libido introversion and transformation.[157] The Gnostics, he later recalled, "had been confronted with the primal world of the unconscious and had dealt with its contents."[158] Their teachings concerning divine imminence, veils of apperception, and, indeed, mystical participation in the created world, contained not a few parallels to Jung's own psychological revelations—intellectual and

[156] Jung eventually came to regard Gnosticism as an indirect forebear of the psychology of the unconscious as transmitted through the tradition of alchemy. For an in-depth consideration of Jung vis-à-vis Gnosticism, see Merkur (1993); also Ribi (2013).
[157] Jung (1916), 416.
[158] *Memories*, 200.

otherwise—of unconscious phenomena. In a letter to Freud in 1911, Jung explicitly aligned the Gnostics' "wisdom" with their own, new psycho-historical endeavor:

> I…have the feeling that this is a time full of marvels, and, if the auguries do not deceive us, it may very well be that…we are on the threshold of something really sensational, which I scarcely know how to describe except with the Gnostic concept of σοφία [*Sophia*], an Alexandrian term particularly suited to the reincarnation of ancient wisdom in the shape of ΨA [psychoanalysis]."[159]

At the time, of course, Jung was beginning to fathom, with excitement, the extent to which his comparative method laid bare the 'historical-psychological structures' of the unconscious. Indeed, akin to the 'ancient wisdom' of his comment, he was by his own account beginning to disclose a knowledge of the psyche harkening back to the spiritual knowledge or *gnōsis* (<Gk. knowledge) of these early Christian sects. Although, as seen, Jung appears first, in this period, to have understood this filiation between Gnosticism and psychology at a scholarly level, he soon came to recognize it, given his *Red Book* fantasies, at a more personal level as well (see Chapter 2).

1.9
Transformations as a philological work

Beginning with his Miller study and encompassing his alchemical works, Jung's comparative enterprise may be aptly conceived as extending the nineteenth-century science of philology. Concerned not only with the mere tracking of words, concepts and symbols, philology—especially in the Germanic tradition—entailed the broader comparison and historicization of texts.[160] Emerging from the eighteenth-century practice of biblical criticism, the *Wissenschaft* gained prominence in the following century through the works of such luminaries as Wilhelm

[159] Freud/Jung, 439 (29.8.1909).
[160] Ziolkowski affirms the definition of "philology" in both a narrow sense denoting "the study of the structure and development of language" and a much broader one entailing "literary criticism and interpretation" as well as "the relation of literature and written records to history" (Ziolkowski [1990], 5). Jung employed the term explicitly in its first sense, as in his reference to his various etymological analyses in *Transformations* (e.g., Jung [1916], 50, 179), although, as argued here, he took up the enterprise in its latter sense as well. On the discipline's regard in the nineteenth century, Harpham holds that "philology came to be respected, at least in Germany and France, as the highest form of scholarship, the vanguard discipline of modernity itself" (Harpham [2009], 39f.). Pollock notes the "academic hegemony" of philology by the end of the nineteenth century (Pollock [2009], 936). Karsten maintains that, in contrast with its narrower conception in Anglo-American contexts, "a much broader interpretation obtains in continental Europe…Philology refers not only to the form but also to the content of the λόγος [logos]: it virtually means the whole history of the human mind, as it manifests itself in language documents of the past and present" (Karsten [1908], 5).

von Humboldt (1767-1835), Friedrich August Wolf (1759-1824), and Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900).[161] Von Humboldt posited that the myths, customs, and cultural characteristics of a *Volk* could be uncovered through a close examination of its language.[162] Wolf's student, August Böckh (1785-1867), envisioned philological scholarship in a similarly expansive way as a master discipline capable of disclosing all manners of social-historical detail.[163] The discipline's revelatory, indeed, excavatory powers were later affirmed by Müller, who offered the comparison that "there is no science from which we, the students of language, may learn more from than geology."[164] Philology, in its most capacious sense, stood for nothing less than the history of the human mind, as held in the repositories of the world's texts.[165]

Many of the authorities to whom Jung turned in his comparative research had recourse to the practices and presumptions of philological scholarship. Tylor enacted philological modes of analysis and proof in constructing his anthropological works. Lazarus and Steinthal drew heavily on philology in delineating their *völkerpsychologische* goals and techniques.[166] In his *Symbolism*, Creuzer performed, as he stated, a 'philological-mythological ethnography.' Of thinkers with whom Jung had a more longstanding acquaintance, von Hartmann recognized the place of philology in documenting the mental history of humanity.[167] Nietzsche had held a professorship in classical philology at the University of Basel, and wrote later of the discipline's utilities and ills.[168] Jung's own father, Paul Achilles, occupied himself as a philologist and biblical scholar. In his employment of textual exegesis and criticism, seen first in *Transformations*, Jung may be understood as perpetuating his father's craft.[169]

As already seen, Jung had harsh words for philologists who 'interpreted the life' out of myths, judging their enterprise, in one phrase, as 'hopelessly inept.' But the extent to which he

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[161] The Old Testament criticism of the orientalist, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752-1827), for example, led the way for such secular studies in philology as Wolf's *Prolegomena to Homer* (1795).
[162] Harpham, 39. See von Humboldt's text, *On the Diversity of Human Language Construction and Its Influence on the Mental Development of the Human Species* (1836).
[163] Harpham, ibid.
[164] Quoted in ibid., 41.
[165] Harpham notes that a Humboldtian analysis of language may yield for the philologist "a glimpse of the ur-language, or *Ursprache*, from which all others had evolved, and thus of the thought-forms prevailing at the origin of human civilization itself" (Harpham, 39). Jung's 'language' of archetypes may in this way be regarded as a kind of *Ursprache* as well.
[166] Forrester notes that the *völkerpsychologische* program of Lazarus and Steinthal attempted to extend the aims of philology, thereby helping to widen the parameters of the discipline itself: "They recognized that the development of consciousness is only possible with the development of language, and employed the latter as their index of the former. The project of *Völkerpsychologie* was to go beyond the work of other philologists and linguists insofar as it attempted to establish the laws of *semantics* as well as the laws of phonetics. Such a project was to remain an ideal for many philologists through the century" (Forrester [1980], 177).
[167] See, for example, Hartmann (1893:1), 299f.
[168] See, for instance, Nietzsche (1911) 103ff. ("We Philologists"); ibid. (2007:2), 10f.; ibid. (2005[1]), 5; also Harpham, 37.
[169] Indeed, Jung's introduction of philology into the field of medicine may be understood as a fusion of his father's craft with the vocation of his paternal grandfather, Carl Gustav Jung, who was also a physician.

embraced philological methods in *Transformations* suggests not an undermining of the *Wissenschaft* but an attempt at its reform. What philology lacked, as he remarked, was the ethnological perspective. This entailed not only anthropological insights (as Tylor's), but the principles and observations of psychodynamic psychology. Together they comprised a new ethno-psychological hermeneutic that could illumine the data of historical texts, which in turn could illumine the ethno-psychological data of modern man. As fostered by Jung, such a psychodynamic revision afforded philology a new twentieth-century face.

For as much as Jung applied philological methods in his identification and description of psychological processes, his discussions of philology were markedly rare. One instance, already mentioned, occurs in his Tavistock lecture series, delivered in London in 1935. Explaining his method of dream interpretation, Jung proclaims that

> I adopt the method of the philologist…and apply a logical principle which is called *amplification.* It is simply that of seeking the parallels. For instance, in the case of a very rare word which you have never come across before, you try to find parallel text passages, parallel applications perhaps, where the word also occurs, and then you try to put the formula you have established from the knowledge of other texts into the new text. If you make the new text a readable whole, you say, "Now we can read it." That is how we learned to read hieroglyphics and cuneiform inscriptions and that is how we can read dreams.[170]

Another instance lies in *Memories*, where Jung explains the manner in which he first approached his alchemical readings, collating their contents in a philological way:

> I noticed that certain strange expressions and turns of phrase were frequently repeated. For example, "*solve et coagula*," "*unum vas*," "*lapis*," "*prima materia*," "*Mercurius*," etc. I saw that these expressions were used again and again in a particular sense, but I could not make out what that sense was. I therefore decided to start a lexicon of key phrases with cross references. In the course of time I assembled several thousand such key phrases and words, and had volumes filled with excerpts. I worked along philological lines, as if I were trying to solve the riddle of an unknown language.[171]

[170] Jung, *CW:18*§173.
[171] *Memories*, 205.

1.10

The hermeneutics of *Transformations*

Such passages are complemented by Jung's important but equally rare discussions of hermeneutics, the art of interpretation with which his 'method of the philologist' was entwined.[172] Kindred with his amplification account above, Jung states in a 1916 lecture, "The Structure of the Unconscious," that

> the essence of hermeneutics, an art widely practiced in former times, consists in adding further analogies to the one already supplied by the symbol: in the first place subjective analogies produced at random by the patient, then objective analogies by the analyst out of his general knowledge. This procedure widens and enriches the initial symbol, and the final outcome is an infinitely complex and variegated picture the elements of which can be reduced to their respective *tertia comparationis*.[173]

Obscured in Jung's description, in all three of the passages above, is the precise logic of interpretation, the grounds upon which the signification of the comparison—that *tertium comparationis* (third [part] of the comparison)—is established, whether in the comparison of psychological data, e.g., dreams and fantasies; historical data, e.g., *lapis* and *prima materia*; ethnological data; or a combination of different data types. For Jung, this logic inhered clearly in a particular set of psychological principles, constituted first in *Transformations* upon a psychoanalytic basis and later expanded to accommodate archetypal criteria.

In the legitimation of his comparative enterprise, Jung marshals his hermeneutics to a rendering of both 'value' and 'fact.' The therapeutic application of amplification renders value, first of all, for doctor and patient alike, as hermeneutical outcomes of judged efficacy and worth. Following on from the 1916 passage above, Jung adds that "[the hermeneutical] procedure widens and enriches the initial symbol," which, one may fathom, imparts to the patient significations of various qualities and weights. Jung continues the passage thusly, stressing of his method's *tertia comparationis* an overarching 'life-value' and, in the process, contraindicating an overly reductive psychological rationalism:

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[172] Like philology, although with a far longer history, hermeneutics originally pertained to the study of biblical texts, encompassing a range of interpretative methods on various literal and figurative grounds. On the history of hermeneutics and Jung's consideration of the topic, see Clarke (1994), 42ff., 47ff.

[173] Jung, *CW:7*§493.

> Certain lines of psychological development emerge of an individual and also collective nature. No science on earth would be able to prove the accuracy [*Richtigkeit*] of these lines; on the contrary, rationalism could very easily prove that they are inaccurate. Their validity [*Gültigkeit*], however, is rendered by their great *life-value* [*Lebenswert*]. And that is what matters in practical treatment, namely, that human beings should get a hold of their lives, not that the principles of their lives are rationally provable or "accurate."[174]

Stated differently, subjective judgment determines—in whatever form—the therapeutic value of hermeneutical outcomes, which a doctor's or patient's overweening rationalism, if not checked, may interrupt or thwart. Writing many years later, Jung discloses in another rare passage on hermeneutics just how this *Wissenschaft* of 'value' is subtended by one transacting in 'fact':

> The importance of hermeneutics should not be underestimated: it has a beneficial effect on the psyche by consciously linking the distant past, the ancestral heritage which is still alive in the unconscious, with the present, thus establishing the vitally important connection between a consciousness oriented to the present moment only and the historical psyche which extends over infinitely long periods of time.[175]

The value that the individual derives from the hermeneutical process stems, in other words, from the facticity for Jung of the 'historical psyche.' In a Haeckelian turn of phrase, the objective data of the phylogenetic psyche produces subjective effects in the ontogenetic mind. The fact of the 'historical psyche' itself, of course, obtains from the correspondences that his hermeneutic allows, as illustrated in such examples like the 'horse' as libido symbol and the 'tetrad' as symbol of the Self.[176] In this manner the hermeneutic generates facts for Jung, realized, in large measure, through philological research.

1.11
The *wissenschaftliche* character of *Transformations*

Jung's framing of his comparative endeavor as commensurate with the decipherment of a foreign language suggests for his psychology a *geisteswissenschaftliche* ("human-science")

[174] Jung, *CW:7*§493 (trans. alt.) (emphasis in original).
[175] Ibid., *CW:14*§474.
[176] Concerning the 'horse' symbol, see Jung (1916), 308ff.

domain. Although in part granting this characterization, Jung tended to emphasize, instead, the supposed *naturwissenschaftliche* ("natural-science") attributes of his discipline, stressing the phenomenological precedence of the psyche and the possibility of its impartial review.[177] In a 1924 lecture, Jung makes the distinction that "in respect of its natural subject-matter and its method of procedure, modern empirical psychology belongs to the natural sciences, but in respect of its method of explanation it belongs to the humane sciences."[178] Inclusive of philological means, that 'method of explanation' was conceded in a *Memories* passage, but as framed in a *naturwissenschaftliche* design:

> Analytical psychology is fundamentally a natural science, but it is subject far more than any other science to the personal bias of the observer. The psychologist must depend therefore in the highest degree upon historical and literary parallels if he wishes to exclude at least the crudest errors in judgment.[179]

Jung acknowledged, again in 1924, that psychology "lacks the Archimedean point outside and hence the possibility of objective measurement," but affirmed nonetheless that it shared with natural science "its method of observation and the empirical verification of fact."[180] Though obstructing 'objective measurement' in psychology, the phenomenology of the psyche as a primary datum of the natural world can itself, for Jung, come under the gaze of a *naturwissenschaftliche* approach:

> Psychology…is today a natural science and its subject-matter is not a mental product but a natural phenomenon, i.e., psyche. As such it is among the elementary manifestations of organic nature, which in turn forms one half of our world, the other half being the inorganic. Like all natural formations, the psyche is an irrational datum. It appears to be a special manifestation of life and to have this much in common with living organisms that, like them, it produces meaningful and purposeful structures with the help of which it propagates and continually develops itself.[181]

The *wissenschaftliche* character of Jung's 'empirical psychology' may be ascertained more fully through a consideration of his approach to those 'meaningful and purposeful structures' of the psyche. Identified first as *urtümliche Bilder* in *Transformations* and later as archetypes,

[177] Through a 'phenomenology' of psyche, Jung means to prioritize the experience of the psyche—whether in dream, vision, or everyday consciousness—over any theoretical derivations thereof. On this phenomenological approach to the psyche, see, for example, *CW:7*§199; *CW:9.1*§308; *CW:9.2*§121-122, §278; *CW:16*§202; *CW:18*§742; also Brooke (1991), 28ff.
[178] Jung, *CW:17*§166.
[179] *Memories*, 200.
[180] Jung, *CW:17*§163.
[181] Ibid., §165.

such structures, as already seen, inhere in historical symbols, which, as Jung describes of the Christ-image in *Aion*, may be philologically tracked and compared:

> My aim and method do not purport to be anything more in principle than, shall we say, the efforts of an art historian to trace the various influences which have contributed towards the formation of a particular Christ-image. Thus we find the concept of the archetype in the history of art as well as in philology and textual criticism. The psychological archetype differs from its parallels in other fields only in one respect: it refers to a living and ubiquitous psychic fact.[182]

The facticity of archetypes arises not only out of the comparative analyses of historical texts, but through their cross-comparison with the other 'texts' of his hermeneutics, e.g., fantasies, delusions, dreams and ethnographic research. Thus could Jung claim the empiricism of his research, upholding symbolic 'structures' as discrete and stable natural objects that are subject, like other species of the natural world, to the *wissenschaftliche* processes of observation, categorization, and critique. Executing, however, upon this *Wissenschaft* of empirical psychology required, as Jung later understood, an unusually diverse and sophisticated set of competencies, including interpretative faculties spanning not only clinical contexts, but scholarly ones as well. The 'structures' of the psyche were visible, he seemed to say, if only the scientist developed the necessary and multiform faculties to see.

1.12
The professional and personal significance of *Transformations* for Jung

In light of Jung's later research, the insights that Jung garnered during his *Transformations* period proved pivotal and enduring, his new psycho-historical model forming the basis, specifically, of his eventual alchemical works. Indeed, one may surmise that obviating the apperception and delineation of a collective psyche occasioned by the Miller study, Jung's *Red Book* would consist for its author in little more than a medley of personal psychodynamics and aesthetics, his alchemical output, meanwhile, admitting a merely scholarly interest and import; in fact, should Jung not have settled upon an archetypal model of the psyche, these projects would likely not have been undertaken at all. Jung later acknowledged the signal importance of *Transformations*, reflecting in 1950 that "it laid down the program to be followed for the

[182] Jung, *CW:9.2*§123.

next few decades of my life."[183] This timespan begirds, as it happened, both Jung's *Red Book* activities and a number of derivative, theoretical works, which together set the ground for Jung's alchemical writings (see Chapter 2). As phrased in *Memories*, Jung calls his *Red Book* years "the most important in my life…The later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious…It was the *prima materia* for a lifetime's work."[184] The Latin trope proves fitting, considering Jung's later alchemical rendering of his *Red Book* findings, but should be extended to include that 'vessel' into which his *prima materia* was placed: namely, the apprehension of a collective psyche, cognized during Jung's *Transformations* period. Such an apprehension represents, vis-à-vis Jung's post-*Red-Book* writings, a foundation for the foundation, in this way, *pace* Jung's remark, 'laying down a program' that endured for the rest of his life.

As previously seen, the Miller work stood for Jung as an instance, in general terms, of a new psychological model, in which the ontogenetic and phylogenetic facets of the psyche were harmonized and assayed. More particularly, Jung intended his study as a dual processing of Miller's 1905 account: a 'psychosynthesis' that highlighted through the 'enlistment of historical materials' the archaic components of her fantasies and dreams, and a psychoanalysis that, based on such components, assessed Miller's psyche and the pathologies it contained.[185] Beyond these purposes, *Transformations* held for Jung a more personal significance as well, as revealed in his 1925 seminar on analytical psychology:

> As you remember, [*Transformations*] begins with a statement about two kinds of thinking that can be observed: intellectual or directed thinking, and fantastic or passive automatic thinking…I took Miss Miller's fantasies as such an autonomous [fantastic] form of thinking, but I did not realize that she stood for that form of thinking in myself…I was in my consciousness an active thinker accustomed to subjecting my thoughts to the most rigorous sort of direction, and therefore fantasizing was a mental process that was directly repellent to me…It shocked me, in other words, to think of the possibility of a fantasy life in my own mind…I could only admit the fact in myself through the process of projecting my material into Miss Miller's. Or, to put it even more strongly, passive thinking seemed to me such a weak and perverted thing that I could only handle it through a diseased woman.[186]

[183] Jung, *CW:5*, xxiv.
[184] *Memories*, 199.
[185] Already in 1909, Jung mused upon a possible "psychosynthesis" as complementary to the psychoanalysis developed by Freud (see Freud/Jung, 216).
[186] Jung (2012:2), 28f.

Through his continual heed in *Transformations* to the latent significations of Miller's 'fantastic thinking,' in other words, Jung, in effect, worked to reconcile himself to the potentialities of his own such faculty—an insight that may at least partially account for the conviction with which he confronted the Miller 'case' as well as the protracted manner in which he prosecuted it. In the nomenclature of Jung's later psychology, Miller became for him, as he describes, "an anima figure, a carrier of an inferior function of which I was very little conscious."[187] Although without further remark, Jung employs an alchemical metaphor in the portrayal of his personal integration of that 'weak' and 'repellent' function:

> I elaborated Miss Miller's morbidity into myths in a way satisfactory to myself, and so I assimilated the Miller side of myself, which did me much good. To speak figuratively, I found a lump of clay, turned it to gold and put it in my pocket. I got Miller into myself and strengthened my fantasy power by the mythological material.[188]

If *Transformations* allowed Jung a way of approaching and esteeming his own fantasy function, it also afforded him an opportunity to assess and reorient the narrative by which he conducted his life. In 1950, he wrote the following of the Miller study:

> Hardly had I finished the manuscript when it struck me what it means to live with a myth, and what it means to live without one…The man who thinks he can live without myth, or outside it, is an exception. He is like one uprooted, having no true link either with the past, or with the ancestral life which continues within him…This plaything of his reason never grips his vitals. It may occasionally lie heavy on his stomach, for that organ is apt to reject the products of reason as indigestible. The psyche is not of today; its ancestry goes back many millions of years. Individual consciousness is only the flower and the fruit of a season, sprung from the perennial rhizome beneath the earth; and it would find itself in better accord with the truth if it took the existence of the rhizome into its calculations.[189]

Narratives of 'reason' that disregard the psyche's long history lead in this view to a restrictive, superficial phenomenology of mind, a consciousness severed not only from its own history but also from its own living processes. A psychologically balanced and fulfilled life consists instead in an embrace of mythic narratives that tap the phylogenetic 'rhizome' of psyche while grounding its ontogenetic ephemera, including ratiocinative 'flowers' and 'fruits.' Such insights reflect faithfully the principles of Jung's new Haeckelian psychology and comport with

[187] Ibid., 28.
[188] Ibid., 32.
[189] Jung, *CW:5*, xxiv.

its aforementioned reckoning of ‘value’ and ‘fact.’ In retrospecting on his text, Jung applies its facts, as it were, to his own system of values, his own narrative of life:

> I suspected that myth had a meaning which I was sure to miss if I lived outside it in the haze of my own speculations. 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 in an uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities which I was beginning to regard with increasing distrust.[190]

Jung’s self-questioning may be seen to herald his subsequent *Red Book* investigations, an ontogenetic exploration of the phylogenetic psyche that replaced Miller’s ‘fantasy function’ with his own. It also may be understood as harking back to Jung’s house dream, which in his own estimation spurred his examination of the historical psyche and its inherent, mythic structures. As if in his dream’s upper-level salon, Jung effectually asked in *Transformations*, ‘What lies beneath?’ surveying the historical psyche not only for Miller but, in general, for modern man. In his questioning above, Jung appears to ask again, ‘What lies beneath?’ but more personally than before: ‘What lies beneath my own upper-level salon?’ Answers came with the *Red Book*, and later through his elucidation of Western, alchemical texts.

1.13
Lapis comparationis

Although containing only passing allusions to alchemy, *Transformations* in a very real sense may be considered Jung’s first ‘alchemical’ text. In description of the processes of psyche, Jung plied a general language of ‘myth’ in *Transformations*, just as he wielded the specific language of alchemy in his later comparative works. Although the explicated processes of psyche diverge between the corpora, in both he exercised the same hermeneutical method and philological technique. For its comparative formulae and interpretative framework, *Transformations*, indeed, may be considered Jung’s ‘proto-alchemical’ text.

The ‘gold’ that Jung put in his pocket when assimilating his ‘Miller side’ may be viewed as ‘alchemical’ given his own later understanding of what the alchemists achieved. As noted in 1925, Miller had confronted Jung as an anima figure, a representative of his feminine soul that,

[190] Ibid., xxiv-xxv.

in the process of individuation, necessitated alignment with the masculine I.[191] Such an interrelation of conscious and unconscious processes presented a union of opposites that, by Jung's later reckoning, the alchemists had described through their materialist discourse: they had yearned wittingly for a 'stone' in the enrichment of base substances, but had unwittingly sought after the Self, that intercourse of the I and Unconscious of which the anima partakes.[192] Although Jung does not betray this alchemical understanding in his 'gold' comment, it comports just the same with his later regard of what, in considerable measure, the alchemists had pursued: the 'gold' not of the common man, but of personality integration, which Jung took Miller as exemplifying in 1925. For their exposition of psychical processes—albeit in material form—the alchemists stood for Jung as proto-psychologists, mapping the relations of psyche in a rich, symbolical language. Conversely, as one who ventured not only the objective study but also subjective exploration of such processes, Jung may be envisioned as a kind of advanced alchemist, stripping the tradition to its essentially psychological root.

Jung's Miller 'gold' may also be construed as 'alchemical' from beyond the boundaries of his interpretative scheme. Through his alchemical writings, Jung infused the insights of a twentieth-century 'empirical psychology' into the narratives of the Western alchemical tradition. In this way, Jung stands as a creative contributor to that tradition, an 'alchemist' of the modern age who, like generations of alchemists before him, reinterpreted and revivified the tradition in imaginative and potentially productive ways.[193] Like later, clinical instantiations of the quaternary symbol, the Miller 'gold' resulted from the application of his comparative hermeneutic: as Jung writes, 'I elaborated Miss Miller's morbidity into myths.' Her fantasy and dream material were thus enriched through the eduction of mythological analogues while myths, themselves, were similarly enriched through the eduction of clinical analogues. In *Transformations* as in Jung's alchemical works, his comparative method altered both kinds of data, along with other correspondent data types. Indeed, like the base substances in the alchemical process, Jung's data underwent a manner of transubstantiation, metamorphosing through the interpolation of 'psyche' as defined and delimited by archetypal motifs. The comparative method that achieved this may be termed Jung's *lapis comparationis*, his 'stone of the comparison,' by which he was able to generate the 'gold' of his Miller insights in *Transformations*, just as it could generate, for example, the 'gold' of his Pauli insights in "Dream Symbols."

[191] In the representation of a corresponding masculine soul in women, Jung employed the term, 'animus.' On the anima and animus concepts, see, for example, Jung, *CW:7*, 188ff.
[192] The anima, as Jung eventually held, serves as but one of the archetypes engaged through the Self relation.
[193] Jung's alchemy may be termed 'imaginative' not only in a prosaic sense but also in light of his employment of *imaginatio* in the pursuit of 'inner facts' (see Chapters 6 and 7).

With his *lapis*, Jung happened upon an extremely fruitful method of research. Clinical, historical, and ethnographic narratives could be mined as a virtually inexhaustible lode of psycho-mythical worth, an 'ore' transmuted by means of his *lapis comparationis* and ordered into an evolving, archetypal system of interactive, psychodynamic functions. Jung's *lapis* yielded the *aurum* of *Transformations.* It eventually yielded the 'gold' of his alchemical writings. Before this, however, it fostered the riches of the *Red Book*, a result, one could say, of Jung's having turned the *lapis* on himself.

Chapter 2

The *Red Book* and Jung's essays from the teens

2.1
The beginnings of the *Red Book* project

In 1952, Jung gave an account of an experience he underwent nearly four decades before:

> In October, 1913, while travelling by train from Zurich to Schaffhausen, a strange incident befell me. Passing through a tunnel, I lost consciousness of time and place and was awakened an hour later only when the conductor announced the arrival of Schaffhausen. During all this time I was the victim of an hallucination, a waking dream. I was looking at the map of Europe and saw how, country by country, beginning with France and Germany, all Europe became submerged under the sea. Shortly afterwards, the entire continent was under water with the exception of Switzerland: Switzerland was like a high mountain that the waves could not submerge. I saw myself seated on the mountain. But then, on looking more closely around me, I realized that the sea was of blood. Floating on the waves were corpses, roof tops, charred beams.[194]

Jung had recorded the details of his 'waking dream' in his *Red Book*, where he wrote the following of its recurrence: "Two weeks passed then the vision returned, still more violent than before, and an inner voice spoke: 'Look at it, it is completely real, and it will come to pass. You cannot doubt this.'"[195] He also offered a contextualization of the episode:

> When I had the vision of the flood in October of the year 1913, it happened at a time that was significant for me as a man. At that time, in the fortieth year of my life, I had achieved everything that I had wished for myself. I had achieved honor, power, wealth, knowledge, and every human happiness. Then my desire for the increase of these trappings ceased, the desire ebbed from me and horror came over me. Dear Friends! The vision of the flood seized me and I felt the spirit of the

[194] Jung (1993), 232f.
[195] Ibid.

depths, but I did not understand him. Yet he drove me on with unbearable inner longing and I said: "My soul, where are you? Do you hear me? I speak, I call you—are you there? I have returned, I am here again."[196]

Notwithstanding his achievement of 'every human happiness,' Jung's 'soul-searching' had already begun in his *Transformations* period. Spurred by his house dream, he had sought, as previously seen, a 'soul' for psychology, an historicizing myth realized through his 'amplification' of Miller's material. But, as Jung later acknowledged, 'I elaborated Miss Miller's morbidity into myths in a way satisfactory to myself,' thus attending, through the assimilation of psychical projections, to his own soul as well. Less technically, the Miller study showed him that he was 'not living with a myth, or even in a myth, but in an uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities' (ibid.)—a soullessness that he intimates above, and that he associates with the embarkment upon the second half of life. Through this polysemous 'soul-searching,' Jung had with *Transformations* ventured far from his previous professional purview. His study had ushered him into the wider field of history, literature and mythology, thus decoupling him from a strictly clinical, psychiatric turn of mind. Both personally and professionally, he was, with his text, seeking 'new paths in psychology,' the 'soul-searching' nature of which he outlined in a contemporaneous essay of the same name:

Anyone who wants to know the human soul will learn so much as nothing from experimental psychology. He would be better advised to give up exact science [*die exakte Wissenschaft an den Nagel zu hängen*], take off his scholar's gown, bid *adieu* [valet *sagen*] to his study room, and wander through the world with a human heart…He would return laden with richer knowledge than foot-thick textbooks would ever have given him, and he will be able to be a doctor to his sick, a true knower of the human soul.[197]

Written at the close of 1911, the passage appears all the more cogent given Jung's further professional decouplings over the months and years ahead—a successive series, effectually, in which he bid *adieu.* As noted, Jung had abdicated his Burghölzli position already in March, 1909. Jung broke with Freud in January, 1911, an event which precipitated the loss of other personal and professional relations as well: "All my friends and acquaintances dropped away. [*Transformations*] was declared to be rubbish; I was a mystic, and that settled the matter. Riklin and Maeder alone stuck by me."[198] Jung renounced his position as *Jahrbuch* editor in October,

[196] Ibid., 127.
[197] Jung, *CW:7*§409 (trans. alt.).
[198] *Memories*, 167f. Concerning the break with Freud, see Freud/Jung, 538ff., 550f.

1913, and as president of the International Psychoanalytical Association in April, 1914. Also in April, he resigned his university lectureship, remarking of it: "Eight years long had I read at the University of Zurich. I sacrificed my academic career at that time quite consciously."[199] He was, in effect, returning to his soul, which he associates in retrospect with what he called his personality Number Two: "In my life I have had to always follow the inner personality, the Number Two. Therefore I also had to give up my academic track…Either career, or I forge that, which for me seems more important *sub specie aeternitatis* [under the aspect of eternity]."[200] Jung chose the latter, bidding his *adieu* after *Transformations* not only to professional affiliations but to intellectual endeavors more generally: "I found myself utterly incapable of reading a scientific book. This went on for three years. I felt I could no longer keep up with the world of the intellect."[201]

Jung recalled the start of this period, at the beginning of 1913, as a time of "inner uncertainty."[202] The severance of relations with Freud brought a loss in theoretical orientation as well: "I felt totally suspended in mid-air, for I had not yet found my own footing."[203] Accompanying this disorientation, Jung reports a peculiar state of psychic unrest: "I lived as if under constant inner pressure. At times this became so strong that I suspected there was some psychic disturbance in myself."[204] At first nonplussed as to how to "get to the bottom of my inner processes," Jung eventually had the inspiration to play along the lakeshore, constructing miniature structures as he had as a boy: "This moment was a turning point in my fate, but I gave in only after endless resistances and with a sense of resignation. For it was a painfully humiliating experience to realize that there was nothing to be done except play childish games."[205]

2.2
The nature and features of the *Red Book* project

Jung claimed that this outward play led directly to his "most difficult experiment": the fantasy cycles that form the basis of his *Red Book*.[206] Beginning in November, 1913, Jung spent his evenings sequestered in his study, carefully recording in his *Black Books* the details of his

[199] Protocols.
[200] Ibid.; cf. *Memories*, 193f. Concerning Jung's 'Number Two' personality, see ibid., Chapters II and III.
[201] Ibid., 193.
[202] Ibid., 170.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., 173.
[205] Ibid., 172, 174.
[206] Ibid., 175; ibid. (2009:2), 24.

imaginal encounters, all the while maintaining his private practice and familial engagements.[207] In 1925, he recalled that, in order to stimulate the unconscious, he "devised such a boring method by fantasizing that I was digging a hole, and by accepting this fantasy as perfectly real…I worked and worked so hard that I knew something had to come of it—that fantasy had to produce, and lure out, other fantasies."[208] The method proved fruitful, for over the following thirty-two months, from November, 1913, to June, 1916, Jung generated enough fantasy material to fill five notebooks, subjecting the text to considerable commentary and, through many drafts, to multiple revisions as well.[209] He was following, as remarked, the example of Miller, who, as described in *Transformations*, "descends into inwardness with deliberate dissociation from the environment, so that things lose their reality and dreams come into actuality."[210] Shamdasani notes others who likely informed and inspired Jung's fantasy technique, including such authors as his colleague, Silberer; the professor of experimental chemistry, Ludwig Staudenmaier (1865-1933); the Swedish mystic, Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772); and the Spanish theologian, St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556).[211] Jung later codified his technique under the term, "active imagination," relating its stimulation of the unconscious with, among other phenomena, the alchemists' archetypal projections into their experimental products, processes and wares.[212]

Amidst the beginning phases of these fantasy cycles, Jung reports his concern over his Schaffhausen vision, the troubling nature of which was reinforced by intervening dreams and fantasies of bloodshed, upheaval and war. He recalled in 1952 that "as a psychiatrist I became worried, wondering if I was not on the way to 'doing a schizophrenia,' as we said in the

[207] Ibid., 26. As indicated by Shamdasani, Jung at first resumed writing in his brown notebook, dating from his student years, implementing in turn five black notebooks—the whole comprising for Jung his *Black Books* (see ibid., 20).
[208] Jung (2012:2), 51.
[209] See ibid. (2009:2), 105 (Editorial Note).
[210] Jung (1911), 159.
[211] Jung (2009:2), 22f.; also Silberer (1909); Staudenmaier (1912); Swedenborg (2000); Saint Ignatius (1880).
[212] In an essay drafted in 1916 but not published until 1957, Jung described—though not yet by name—the technique of active imagination [*aktive Imagination*] as a means of exercising what he termed the 'transcendent function,' the union of conscious and unconscious contents (see below). As he remarks of the technique, the subject "must make himself as conscious as possible of the mood he is in, sinking himself in it without reserve and noting down on paper all the fantasies and other associations that come up. Fantasy must be allowed the freest possible play…by setting off a kind of 'chain-reaction' association process" (Jung, *CW:8*§167). He remarks as well that fantasy may be engaged through visual, auditory, or kinaesthetic processes (ibid., §170-171). Although employing both terms, Jung expresses in the Tavistock lectures his preference for 'imagination' over 'fantasy,' citing an instruction in the *Rosarium Philosophorum* to engage the imagination "*per veram imaginationem & non phantafticam* [by means of true imagination and not fantastical imagination]" (see *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant* (*Artis*) [1593:2], 214f.; also Jung, ibid., §396 and *CW:12*§360). On the relation of the technique to alchemy more generally, Jung observed that "the projections of the alchemists were nothing other than unconscious contents appearing in matter, the same contents that modern psychotherapy makes conscious by the method of active imagination before they consciously change into projections" (ibid., *CW:14*§446; see also, §749). For a further discussion of active imagination (including its relation to Pauli's treatment), see Jung's Tavistock lectures (ibid., *CW:18*§402-406). See also Merkur (1993), 37ff.

language of those days."[213] His disquiet was likely exacerbated by his 'inner uncertainty,' in general, in 1913, and appears to have culminated the following summer, when the nature of his distress became plain:

> I was just at this time 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…On July 31st, immediately after my lecture, I learned from the newspapers that war had broken out. Finally I understood…I was sure that no schizophrenia was threatening me. I understood that my dreams and my visions came to me from the subsoil of collective unconscious [*sic*]. 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.[214]

Jung thus came to grasp his Schaffhausen vision as a precognitive apperception of world affairs, a mantic espial into the collective unconscious that demonstrated, in the language of the *Red Book*, "that the spirit of the depths [*der Geist der Tiefe*] in me was at the same time the ruler of the depths of world affairs [*der Herr der Tiefe des Weltgeschehens*]."[215] As noted by Shamdasani, the vision counts among approximately twelve episodes in 1913 and 1914 that Jung likely regarded as precognitive, including a fantasy of an earth-spread conflagration and Jung's prophecy thereof, and a thrice-repeating dream of Europe landlocked in ice.[216] As remarked in the *Black Books*, the outbreak of the war granted Jung "the courage to say all of that which I have written in the earlier part of this book."[217] The conviction that his *Black Books* held not only personal but collective worth likely inspired Jung to compile, gloss and illuminate his fantasies for the calligraphic *Red Book*. It also underlay his formalization of those fantasies as abstract psychological principles in subsequent, theoretical works.

The *Black Books* together with *Liber Novus* represents, as Shamdasani notes, an unfinished corpus composed over the period from 1913 to 1930.[218] The corpus, which may be deemed Jung's *Red Book* project, encompasses three major fantasy cycles, multiple drafts, the calligraphic transcription, and scores of complementary paintings. The cycles include "*Der Weg des Kommenden* [The Way of What Is to Come]" (*Liber Primus*), "*Die Bilder des Irrenden* [The Images of the Erring]" (*Liber Secundus*), and "*Prüfungen* [Scrutinies]"—all recorded over the period from November, 1913, to June, 1916.[219] Although keeping the *Black Books* private,

[213] Jung (1993), 233.
[214] Ibid., 233f.; see also, ibid. (2012:2), 48; *Memories*, 176.
[215] Jung (2009:2), 123; cf. ibid. (2009:1), folio i(v).
[216] For a list of these, see Jung (2009:2), 29.
[217] Jung (2009:2), 474.
[218] Ibid., 105 (Editorial Note).
[219] See ibid., 45, 105.

Jung shared the *Red Book* with a number of close associates and friends.[220] In 1916, he distributed a small excerpt of his last fantasy cycle as a booklet under the title, *Septem Sermones ad Mortuos* (*Seven Sermons to the Dead*), later granting anonymous publication of a few of the *Red Book* paintings as well.[221] *Liber Novus*, as a whole, however, remained unpublished in Jung's lifetime—his most protracted and arguably most belabored work standing almost exclusively as, effectively, Jung's *opus* unto himself.[222] The *Red Book* project may be seen as enfolding multiple textual categories accompanied by various amplificatory or otherwise supplementary data types. As noted by the English-language translators, the *Red Book* narratives shift regularly between three stylistic registers that may be categorized in turn as 'descriptive' and often dialogic; 'mantic' and archetypal; and 'conceptual' and explanatory.[223] The project's textual elements aside, the paintings of *Liber Novus* serve as a further commentary upon the material, an aesthetic elaboration by which Jung 'amplifies' the attributes and significations of his fantasies. Jung eventually perceived the limitations of this approach, later recalling that "I became aware that I had not yet found the right language…Therefore, I gave up this aestheticizing tendency in good time, in favour of a rigorous process of *understanding*."[224] Jung pursued this understanding in manners exceeding the bounds of the *Red Book* project itself, exploring its themes, for example, through the principles and concepts of later theoretical writings, and the formulations and symbols of his alchemical research.

2.3
Themes of the *Red Book* project

Among the many themes and motifs of the *Red Book* project stands an overriding consideration of the nature, meaning and applicability of myth. As previously seen, the topic had engaged Jung during his *Transformations* research and had led him to consider the decline of myth in the modern age. As in his 1950 foreword to *Transformations*, Jung recalled of the text, in 1925, that "I had explained the myths of past peoples, but what about my own myth? I had to admit I had none; I knew theirs but none of my own, nor did anyone else have one today."[225] Although underscoring the modern loss of myth, the Miller study had at least envisaged the means of its potential recovery, tendering the formula that "through fantastic

[220] See ibid., 73f.
[221] Ibid., 42, 72, 85.
[222] Ibid., 98.
[223] See note by Kyburz, Peck and Shamdasani (ibid., 97ff).
[224] *Memories*, 188. (emphasis in original).
[225] Jung (2012:2), 26; see also *Memories*, 171.

thinking passes the connection between directed thinking and the oldest foundations of the human mind."[226] Through such faculty Jung had thus been able to "catch [the material of the unconscious] *in flagrante*," first observed in his lakeside play and then, more significantly, in his *Black Books* 'experiments.'[227] Of the latter he stated that "the first chapter of [*Transformations*] ["Concerning Two Kinds of Thinking"] became most correctly true.[228] I watched the creation of myths going on."[229] Through his interaction with the psycho-mythic figures of his 'experiment,' he learned to "take seriously every unknown wanderer who personally inhabits the inner world" and cultivated therewith a new kind of mythic 'devotion,' a *religīō* (<L. devotion, obligation, sanctity) oriented not toward metaphysical projections, but rather toward inner, psychological beings.[230] "Thoughts," he maintained, "are just as much outside your self as trees and animals are outside your body."[231] They are "natural events that you do not possess, and [the] meaning of which you only imperfectly recognize. Thoughts grow in me like a forest, populated by many different animals."[232] Considerations of myth and mythopoeia aside, the *Red Book* project entails a number of themes that appear in *Transformations* as well as in subsequent alchemical works, including those relating to the sacrifice of the hero; Christianity and Christ; and evil and the (associated) animal nature of man.

Of especial note, Jung considered the 'sacrifice' theme as pertaining to the relinquishment of his own "heroic idealism," or, in the idiom of his later typology, the subjection of his dominant 'thinking' function, which he needed to overcome in order to properly engage his fantasy faculty and thus 'the spirit of the depths.' In the language of the forest metaphor above, "man is domineering in his thinking, and therefore he kills the pleasure of the forest, and that of the wild animals."[233] Obviating this, the intellect itself needed to be 'killed.'[234] More generally, the sacrifice signified the I's humbling in the presence of the soul: "The spirit of the depths teaches me that I am a servant, in fact the servant of a child. This dictum was repugnant to me and I hated it. But I had to recognize and accept that my soul is a child and that my God in my soul is a child."[235] The counselling of such humility in general, in which the I is relativized and depotentiated before an array of archetypal forces, imbues Jung's later writings, including the alchemical works. As previously seen, the sacrifice-of-the-hero motif emerges already in

[226] Jung (1916), 36 (trans. alt.).
[227] Jung (2012:2), 35.
[228] Of these 'directed' and 'fantastic' forms of thinking, see above, 1.12.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid., 217.
[231] Ibid., 186.
[232] Ibid., 192.
[233] Jung (2009:2), 192.
[234] Ibid. (2012:2), 62.
[235] Jung (2009:2), 134f.

Transformations, where Jung treats it in a manner relatable though not identical to its *Red Book* employment. Like in the later text, the Miller study frames the hero sacrifice as an act of psychological transformation and renewal, although as pertaining to the ceding not of the intellect but of an 'incestuous libido.' Miller's failure to consummate the sacrifice, as evinced through her Chi-wan-to-pel fantasy, carried the significance for Jung of both an interpsychic dependence on the family and, more detrimentally, an intrapsychic retreat into fantasy, the archaic nature of which signaled the danger of dementia praecox.[236] During the *Red Book* period Jung learned that the manifestation of *urtümlicher Bilder* may indicate though not necessitate a pathological disturbance—an insight garnered through the recognized alignment of his own fantasy material with 'the ruler of the depths of world affairs.'

2.4
Reflections and insights on the *Red Book* project

The address of such thematic continuities as the above that connect the *Red Book* project both with earlier and later research is absent in Jung's writings, as indeed is all discussion of the project's content and worth. His remarks upon the *Red Book* may be noted, however, in his aforementioned 1925 seminar as well as in Jaffé's *Memories*, both of which received only posthumous publication. Although omitting in both places the manner in which the themes of *Transformations* may have impacted upon those of *Liber Novus*, Jung expresses clearly the pivotal importance of the latter work upon his subsequent research. Of his major survey and assay of psychological typology, Jung commented in the seminar that "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."[237] In *Memories*, as previously indicated, Jung reports, in reference to his *Red Book* years, that 'the later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious.' He expounds upon this elsewhere, offering 1912 as a watershed year, the start of a period which, in retrospect, telescoped and foretokened his later thought more generally:

> All my work, all of what I have accomplished intellectually, comes out of these initial…fantasies [*Imaginationen*] and dreams…It will soon be fifty years since then. 1912 is when it began with the

[236] See, for example, Jung (1916), 338, 466, 479.
[237] Jung (2012:2), 35.

> fantasies. All of what I did in my later life is there within, partly in the form of tremendous emotions, partly very imperfectly formulated.[238]

Both in 1925 and later with Jaffé, Jung discusses the *Imaginationen* of the *Red Book*.[239] He also draws parallels, although in a limited fashion, between themes of *Liber Novus* and his later formulations, most saliently in the instance of the 'soul' personage and following anima conceptualization. As will be seen in the case of the quaternary symbol, a number of the *Red Book* themes, although there 'very imperfectly formulated,' were perpetuated and further developed both in Jung's subsequent theoretical and comparative works.

Jung's discussions of the *Red Book* probed both the nature of the project and the matter of his proper reception. He highlights in *Memories* the powerful emotions that underlay the experiential aspects of the project, stressing the need "to find the images which were concealed in the emotions."[240] In the seminar, he comments more particularly that personification of unconscious phenomena may serve as "a technique…for stripping them of power."[241] Once "conjured" as personifications, he commends the subject "to stick to the picture that comes up until all its possibilities are exhausted," thus resisting the usual "depreciatory attitude toward the unconscious material," the "whisper in one's ear that it is all nonsense."[242]

Although having cast the project as a "scientific experiment" conducted upon the unconscious and designed to catch it *in flagrante*, Jung came to understand the 'experiment' as likewise having been conducted on himself.[243] He remembered the project's critical period (particularly the years, 1914-1917) as marked by the "irruption [*Einbruch*] of the unconscious," framed within a time more generally characterized by 'psychic unrest' and 'inner uncertainty.'[244] Jung's earnest treatment of the *Imaginationen* of the *Red Book* entailed not only feelings of folly, but also by turn exhaustion, revulsion, and fear—the last most conspicuously concerning a loss of self-control.[245] Despite the stresses of an 'inner reality' *per veram imaginationem*, Jung seems gradually to have habituated himself, at least to some degree, to a dialogic internal mode, one that effectively relativizes the I through a compounding of intra-psychical identities. He comments in the seminar that "it took me a long time to adapt to something in myself that

[238] Protocols.
[239] See Jung (2012:2), Lectures 7-12; *Memories*, Chapter VII.
[240] *Memories*, 177.
[241] Jung (2012:2), 49.
[242] Ibid., 37.
[243] *Memories*, 177f.
[244] Jaffé characterized this period in her memoir as Jung's "confrontation [*Auseinandersetzung*] with the unconscious," a formulation likely figured upon Jung's characterization of his *Black Book* 'experiment' as a "confrontation with my soul" (Protocols).
[245] See, for instance, Jung (2012:2), 44, 52.

was not myself—that is, to the fact that there were in my individual mind parts that did not pertain to me."[246]

If the *Red Book* project reflects an 'ecology' of mind through the recognition and recording of imaginal figures, a question may be posed still as to what that 'biome' could signify—how this record of encounters, exchanges and divulgements could relate to a larger 'environs' or context. Of an artistic approach to the material, Jung notes in the seminar that "I could easily have watched the course of the unconscious as I would watch a cinema…I would have had from them only a perceptional conviction, and would have felt no moral obligation toward them."[247] Despite Jung's remarks and show of resistance, he took up in 1915 the painting and calligraphic transcription of his fantasies, an artistic application to his 'experiment' that, as previously cited, he comments upon to Jaffé: "In the Red Book I tried an aesthetic elaboration of my fantasies, but never finished it. I became aware that I had not yet found the right language, that I still had to translate it into something else. Therefore I gave up this aestheticizing tendency in good time, in favour of a rigorous process of *understanding*."[248] Judging by Jung's later use of the *Red Book* material—his drawing 'from the inside,' from his fantasies and dreams—such a process entailed for him a comparative design, an engagement with the psychology developed, particularly, in *Transformations*. One's 'moral obligation' is in this way fulfilled through an active engagement with *Imaginationen* as media of living symbols, assessed both for their *geisteswissenschaftliche* 'life-value' and as *naturwissenschaftliche* entities of mind.

Following Miller's example, Jung may be understood as generating through the *Red Book* 'experiment' his own 'instances of subconscious creative imagination,' to be processed, potentially, like Miller's 'instances,' as a product of psycho-mythographic import. Indeed, the textual registers of Jung's *Red Book* design compare fruitfully with components of Miller's creation: his 'descriptive' narratives with her "hypnagogic drama"; his 'mantic' pronouncements with the cryptic declarations of her "dream poem"; his 'conceptual' commentaries with her "remarks and explanatory notes."[249] One may query, however, that if Jung's project comprises (with an added artistic layer) Miller-like *faits d'imagination*, where stands its corresponding *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, i.e., its comparative critique of the material along psychological and philological lines. The *Red Book* project, itself, lacks such comparative modes, containing, for example, neither clinical analogues nor mythological

[246] Jung (2012:2), 49f.
[247] Jung (2012:2), 48; see also ibid., 38; ibid., *CW:8*§180.
[248] See *Memories*, 188.
[249] See Miller (1907), 296ff.

parallels that could further elucidate its uncovered *Imaginationen*.[250] In the rhetoric of *Transformations*, Jung appears to have favored for his enterprise antique or otherwise non-technical idioms of 'wisdom' over those of more transient, science-based 'knowledge,' inclining more toward a 'fantastic' than 'directed' pattern of thought.[251] He was concerned, in other words, more with the embodiment of a mythos than with the *wissenschaftlich* methods of its explication. He addressed that 'rigorous process of understanding,' in fact, only through subsequent writings, not least the alchemical works. In *Transformations*, Jung had apprehended Miller's 'instances of imagination' primarily through a pathological frame, understanding the collective content of moderns' dreams and fantasies in general as evidence of dissociation and introversion. He learned to complicate this viewpoint, however, through the execution and interpretation of his own *Red Book* 'instances,' in significant measure depathologizing such manifested content given an absence of accompanying symptoms of disease.

Aiding in the depathologization—and thus authentication—of Jung's project stands, as previously seen, his confirmation of certain *Red Book* episodes as precognitive events. Writing in *Liber Primus* of his embarkment upon the *Black Book* investigations, Jung recalls that "before I could pull myself together to really do it, I needed a visible sign," which he claims to have found through his Schaffhausen vision, validated with the outbreak of World War I.[252] The vision along with other such episodes provided him, as recorded in *Scrutinies*, "the courage to say all of that which I have written in the earlier part of this book."[253] They persuaded him, moreover, that he was not, as feared, 'doing a schizophrenia,' but that, rather, 'the spirit of the depths' in him aligned with 'the ruler of the depths of world affairs.' He understood, in other words, that such precognitive dreams and visions came to him 'from the subsoil' of the collective unconscious, his realization propelling him 'to deepen and validate this discovery' through his subsequent psycho-mythical research.

[250] On the absence of a psychological nomenclature, Shamdasani notes that *Black Books* 2-7 contain only one mention of the "unconscious" (see Jung [2009:2], 474; also ibid., 312, for a non-technical employment of the word). The text, additionally, contains no known instances of "psyche" or "complex."
[251] Jung (1916), 24.
[252] Jung (2009:2), 123.
[253] Ibid., 474.

2.5
Jung's essays from the teens

2.5.1 Introduction

Jung's essays of the 1910s, a number of which may be highlighted here, reflect his first attempts at rendering in a *wissenschaftlich* language the process, significance, and, to a limited degree, content of the *Red Book* experiences as framed for public receipt. The writings evince not only a continual avowal of his *Transformations* psychology, together with a distancing from variant psychological schemes, but an evolving effort to extend, in light of his own 'experiment,' its logic, methodology, and scope. Already at the close of 1911, in "New Paths in Psychology," Jung affirms the need for the researcher, as previously seen, 'to give up exact science' and 'take off his scholar's gown,' concluding that "the experimental psychology of today…does not even begin to give him any coherent insight into…the most important psychic processes."[254] Freud's new "analytical" or "depth" psychology, in Jung's ascription, began to address this deficit and inaugurate a new approach, the "infantile reminiscences" revealed by its "talking cure" being supplemented by "race memories" uncovered by "the Zurich school."[255] Jung's 1914 essay, "On Psychological Understanding," furnishes a comparable evaluation, offering censure, for example, of the scientism that contributed to a so-called "objective" psychology and of the psychiatric formulation of "psyche=brain-secretion."[256] To the ground-breaking investigations of Freud, Jung attributes "immortal merit," finding fault, however, in a departure from "New Paths," with the former's "analytical-reductive" approach.[257] One attempting to understand symbolic expressions of the psyche from such a "causal" standpoint, writes Jung, is "like a man who tries to understand a Gothic cathedral under its historical, technical, and…mineralogical aspect," in this way preparing the way for a new kind of interpretative technique.[258] Criticism of his onetime mentor persists with "The Structure of the Unconscious," a 1916 essay in which Jung suggests the impossibility of a Freud-inspired 'emptying' of the unconscious of "infantile-sexual wish fantasies."[259] Drawing upon the "primitive perceptions" or 'archaic images' of *Transformations*, Jung asserts, with greater surety, that the unconscious consists not only of "ontogenetic" or "acquired" characteristics—which, indeed, if repressed, require assimilation into consciousness—but also "residues of the

[254] Jung, *CW:7*§409.
[255] See ibid., §410, §413, §414, §434.
[256] Jung, *CW:3*§405-406.
[257] Jung, *CW:3*§391-406.
[258] Ibid., §395-396. Jung invoked a similar metaphor in *Transformations* (see ibid. [1916], 145).
[259] Jung, *CW:7*§443-444.

phylogenetic perceptive and adaptive functions," which constitute a "collective unconscious."[260] Modern individuals, by his discernment, at once tend to identify with the collective unconscious through a de-individualized 'mask' denominated the "persona," while also resisting it "because the destruction of conscious ideals is feared."[261] Jung develops his understanding of the modern condition in another essay of 1916 entitled "The Transcendent Function," in which "civilized life" is recognized to entail "the risk of a considerable dissociation from the unconscious."[262] "The psyche," he contends, "is a self-regulating system," although by dint of the "directedness" of modern consciousness, "the psyche of civilized man…could rather be compared to a machine whose speed-regulation is so insensitive that it can continue to function to the point of self-injury."[263] Such "one-sidedness" not only alienates the individual from "the whole of his personality," but also threatens the build-up of a "powerful counter-position" in the unconscious, which, when irrupting "may have disagreeable consequences."[264] Finally, in the 1917 revision of "New Paths," much enlarged and retitled "The Psychology of Unconscious Processes," Jung, as an "inquirer after the secrets of the human soul," writes again of the restrictedness of "civilizing processes" and the unconscious as "a source of danger when the individual is not at one with it."[265] He elaborates in greater detail the shortcomings of Freud's "reductive theory," crediting the aforementioned *Leonardo* essay, however, in an expansive treatment of archaic images, which embody in one phrase "the most ancient, universal, and deep thoughts of mankind," and in another "every beautiful and great thought and feeling of humanity, but also every deed of shame and devilry of which human beings have ever been capable."[266] The images, moreover, inform the collective or "super-personal [*überpersönlich*]" unconscious, which he defines as "the precipitate [*Niederschlag*] of all the world's experience of all times, hence also an image of the world that has formed for aeons."[267] Prefiguring his conception of archetypes, Jung writes of "certain features [that] have become prominent in this image," so-called dominants: "the ruling powers, the gods, i.e., images of dominating laws and principles, of average regularities in the flow of images that the brain has received from the flow of worldly processes."[268]

[260] Ibid., §450, §455, §507.
[261] Ibid., §465, §509, §518.
[262] Jung, *CW:8*§139.
[263] Ibid., §134, §159.
[264] Ibid., §139, §142.
[265] Jung (1920), 355, 442.
[266] Ibid., 394, 409-411, 414.
[267] Ibid., 432 (trans. alt.).
[268] Ibid.

2.5.2 Accessing psychic processes

In these essays as well Jung explores the varying ways by which to access 'important psychic processes.' In "New Paths" he poses the question of how "to come by the shortest and best path to the knowledge of unconscious events," offering hypnosis and the association method as viable though ultimately deficient techniques.[269] "The more penetrating method," he writes, "is that of dream-analysis, the ingenious discoverer of which is Sigmund Freud," whom Jung follows in calling it "the *via regia* [royal road] to the unconscious [leading] straight to the deepest personal secrets."[270] By 1916, however, in "The Transcendent Function," Jung considers dreams "inferior expressions of unconscious material," favoring instead "unconscious interferences in the waking state," notably "free fantasies" either spontaneously or deliberately produced.[271] Recognizing that the spontaneous variety is "none too common," he describes the deliberate type as a commendable "resort to artificial aid," a wilful "sinking" into fantasy through various sensory means—what he later termed 'active imagination.' In the documentation of the ensuing "'chain-reaction' association process," Jung stresses the need, as previously addressed, of an 'ecological,' 'egalitarian' mode:

> It is exactly as if a dialogue were taking place between two human beings with equal rights, each of whom gives the other credit for a valid argument and considers it worthwhile to modify the conflicting standpoints by means of thorough comparison and discussion.[272]

Despite the "favourable and vitalizing influence" of such a practice, Jung admits that the unconscious "rediscovered" in this way may often produce "a really dangerous effect."[273] Elucidated in his "Structure" essay, "the release of fantasy," he explains, may conduce to the activation of the collective psyche: "This outburst of fantasy throws up into consciousness materials and impulses whose existence one had never before suspected. The whole body of mythological thinking and feeling is made accessible."[274] The negotiation of that danger depends, as framed in that essay, upon the manner in which such data of the unconscious is apprehended and assimilated into consciousness.

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[269] Jung, *CW:7*§432 (trans. alt.).
[270] Ibid., §432, §437 (trans. alt.).
[271] Jung, *CW:8*§152-155.
[272] Ibid., §167, §186.
[273] Ibid., §167, §183.
[274] Ibid., *CW:7*§468 (trans. alt.).

2.5.3 Responding to psychic processes

In his essays of 1914 and 1917, as well as in "The Transcendent Function," Jung stresses, with regard to the apprehension of unconscious processes, two interpretative modes. As detailed in 1914, the first consists in the aforementioned 'analytical-reductive' approach, which he links with the psychological model of Freud.[275] Judging from their respective viewpoints, this 'causal' mode, in Jung's assessment, considers fantasy formation as "nothing but an infantile wish symbolically disguised or an obstinate clinging to the fiction of one's own superiority."[276] Although granting the usefulness of such an "objective" and "retrospective" understanding, Jung appeals for a complementary "subjective" and "prospective" regard of fantasies, one that, according to the "language and mental range" of the subject, "elaborates them into something higher and more complicated," oriented "toward an unknown goal."[277] Such a "constructive method," achieving, through the cultivation of a personal fantasy "structure" or "system," the assimilation of "unknown psychic phenomena," moves perforce into greater subjectivity in which, despite its sanative function, a patient risks becoming mired.[278] Jung explains that though "this is a purely subjective adaptation at first…it is a necessary transition stage on the way to adapting the personality to the world in general."[279] In order to achieve this adaptation, Jung offers the finding that products of individual fantasy "show obvious analogies with mythological formations," which may be applied to such fantasy to gain "understanding in accord with that of other reasonable beings."[280] Adducing his own Miller study as just such an application, Jung finds, in conclusion, that "not until the constructive method has furnished us with a great many more experiences can we start building up a scientific theory…Until then we must be content to trace them out in individual cases."[281] Jung sustains these insights in "The Transcendent Function," indicating that the forward-looking and purposive "constructive treatment of the unconscious" helps to overcome psychological stasis engendered by purely "concretistic-reductive" analytical modes.[282] Faced with the interpretation of an unconscious process or product, the subject should ask, following Faust, "How am I affected by this sign?"[283] He should regard a dream-image or fantasy "not semiotically," but, by Jung's contention, "symbolically in the true sense, the word 'symbol' being taken to mean the best

[275] Jung, *CW3*§411.
[276] Ibid., §412.
[277] Ibid., §395, §397, §405, §413, §423.
[278] Ibid., §391, §412, §413, §416.
[279] Ibid., §416.
[280] Ibid., §414, §416.
[281] Ibid., §415, §424.
[282] *CW:8*§146-147.
[283] Ibid., §188; also Goethe (1952), 12f.

possible expression for a complex fact not yet clearly apprehended by consciousness."[284] Properly executed, the constructive approach acts "to bring conscious and unconscious together," in this way 'transcending' the boundary between them, "and so arrive at a new attitude."[285] Jung labels such an action, fittingly, the transcendent function (*transzendente Funktion*), defining its output as

> a living, third thing—not a logical stillbirth in accordance with the principle *tertium non datur* but a movement out of the suspension between opposites, a living birth that leads to a new level of being, a new situation. The transcendent function manifests itself as a quality of conjoined opposites.[286]

In his 1917 essay, Jung affirms the foregoing conclusions, underlining with even greater certainty and pellucidness, however, his method's phylogenetic import. In his 1914 account, for example, the "types" or "typical components" uncovered by the constructive method suggest analogy with "mythological formations."[287] By 1917, he articulates these 'types' more clearly as signifiers of the aforementioned dominants, to which the subject need reconcile himself. Additionally, the transcendent function, as such a mode of reconciliation or "settlement," enables not merely 'a new attitude,' but, in his 1917 phrasing, "the possibility of coming to terms with the activated residues of our phylogeny [*Stammesgeschichte*]."[288] Jung notably adds in the essay that the dominants may be apprehended and reconciled to consciousness "in a concretistic manner through cultural communication with the gods."[289] For contemporary subjects, however, because this method "stands too much at odds with the intellect and its moral perception," he suggests their apprehension, instead, as "collective-psychological phenomena or functions," with which "our intellectual conscience in no way conflicts."[290]

Jung's 1916 "Structure" essay accords with the foregoing interpretative insights regarding unconscious processes, but emphasizes more than in the other works the dynamism of such processes, which, with regard to their 'collective content,' elicit in his exposition three possible means of response. The first entails the application of a "reductive theory," framed not as a serviceable but bounded technique, as elsewhere, but rather as a wilful, regressive strategy to devalue the collective psyche and restore the persona, the subject by this method "quietly

[284] Ibid., §148; also §150, §192.
[285] Ibid., §146; also ibid. (1920), 436.
[286] *CW:8*§189.
[287] Ibid., §413-414.
[288] Jung (1920), 436 (trans. alt.).
[289] Ibid., 435f. (trans. alt.).
[290] Ibid., 436 (trans. alt.).

giv[ing] up analysis, trying to forget if possible that he possesses an unconscious."[291] Noting the ultimate fruitlessness of this course, Jung observes that "the unconscious cannot be analysed to a finish and thereby made still. No one can wrest from it its effective power for any length of time."[292] A second, equally defective but more dangerous response lies in the personal identification with the collective psyche, an attempted assimilation of phylogenetic residues "in an unjustified manner."[293] Building upon a perceived state of godlikeness (*Gottähnlichkeit*) that arises from the apprehension of collective content, such an identification is expressed through a feeling of either crushing inferiority or inflated superiority.[294] Both conditions may occasion the elaboration of a "system," whereby either in a role of martyr or prophet the subject finds himself "the fortunate possessor of the great truth that was waiting to be discovered, the final insight implying the salvation of the people."[295] Both too may precipitate a state of pathology that Jung likens (but does not equate) with organic mental disease.[296] The third means of response attempts to neither reject nor personally identify with collective content, but rather reconcile the individual to it through application of the constructive approach, which Jung frames here, as previously addressed, as the hermeneutical method. The combination or synthesis of 'subjective' and 'objective' analogies, together with the unconscious processes of the subject, serves, through their *tertia comparationis*, to identify in the processes "certain lines of psychological development" that are both "individual" and "collective" in nature.[297] Such "life-lines" help the subject to navigate "the directions of the currents of the libido" that, though temporary, allows him to chart a future psychological course.[298] In conclusion, Jung writes expansively of the hermeneutical method as "an art [*Kunst*] or a technique [*Technik*] or a science of psychological life [*Wissenschaft des psychologischen Lebens*]."[299]

2.5.4 Individuation

The continual exercise of the constructive or hermeneutical method leads in Jung's view to the gradual identification and differentiation of collective material, a process of individuation indicated by various means in all of the foregoing essays. In 1914, Jung writes of the subject acquiring his own *Weltanschauung*, achieved through recognition of the psyche as a "point of

[291] *CW:7*§471-472.
[292] Ibid., §474 (trans. alt.).
[293] Ibid., §457 (trans. alt.); also §451, §507.
[294] Ibid., §451, §456.
[295] Ibid., §476.
[296] Ibid., §470.
[297] Ibid., §493.
[298] Ibid., §500.
[299] Ibid., §502.

intersection" that reconciles "remnants and traces of all that has been" with prospective, individual needs.[300] He writes in "The Transcendent Function" generally of "the courage to be oneself" and specifically of bringing the "conscious and unconscious together" in order to "arrive at a new attitude."[301] In "Structure," Jung elucidates the same "attitude [*Einstellung*]," which, through the assimilation of unconscious contents and consequent linkage of the "I (*Ich*)" and "Not-I (*Nicht-Ich*)," advances a state of "individuation [*Individuation*]."[302] The "individual" thereby relinquishes conscious intention, finding identity not in thinking or other "typical attitude" of the persona, but in the newly found relation between the '*Ich*' and '*Nicht-Ich*.'[303] Underscoring the foregoing in his 1917 essay, Jung calls this condition "individuation beyond the type," an "enrichment of the individual" that enables "a new relationship to world and spirit," "unlock[ing] new inner springs, which ensure…considerably greater independence from external conditions."[304]

2.6
The *Red Book* project in view of Jung's essays from the teens

2.6.1 Jung's personal response to unconscious processes

As likely products of Jung's *Red Book* activity, the foregoing theoretical writings may be enlisted in illumination of that activity, particularly as regarding his own response to 'unconscious processes.' Jung appears at no time to have embraced a reductive, 'regressive' approach to the unconscious in the manner described in "Structure." As presented there, the avoidance of a 'nothing but' strategy admits not only proper recognition of the psyche's collective traits, but the possibility of their distinction from the I, the subject thereby assimilating *überpersönlich* 'types' qua 'types,' not as facets of personal identity. By his very engagement with the *Imaginationen*, Jung avoids, by his reckoning, the usual identification with the collective 'mask' of the persona, the overcoming of his dominant 'thinking' function.[305] He signals in "Structure" the possible identification also with the collective 'soul-complex' or anima, an eventuality he likely averted as well.[306]

[300] *CW:3*§404, 421.
[301] *CW:8*§146, §193.
[302] *CW:7*§505.
[303] Ibid., §505, §507.
[304] Jung (1920), 440f. (trans. alt.); also 416, 434.
[305] *CW:7*§507, §509.
[306] Ibid., §507-§510, §521. Jung links this identity with that of an artist, a role which he personally repudiates in 1913 (see ibid., §510; Jung [2009:2], 21).

2.6.2 Philemon

Jung appears, in fact, to have most risked becoming, by his reasoning, 'the fortunate possessor of the great truth,' an identification with 'godlikeness' as expressed through the role of the prophet and linked, in Jung's *Black Book* encounters, with the 'magical' figure called ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ (Philemon). Later described as a Gnostic, Philemon emerges in *Liber Secundus* as a "pensioned magician," who (in residence with his wife, ΒΑΥΚΙΣ [Baucis]) "can do nothing else than plant tulips and water his little garden."[307] He teaches Jung's I the limits of reason, the "mysteries of magic," and the union of "the Above and Below."[308] In *Scrutinies*, Jung writes that Philemon

> had intoxicated me and given me a language that was foreign to me and of a different sensitivity…Probably the most part of what I have written in the earlier part of this book was given to me by ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ…But now I noticed that ΦΙΛΗΜΩΝ assumed a form distinct from me.[309]

Although heedful still of the principles imparted in his earlier *Black Book* entries, Jung later recalled the 'prophetic' danger entailed in personally identifying with the secret author of that 'book' (namely, *Liber Primus* and *Liber Secundus*). Indeed, had he coupled himself with the magician, Jung writes that he could well have produced a volume, after Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*), entitled *Philemon sprach* (*Philemon spoke*).[310] In "Structure," Jung alludes to a Philemon-like "masculine figure" that later shows "hermaphroditic traits" appearing in the dreams and fantasies of men, while in his 1917 essay, he writes more specifically of a "magician dominant [*Zaubererdominante*]," which he ties to Zarathustra, as well as Faust and the "tribal magic-man."[311]

2.6.3 The 'two programs' of Jung's response

In "Structure," as seen, Jung writes against such 'prophetic' elaboration of a savior-held 'system'—whether psychological or mystical—framing the approach to the unconscious as properly individual in its 'science of psychological life.' This comports, indeed, with his emphasis upon, in "The Transcendent Function," interiority and inner dialogue, and, in his 1914

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[307] Jung (2009:2), 397. On the mythological personages of Philemon and Baucis, see ibid., 396.
[308] Ibid., 404, 407.
[309] Ibid., 483; also *Memories*, 183.
[310] Protocols. In *Memories*, *Zarathustra* is identified as a product of Nietzsche's own 'Number Two' personality—one that he foolishly and misguidedly made public (*Memories*, 102f.).
[311] *CW:7*§520; Jung (1920), 434.

essay, "the psychological path of development in a given individual."[312] Such a path is exemplified, of course, through Jung's own *Red Book* project, which in its own manner counsels this individualized approach. As traced out in other segments of the above essays, however, and as established in the previous chapter, Jung predicates this *Kunst* and *Wissenschaft* of individuality upon the existence of collective traits, constellated as archaic images in *Transformations* and later developed as archetypes. Jung's insight into the collective composition of psyche propels him, as seen, into the labor of his own 'experiment,' which, together with precognitive means of authentication, provides further corroboration of such collectivity. The discernment of his project's 'typical' components prompts repeated revision of his *Black Book* accounts as well as the elaboration of their multiple commentaries. One may thus judge Jung's notions of individuality and collectivity, together with their respective 'programs' of exploration and proof, as inextricably intertwined. From the *Red Book* period onward, both programs, indeed, are present in Jung's thought: the development of an 'inner life,' pursued by individual means, and the *wissenschaftliche* investigation of its tendered products, found conformable through the *Transformations* 'technique.'

Of that first 'program'—the traversing of the 'path of development in a given individual'—Jung offers little commentary concerning the criteria by which to judge the phenomenology both of unconscious processes and their 'constructive' analogies. In Jung's description, the subject's breakdown of processes into 'typical components' and subsequent build-up into an 'enriching' construction proceeds according to an irrational, idiosyncratic and often fortuitous operation that would appear to frustrate efforts of standardization and reproducibility. One salient criterion, however, inheres in the subject's *feeling* of transcendence in the face of a given unconscious process or 'encounter,' an experience of sublimity or wondrousness that in various guises may, in fact, be tracked throughout Jung's life and career. This sensed liminality was identified by Jung in later writings as numinosity (*Numinosität*), disclosed as both the experiential basis of religion and touchstone of archetypal events.[313] Numinous experiences, by his reckoning, are both *inviolable* as objects of human reason, and *natural*, arising as immediate products of psyche that in no way indicate miraculous or supernatural intercession. In the consideration of unconscious processes together with constructive symbols and effects, feelings of the numinous provide Jung with a means of navigating the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation, both in therapeutic settings as well as in his own personal research. Such feelings also help in defending his psychology against the charge of suggestion, numinosity serving as an inimitable agent of unconscious need or effect. Jung, of course, could have restricted his psychology to an espousal

[312] *CW:3*§422.
[313] Concerning numinosity, see, for instance, *CW:8*§216, §405; *CW:11*§6; *CW:14*§780.

of numinous engagement more narrowly defined, petitioning for personal communion both with the revelations of one's own unconscious processes as well as hermeneutical analogues of individual import. But, as established in his Miller study, he considers such numinosity (together with other pivotal but unspecified psychical effects) trans-individual in manifestation and symbolic attribution, exhibitive of patterns that through a phenomenology of psyche, may be investigated and described.

In the execution of this second 'program,' the documentation and comparative analysis of individual and historical phenomenology, extensive clinical data and broad philological research figure large as requisite bodies of evidence in Jung's later works —evidence, given his medical expertise and scholarly gusto, that he seemed, at least in his own estimation, exceptionally suited to provide. In *Transformations*, Jung employs a wide variety of source material in both domains in an exposition of 'libidinal introversion' via Miller's 'case,' framed psychoanalytically and historicized through instantiations of the hero myth. Recognizing the mythical fruitfulness of such 'fantastic thinking' as demonstrated by Miller, Jung subsequently activated his own 'fantasy life,' intent to dispel, as he later recalled, the 'uncertain cloud of theoretical possibilities' that he regarded 'with increasing distrust.' The fruits of that venture, as evinced through the various texts of the *Red Book* project, conform, in fact, to the lineaments of the first 'program' above: they reflect, through inner dialogue, the (numinous) engagement of the relation between the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*, tracing out 'the psychological path in a given individual' through repeated analysis and synthesis of its apprehended 'types' and yielding for the individual a potentially new and vitalizing *Weltanschauung*. Not long after initiating his own 'experiment,' however, Jung begins to apply his results as congruent with the second 'program,' theorizing upon the processes of his own phenomenology, as he did Miller's. He accomplishes this not, as in the latter 'case,' through the imposition of an extrinsic model, observable in his application in *Transformations* of an expanded 'libido' principle, but to a considerable degree as derivative from the intrinsic dynamics of the processes themselves. By 1917, as seen, Jung abstracts in his theoretical essays a number of the results of his 'experiment,' finding formulations not only for its operative methods—its manner of engaging and elaborating the *Imaginationen*—but also its constituent 'components,' extracting from them such concepts as the anima, persona, and *Zauberdominante* presented as trans-individual 'types.' Jung elucidates these 'types' still further in his 1928 revision of "Structure," which, as addressed in Chapter 5, he instrumentalizes in his exposition of alchemical texts.

2.6.4 Jung's phenomenology of the psyche

The discernment and positing of 'types' from the *Black Books Imaginationen* constitutes for Jung not the elaboration of a 'system,' but a descriptive phenomenology of 'phylogenetic residues,' potentially subject to continual verification and revision. The 'system' approach entails, as seen, an equation with 'godlikeness,' which Jung links with Faust, the "magician" and "ruthless man of will," and his "pact with the devil" (*Teufelspakt*).[314] Jung seeks to eschew this 'Faustian bargain' through his ongoing association with Philemon, whose discernment by Jung aids in his disavowal of the magician role. Philemon himself appears to counsel against the avidity and aggrandizement of a 'Faustian' path, advising Jung to embrace mystery over power and communion with the Gods over the playing of God himself: "mind your business," he exhorts, "and behold your inadequacy every day."[315] Regarding Jung's "fellow men," Philemon urges him "to leave them to themselves" and avoid "pre-empt[ing] them with awkward love, concern, care, advice and other presumptions…So stay quiet, fulfil the cursed work of redemption on yourself."[316]

2.7
The significance of the *Red Book* project

If accrediting Jung's post-teens psychology as, in large measure, a descriptive, archetypal phenomenology, one may inquire still into the precise basis of that phenomenology, the constituent 'components' of which remain relatively stable throughout his later career. In defense of such 'components' as the 'soul' and 'magician' dominants, for example, Jung marshals, in his later works, a host of clinical studies together with a diverse array of social science resources and comparative references, each of which may be judged (both separately and in sum) as evidence of such 'components.' In advance of any such investigation, however, one may note duly that, by Jung's own admission, the *Imaginationen* of his 'experiment' provided the initial, pivotal and enduring proof of such 'components,' notwithstanding their omission among the references and footnotes of his *wissenschaftliche* oeuvre. As he remarked in 1925, 'I drew all my empirical material from my patients, but the solution of the problem I

[314] *CW:7*§397; also ibid., §453.
[315] Ibid. (2009:2), 497.
[316] Ibid., 497f.

drew from the inside, from my observations of the unconscious processes.' In *Memories*, he notes that

> the years when I was pursuing my inner images were the most important in my life—in them everything essential was decided. It all began then; the later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious.[317]

In his abstraction from the *Black Books*, those 'observations of the unconscious processes,' Jung relies upon both the logic of *Transformations* and supposed alignment, based upon precognitive 'signs,' between his own 'depths' and the 'ruler of the depths of world affairs.' By 1916, as seen, he generates conceptualizations from his 'experiment' of such 'components' as the anima and the 'magician,' and (as formulated here) the '*Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation'—'types' that he sustains and develops throughout his later works.[318]

The *Black Books*, themselves, conduce toward an understanding of Jung's I as a mediumistic agent of collective purpose and change. In 1915, for example, Philemon distinguishes Jung as an instrument of human exchange, identifying him, in fact, in the 'currency' of Hermetic "gold":

> I want to master you. I want to emboss you like a coin. I want to do business with you. One should buy and sell you. Hermes is your daimon. You should pass from hand to hand. Self-willing is not for you. You are the will of the whole. Gold is no master out of its own will and yet it rules the whole…Must gold prove its necessity? It is proven through the longing of men.[319]

In a further example, Jung records in 1922 a conversation with his soul regarding the "great work" which she commends to him:

> I: "What great work?"
>
> Soul: "The work that should now be undertaken. It is a great and difficult work…Why have you received the revelation? You should not hide it"…

---

[317] *Memories*, 199.

[318] In his 1917 essay, Jung highlights as well the dominants of the devil (*Teufelsdominante*) and of 'magical power' or 'energy' (Jung [1920], 432f.).

[319] Jung (2009:2), 475 (see footnotes 24 and 25**).** Although the *Red Book* contains no mention of alchemy *per se*, Jung identifies Philemon, as bearing "the wisdom of ΕΡΜΗΣ ΤΡΙΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΥΣ [Hermes Trismegistus]" (ibid., 397). An amalgamated mytho-heroic figure of Greek and Egyptian origin, Hermes Trismegistus ("Hermes the thrice great") was identified in later alchemical writings as the founder of alchemy and author of the oft-quoted Emerald Tablet (*Tabula Smaragdina*), a collection of natural-philosophical maxims from an originally Arabic source (see Principe [2013], 30ff.; Holmyard [1990], 97ff.). Jung cites, without attribution, a portion of the Emerald Tablet in *Transformations:* "the heaven above, the heaven below, the sky above, the sky below, all things above, all things below, know this and rejoice [τοῦτο λαβὲ ναὶ εὐτυχει]" (ibid. [1916], 63; cf. *CW:5*§77).

I: “But what is my calling?”

Soul: “The new religion and its proclamation.”

I [*three days later*]: “It is dark to me, how the knowledge could be transformed into life. You must teach this.”

Soul: “There is not much to say about this. It is not as rational as you are inclined to think. The way is symbolic.”[320]

In the same exchange, Jung shows hesitation in publishing the *Red Book* texts—his ‘revelation’—desiring, as seen, to avoid the prophetic path of *Philemon sprach*, the Faustian identification with the *Überpersönliches*. Instead, Jung seeks the ‘symbolic way’ as described in the two ‘programs’ above: a new *religiō* of numinous experience and its symbolic precipitants, the collective ‘types’ underwritten by the *Red Book Imaginationen*.

From the teens onward Jung draws by a sizable though indefinite measure upon his own *Red Book* experiences in the generation of a *wissenschaftliche* phenomenology of psyche—an empirical employment which at no point is disclosed in his body of professional works. As seen in the following chapters, this phenomenology serves as the basis for his explication of alchemical texts, his *Red Book* findings laying the foundation for a new kind of interpretative art.

[320] Ibid., 61f.

Chapter 3

Jung's approach to the Self

3.1
Introduction to the quaternary Self-*lapis* concept

Jung's study of alchemy, from the 1930s onward, yielded a succession of texts in which he fruitfully compared the Hermetic art to his own psychology of the unconscious. Most fundamentally, Jung claimed throughout these works that, while admitting to the manifest material pursuits of the alchemical enterprise, its principal occupation lay in *psychic* transformation:

> Although [the alchemists'] labours over the retort were a serious effort to elicit the secrets of chemical transformation, it was at the same time—and often in overwhelming degree—the reflection of a parallel psychic process which could be projected…into the unknown chemistry of matter…What the symbolism of alchemy expresses is the whole problem of the evolution of personality…the so-called individuation process.[321]

More particularly, Jung judged the alchemists' quest for the *lapis philosophorum*, which he regarded as the pre-eminent symbol of Hermetic philosophy, as the pursuit, in effect, of the relation between the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*, an idea first articulated, as seen, in his essays from the teens. The relation, as he wrote then, brings the 'conscious and unconscious together,' leading to the individual's 'enrichment' and 'renewal,' or, in a later expression, to a state of "psychic wholeness [*psychische Ganzheit*]."[322] Throughout his alchemical corpus, Jung attested continually, moreover, that the pursuit of such 'wholeness,' and, by implication, of the *lapis*, entailed an intrinsically quaternary symbology, evidenced historically, for example, in alchemical descriptions of the Greek elemental tetrad, and clinically through his own

[321] *CW:12*§40.
[322] *CW:14*§716.

observations of the individuation process. He found proof of the phenomenon not only in alchemy, but in other symbol systems of the world, as asseverated in *Aion*:

> Although "wholeness" seems at first sight to be nothing but an abstract idea…it is nevertheless empirical in so far as it is anticipated by the psyche in the form of spontaneous or autonomous symbols. These are the *quaternity* [Quaternität]…symbols, which occur not only in the dreams of modern people who have never heard of them, but are widely disseminated in the historical records of many peoples and many epochs. Their significance as symbols of unity and totality is amply confirmed by history as well as by empirical psychology.[323]

3.2
The origins of the basic Self relation

In an effort to more fully explore the specificity of Jung's claims, investigating their implications, contexts, and chronologies, one may turn first to the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation, a pattern of psyche he later identifies as the Self.[324] In his "Structure" essay of 1916, Jung writes of the individuation process as reflecting "the psychological phenomenon of coupling between the I and the Not-I," or, as phrased in another passage, "a point or a dividing line, neither conscious nor unconscious, or rather both, something of the conscious mind and…unconscious mind."[325] By the publication of *Psychological Types* in 1921, Jung calls such a 'coupling' the Self:

> Inasmuch as the I is only the centrum of my field of consciousness, it is not identical with the totality of my psyche, being merely a complex among other complexes…The I is only the subject of my consciousness, while the Self [*Selbst*] is the subject of my totality: hence it also includes the unconscious psyche.[326]

As maintained in the previous chapter, such a conceptualization appears to emerge largely from Jung's *Red Book* experiences. The de-centering of the I recalls, for example, Jung's 'sacrifice' of his dominant 'thinking' function, while the shift toward the Not-I implicates his adaptation to the psyche's multi-agential processes, its 'animals' in the 'forest.' Jung's later

[323] *CW:9.2*§59; *GW:9.2*§59 (emphasis in German ed.).
[324] On Jung's development of the Self concept, see, for example, Papadopoulos (1992), 413ff.; Brookes (1996); Heisig (1997). For considerations of his quaternity principle, see Olney (1980), 163ff.; Oglesby (2014), 127ff., 144ff.; Dunlap (2008), 30ff.
[325] *CW:7*§505, §507 (trans. alt.); cf. *GW:7*, 330, 332.
[326] Jung (1923), 540; see also ibid., 320ff.

designation of this relation as the Self, in fact, comports with such an emergence given the instances in which he employs this word in the *Black Books*. In *Liber Secundus*, Jung states that "the way is my own self, my own life founded upon myself. The God wants my life. He wants to go with me."[327] In *Scrutinies*, he writes that "it is submission enough…if we subjugate ourselves to our self…We must presumably often go to ourselves to re-establish the connection with the self, since it is torn apart all too often, not only by our vices but also by our virtues."[328] Developing the notion further, Jung then records the following:

> The God appears to us in a certain state of the soul. Therefore we reach the God through the self. Not the self is God, although we reach the God through the self. The God is behind the self…I believe that we have the choice: I preferred the living wonders of the God…I continue to regard the fiery brilliance of the God as a higher and fuller life than the ashes of rationality…Therefore I must serve my self…I must win it so that my life will become whole.[329]

Dating from September, 1915, these passages accord not only with Jung's subsequent appraisal of the Self and of the 'wholeness' of individuation, but also with his *wissenschaftliche* consideration of the "God-image [*imago Dei*]," introduced as well in *Psychological Types:*

> The image of God [*Gottesbild*] is the symbolic expression of a certain psychological state, or function, which has the character of absolute superiority to the conscious will of the subject…This libido accumulation [the collection, in Jung's view, of 'psychic energy'] animates images which the collective unconscious contains as latent possibilities. Here is the source of the God-*imago* [*Gottesimago*].[330]

3.3
The sanctification of mystery through the Self concept

Jung's elaboration of the Self concept may be understood, incidentally, as articulating of his psychology another kind of 'mysterious conjunction,' quite apart from the general 'mystery' of his interdisciplinary convergence—that *mysterium coniungtionis* of the Introduction. Necessitating an engagement with the Not-I or unconscious, Jung's Self concept sanctifies, as

[327] Jung (2009:2), 325.
[328] Ibid., 478f.
[329] Ibid., 481f.
[330] Jung (1923), 300f.; cf. ibid. (1921:2), 340f. For Jung's consideration of 'psychic energy,' see ibid. [1942:1], ix, 1-76.

it were, a conjunction with mystery, a 'subjugation' of the I before a new 'centrum' that reveals the 'wonders of the God.' Indeed, given the centrality of the Self concept in Jung's later writings, his thought from the twenties onward may be apprehended as fostering a psychology of mystery, a means by which, through the numinosity of symbols, the Not-I may be elicited and discerned, although never entirely disclosed or dispelled. An archetype by his later reckoning, Jung's Self concept effectively hallows the unconscious as a dynamic agent of mystery, one that, rightly regarded, yields salubrious psychological effects. As indicated above, Jung eventually comes to identify the Self with the philosophers' stone, thus extending such mysterious agency to the alchemical quest as well.

3.4
Jung's apprehension of the quaternary Self relation

3.4.1 Introduction

If Jung, in his alchemical corpus, equates the *lapis* with the Self, he also, as indicated, emphasizes the quaternary symbology of both. In examination of the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* or Self relation, which Jung, of course, addresses prior to his discussion of the *lapis*, one may note that the textual allusions to the 'self' in the *Red Book*, as those cited above, lack this quaternary aspect. It is, moreover, absent from descriptions of the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation of 1916 and 1917, as well as from his 1921 Self definition.[331] How then does he arrive at this insight? The 'self' passages notwithstanding, other elements of the *Red Book* project appear to undergird Jung's apprehension of a quaternary Self, most notably a certain number of his project's sketches and paintings.

3.4.2 *Systema munditotius*

The first image of the *Red Book* project that Jung later connects to the Self and that manifests with a clear quaternary theme emerges within the context of a conversation with his soul in January, 1916, an exchange that, itself, may be understood to anticipate his related 'individuation' concept. Within the *Black Book* entry, Jung's soul offers counsel on the

[331] See, for instance, *GW:7*, 330f.; Jung (1917), 94; ibid. (1921:2), 629f.

individual's proper relation to Abraxas and the "*one* God."[332] Included in the entry is a diagram serving as an apparent visual representation of the soul's injunctions. It comprises a series of concentric circles divided into symmetrical quadrants, each of its axes displaying a number of symbols for which he provides an explanatory key.[333] The diagram served as the basis for a later painting he called "*Systema munditotius* [Whole-world system]," described by him in 1955 as "portray[ing] the antinomies of the microcosm within the macrocosmic world and its antinomies," the concentric circles representing "repetitions…endless in number, growing even smaller until the innermost core, the actual microcosm, is reached" (Figure 1).[334] Upon the vertical axis is situated, below the microcosmic center, "the tree of life, labelled *vita*" and below that "Abraxas…the lord of the physical world"; above the center point—an "inner sun"—is placed "a seven-branched candelabra labelled *ignis* and *Eros*" and, at the top, in apparent correspondence with the '*one* God' of the text, "the young boy in the winged egg."[335] The outer circle and middle point of the diagram is, furthermore, designated as the Pleroma, subsequently defined by Philemon in the *Sermones* as both "nothingness" and 'fullness."[336] In advance of Jung's 'individuation' postulate, introduced in "Structure," his soul counsels, concerning the Pleroma, that

> Man becomes through the *principium individuationis* [principle of individuation]. He strives for absolute individuality, through which he ever increasingly concentrates the absolute dissolution of the Pleroma…Whoever does not follow the *principium individuationis* to its end becomes no God, since he cannot bear individuality.[337]

She instructs Jung's I further that "you have in you the *one* God…aspire toward him, love him, live for him," explicating this guidance thusly:

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[332] See Jung (2009:2), 505 and 577ff. (Appendix C). In *Scrutinies*, Jung writes of Abraxas as "the God who is difficult to grasp…From the sun [man] draws the *summum bonum*; from the devil the *infinum malum*; but from Abraxas *LIFE*, altogether indefinite, the mother of good and evil" (ibid., 520). Shamdasani comments upon the Gnostic origin of this deity (see ibid., 517).
[333] See ibid., 579; ibid. (2009:1), 363; also Shamdasani (2012), 124.
[334] See, for instance, ibid., 125; Jung (2009:1), 364. Although sketched in *Black Book 5*, this image is not found in the *Liber Novus* holograph. The painted version was anonymously reproduced in *Du: Schweizerische Monatsschrift* (1955). See also *CW:9.1*, iii; Jaffé (1983), 76. For Jung's description, reproduced from a 1955 letter, see Jung (2009:2), 560f.
[335] Ibid.; also *CW:9.1*, xi. In reference to these symbols, see, for instance, Jung (2009:2), 517, 524f., 579. Jung highlights also in his description symbols of the dark, "*sinister*" half the image (e.g., serpent, phallus, moon) and light, "*dexter*" half (e.g., dove, "double beaker of Sophia," sun) (Jung [2009:2], 560f.).
[336] Ibid., 509 (see also Shamdasani's note). In 1929, Jung wrote of this originally gnostic term in connection with "the sphere of paradoxical existence, i.e., the instinctive unconscious," explaining that "in the Pleroma, Above and Below lie together in a strange way and produce nothing; when it is disturbed by the mistakes and needs of the individual a waterfall arises between Above and Below, a dynamic something that is the symbol" (*Letters* [1], 61).
[337] Jung (2009:2), 578; also ibid., 512.

> It pleases the *one* God if the individual lives his own life against the power of Abraxas…Pain and disappointment fill the world of Abraxas with coldness…But through pain and disappointment you redeem yourself, since your longing then falls of its own accord like a ripe fruit into the depths, following gravity, striving toward the midpoint, where the blue light of the star God arises.[338]

Although providing no further commentary on the entry as a whole, Jung later remarked that the *Systema munditotius* constituted his first aesthetic representation of the Self, offering no explanation, however, for its expressly quaternary form. [339]

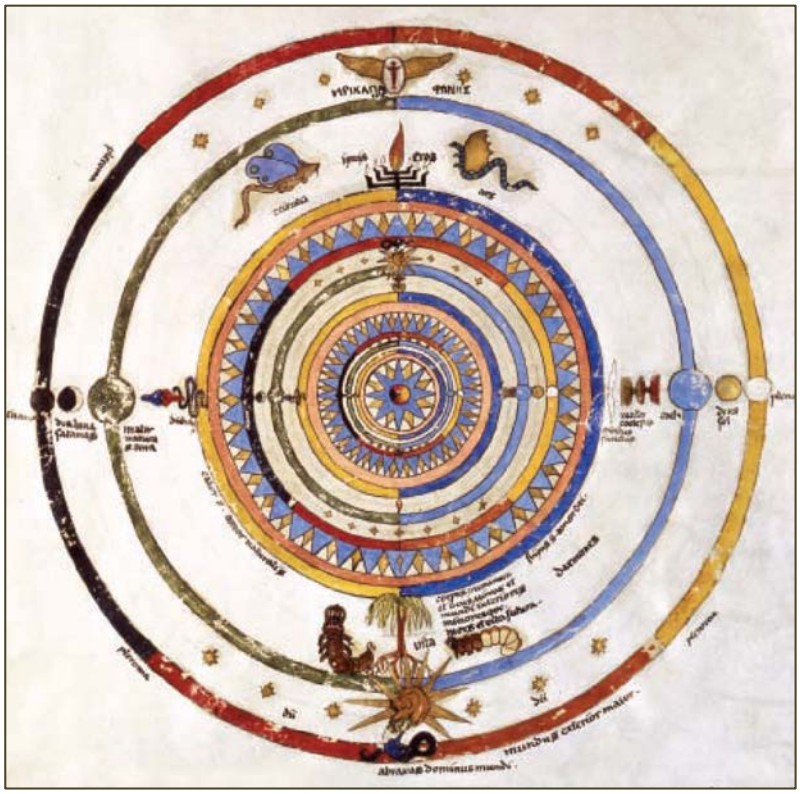

Figure 1

3.4.3 The Phanes series

In 1917, Jung produced a series of more improvised images that, like the *Systema munditotius* diagram, may also be understood as pivotal to his incipient conceptualization of a quaternary

[338] Jung (2009:2), 581.
[339] Protocols; *Memories*, 195. Jung, in fact, called this figure his first "mandala" (ibid.). On mandalas, see section below. For explorations of the *Systema* diagram, see Jeromson (2005-2006); ibid. (2007).

Self. Beginning in June, Jung assumed the military post of *Commandeur* in charge of interned British soldiers at Château d'Œx, during which time he generated "twenty or more" sketches on his military notepad.[340] Displaying a number of lanceolar and lobate projections, most depict a radially symmetrical, quaternary figure composed, one-per-day, over a series of mornings in August and September (see Figures 2-4).[341] As recalled later to Jaffé, Jung regarded these at the time as extremely significant "cryptograms" that he held as "precious pearls," at first without comprehension.[342] Insight into the 'cryptograms' came, apparently, only after Jung received a letter from a certain "aesthetic lady" who had petitioned him previously on the artistic value of the *Red Book* project.[343] The letter, in which she again made her appeal, "got incredibly on my nerves," as Jung reports.[344] The morning after receiving it, he sketched another 'cryptogram,' this time, however, with a manifestly asymmetrical, non-quaternary form (Figure 5).[345] He began to discern, then, what this figure "actually is": "'Formation, Transformation, Eternal Mind's eternal re-creation.' And that is the Self."[346] Through these sketches, Jung claimed to have arrived, for the first time, at "the living notion of the Self," the many iterations of the figure corresponding, in a manner that recalls the *Systema munditotius*, to the "microcosmic nature of the soul."[347] The insight helped deliver him, as he later declared, from the "indescribable chaos" in which he had found himself:

> I saw then that all ways that I pursued, and all steps that I took, that everything led back to a point, namely, to the middle…In the years between 1917 and roughly 1920, the goal of the Self…became clear to me: there is no linear development at all, there is only a *circumambulatio* [circumambulation]. And that gave me inner strength.[348]

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[340] Burnham (1983), 199; Protocols; Jung (2009:2), 43. Shamdasani indicates that the series, in fact, contains twenty-seven sketches (ibid.). In *Memories*, Jaffé mistakenly dates this episode as occurring in 1918-1919 (*Memories*, 195; cf. dating on sketches).
[341] Jung (2009:2), 43; Protocols. Like the *Systema munditotius* diagram, Jung later called these figures 'mandalas.'
[342] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 196.
[343] Ibid., 195.
[344] Ibid.; Protocols. Shamdasani has suggested, as the woman in question, Maria Moltzer (1874-1944), Jung's onetime Burghölzli associate and collaborator through the teens (Jung [2009:2], 43). The Protocols refers to her here as "*die Holländerin* [the Dutch woman]."
[345] Protocols.
[346] Protocols; *Memories*, 196. As noted by Shamdasani, Jung cites here a verse from *Faust*, which, itself, contains a salient quaternary reference (Jung [2009:2, 44). Mephistopheles instructs Faust to descend into the realm of the Mothers, whereby he may conjure the wraiths of Paris and Helen: "When you at last a glowing tripod see,/Then in the deepest of all realms you'll be./You'll see the Mothers in the tripod's glow,/Some of them sitting, others stand and go,/As it may chance. Formation, transformation,/Eternal Mind's eternal re-creation…Go to that tripod, do not hesitate,/And touch it with the key!" (Goethe [1952], 153). After accomplishing this, Faust is able to retrieve the tripod, over which the phantoms materialize. The embrace of Helen by Paris awakens Faust's jealousy, however, and he causes them to dissolve (ibid., 159f.). Jung quotes this passages in *Transformations* (Jung [1912:2], 211), alluding to its trinity-and-fourth symbolism in relation to the 'furnace' story from Daniel (see ibid., 250; also below, 3.5.2).
[347] Protocols.
[348] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 196.

If, as Jung claimed, these sketches facilitated his envisagement of the Self, they also may be understood, more particularly, as crystallizing a distinctly quaternary conception of this microcosmic totality symbol. Given his later regard of the 'cryptograms' as Self-representations, they may also be discerned as veritable *imagines Dei* in accordance with the definition above. In evidence of this, Jung labels one of the sketches, ΦΑΝΗΣ (Phanes), an entity identified in the *Black Books* by the soul as embodying the I's "entire nature" (Figure 2).[349] He later reproduced a certain number of these sketches as paintings for inclusion in *Liber Novus* (see Figures 6-8).[350]

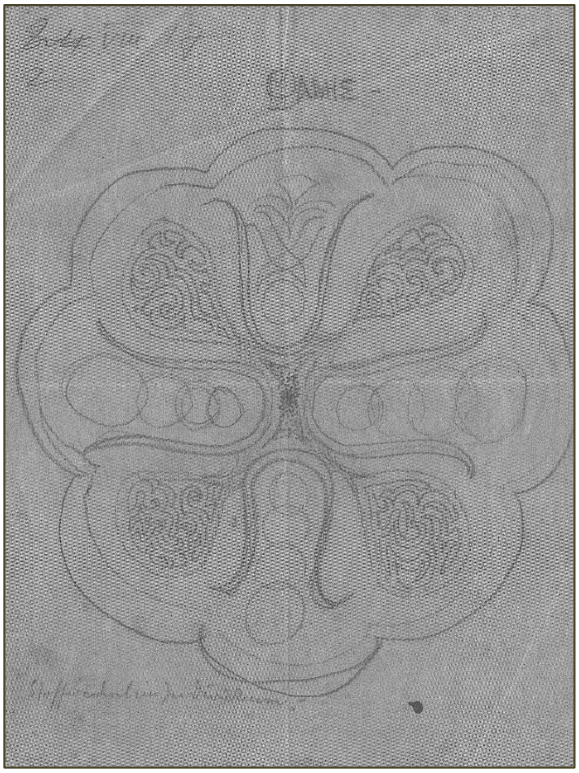

Figure 2

[349] Jung (2009:2), 536, 556.
[350] See Jung (2009:1), 79-97.

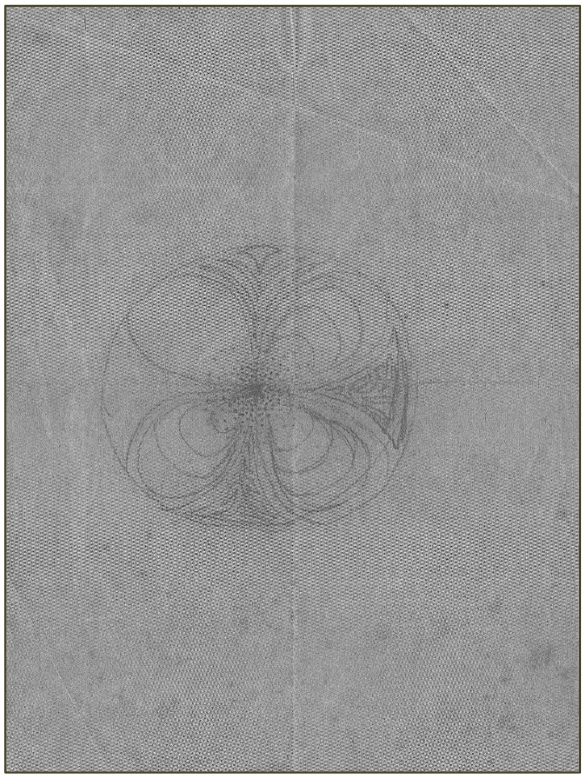

Figure 3

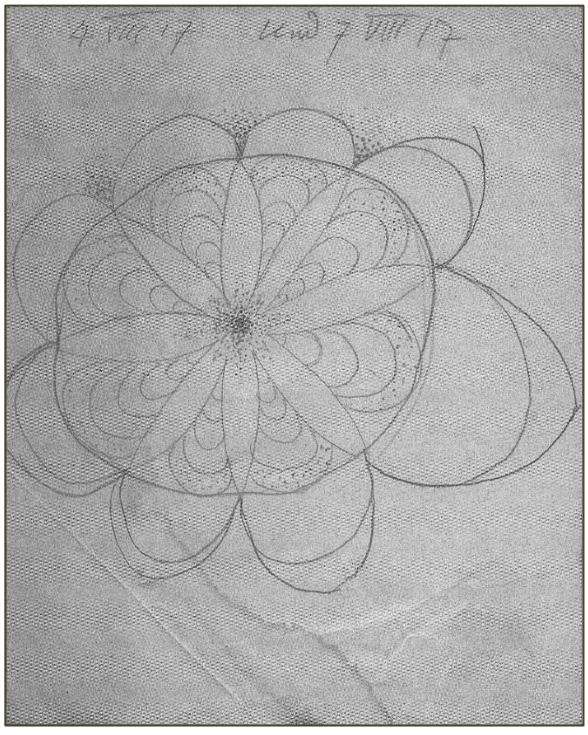

Figure 4

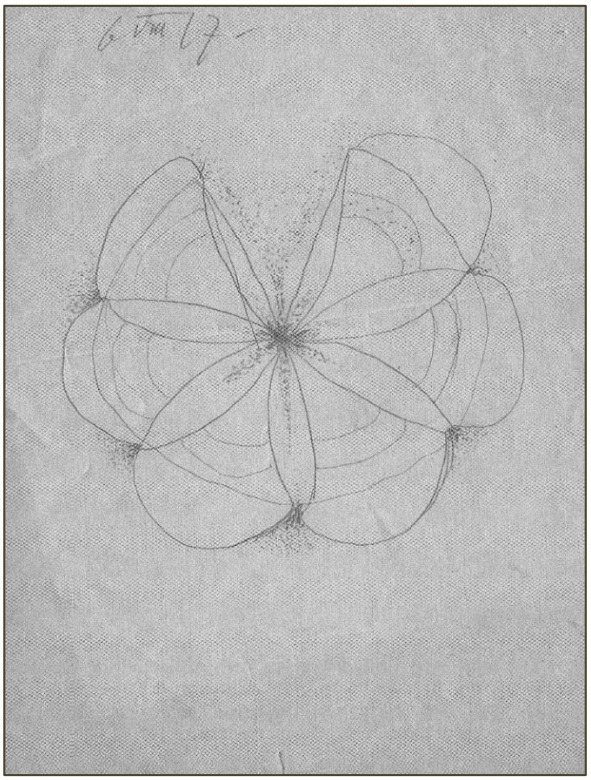

Figure 5

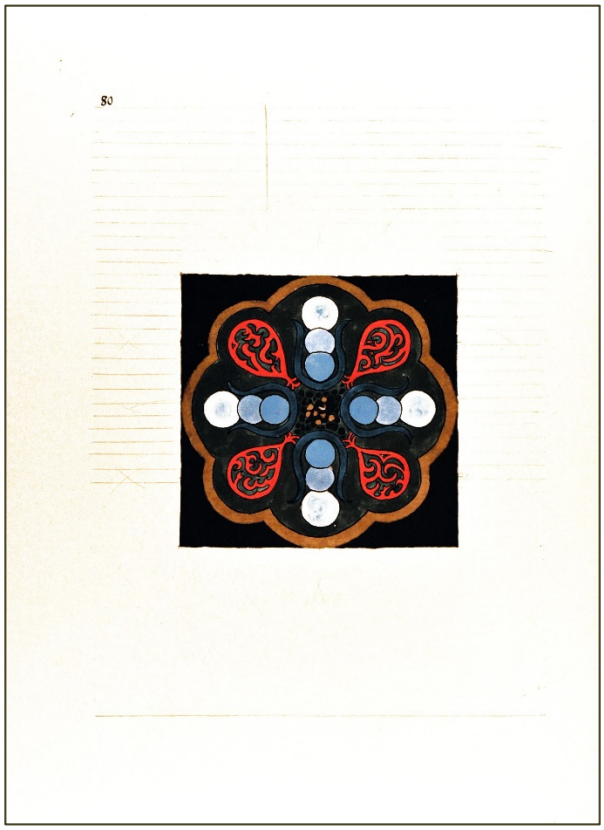

Figure 6

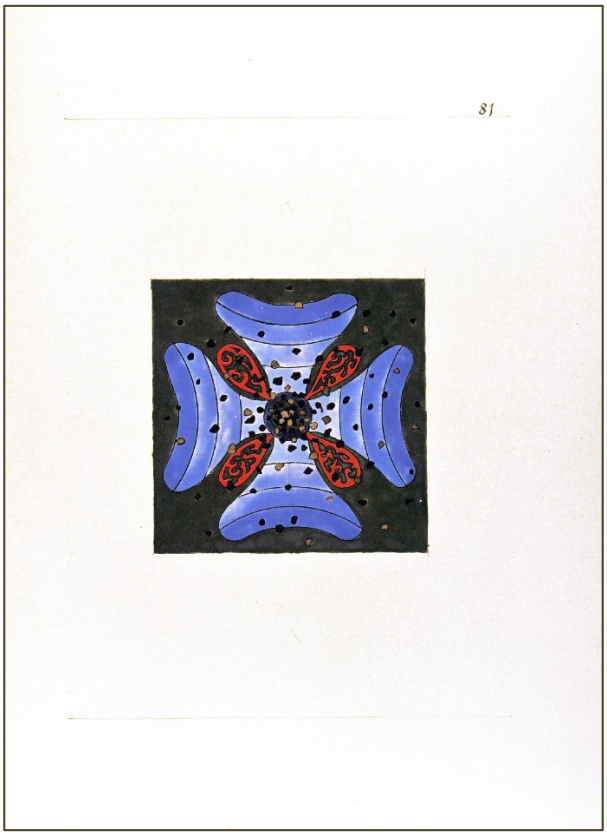

Figure 7

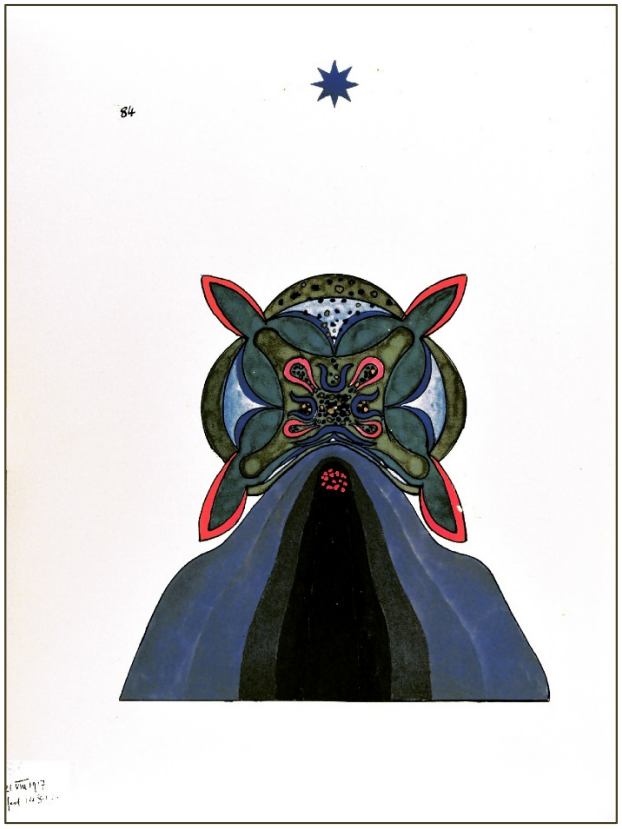

Figure 8

3.5
The greater context of the quaternary Self

3.5.1 Jung's early life

Jung's aesthetic elaborations of 1916 and 1917 appear to provide at least a proximate cause for his subsequent linkage of the Self with quaternary forms. Given the eventual importance of the quadratic Self in Jung's later thought, however, a still wider contextual basis may be offered that surveys, up to his investigation of alchemy, his engagements and likely encounters with quaternary forms. Concerning Jung's pre-professional life, one may note his probable exposure to tetradic representations as stemming from both Biblical and Ancient Greek texts.[351] From Genesis to Revelation, quaternary symbolism abounds in the Bible, encompassing such themes as the four rivers of Paradise[352]; the four winds, quarters, or corners of the earth[353]; Daniel's dream of four beasts[354]; Ezekiel's chariot vision[355]; the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and, if regarded as an incomplete quaternion, the Trinitarian godhead. Ancient Greek sources reflect a separate quaternary tradition, as manifest in Pythagorean number doctrine,[356]

[351] As the son of a parson, Jung was likely exposed quite early to biblical writings, likely being introduced to Greek texts somewhat later in his youth (Protocols).
[352] Concerning the 'four rivers,' see Jones (1966), 1:16 (Genesis 2:10-14).
[353] Of the several biblical references to the four winds, quarters, or corners of the earth, see, for example, Jones (ibid.), 1:1161 (Isaiah 11:12), 1:1407 (Ezekiel 37:9), 2:54 (Matthew 24:31), 2:448 (Revelation 20:8).
[354] See Jones (ibid.), 1436ff. (Daniel 7:1-28).
[355] See Jones (ibid.), 1362f. (Ezekiel 1:4-31).
[356] Although details of his own life and teachings remain obscure, Pythagoras of Samos (c.570-c.490BCE) is widely regarded as the founder of an influential Greek school of mystical philosophy, a primary component of which consists in the sacralization of number (see, for example, Kahn [2001], 5ff.; Guthrie [1985], 181ff.; Cornelli [2013], 137ff.; Burkert [1972], 465ff.; Zeller [1881:1], 368ff.). The significance of the quaternary, in particular, manifests most prominently through the Pythagorean concept of the τετρακτύς (*tetraktys*, "quaternary"), traditionally represented by an equilateral triangle comprising ten points. The triangular array represents an arithmetic series of the first four (positive) integers, the sum of which (1+2+3+4) corresponds to the Pythagorean perfect number, ten. In addition to certain mathematical properties, the sacredness of the tetrad obtains also through various musical, natural-philosophical, and theological correspondences, exemplified, respectively, by tetrachords, a quaternion of material properties (i.e., hot, cold, dry, wet), and four-letter names of God (e.g., Jupiter [Jove], Zeus [Ζεύς], and the Hebrew Tetragrammaton [יהוה]). On the *tetraktys*, see Laks et al. [2016:1], 108f., 294f.; Riedweg (2005), 82f.; Heninger (1961), 13ff.; Barbera (1977), 294ff.; Zeller (1881:1), 427ff.

and in the cosmological theories of Empedocles,[357] Plato,[358] and Aristotle.[359] Following the age of Aristotle, the elemental tetrad—comprising Earth, Water, Air, and Fire—persisted for two millennia in Western thought as a systematizing model of experience, employed in such fields of inquiry as natural philosophy, magic, medicine, and alchemy.[360] Concerning cultural constructs more broadly, both quaternary traditions persisted through Jung's own day, emerging, for example, in literary works of his early purview. Considering only the pre-eminent stories of his youth, the grail legend, as rendered through Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzifal*, alludes to the four rivers of Paradise, while Goethe's *Faust* makes mention of a fourfold, elemental spell.[361]

3.5.2 Jung's output through the teens

Within Jung's early professional writings, allusions to quaternary motifs become conspicuous only in *Transformations*, in which he begins to consider cultural artefacts more generally as intrinsic to his psychological approach. A notable exception, however, may be found in Jung's medical dissertation on Hélène Preiswerk (1881-1911), a medium who, as he relates, had

[357] Likely influenced by Pythagorean teachings, Empedocles of Acragas (c.492-c.430BCE) has been credited as the first Western thinker to propose the existence of an elemental tetrad as the basis of the cosmos, four rhizomata (ριζώματα) or roots governed by the forces of Love (Φιλότης) and Strife (Νεικος): namely, Earth (γαια), Water (υδωρ), Air (αέρα), and Fire (πυρ) (Curd [2011], 83ff.; Laks et al.[2016:2], 398ff.; see also Waterfield [2000], 133ff.; Warren [2007], 137ff.; Curd [2013], 113ff.; Stamatellos [2012], 25ff.). One may note the impact of the Empedoclean tetrad in medical theory, as manifest in the writings, for example, of Hippocrates (c.460-c.375BCE) and Galen (129-c.216CE) (Mann [2012], 57, 98f.; Brock [1952], 166ff.). *Memories* indicates Jung's adolescent reading of Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Empedocles and Plato, the Protocols revealing further Jung's predilection for the first of these thinkers and relative aversion to the last (*Memories*, 68; Protocols).
[358] The cosmological principles of Plato (428/427-348/347BCE) appear most saliently in the *Timaeus*, which reflects the influence of both Empedoclean doctrine and Pythagorean teachings, more broadly. Plato adopts therein Empedocles' material quaternion of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, framing these more abstractly, however, as not rhizomata, but *stoicheia* (στοιχεια), elements or first principles from which the universe is made (see Cooper [1997], 1237ff.; Hershbell [1974], 151ff.). The *Timeaus* adds to this quaternion a fifth principle, aether, as representative of the universe as a whole, assigning to each of the five principles a regular polyhedron, the so-called platonic solids (Cooper [ibid.], 1258, 1261; Heninger [ibid.], 8ff.).
[359] Affirming the elemental tetrad in such works as "On Generation" and "On the Heavens," Aristotle (384-322BCE), perhaps more than any other ancient thinker, contributed to the ascendancy and enduring influence of the concept in Western philosophical thought. In the former work, for example, Aristotle described Earth, Water, Air, and Fire as "simple bodies" that arise from combinations of the four elementary qualities, hot, cold, dry, and wet (Forster [1955], 274f.). In the latter work, Aristotle assigned Plato's fifth principle of aether to the celestial sphere, which extends beyond the influence of the elementary qualities (Aristotle [1989], 14f., 24f.; see also Graham [2010], 420f.; Longrigg [1967]; Crowley [2008]).
[360] For the perpetuation of the tetradic model in natural philosophy, see, for example, the works of Proclus (c.410-485) and Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) (Proclus [2006], 98, 235; Gatti [2011], 6, 84); in magic, those of Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535) and Éliphas Lévi (1810-1875) (Agrippa [1651], 6f.,183ff.; Lévi [1896], 57f.); in medicine, those of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Paracelsus (Ficino [1989], 255ff.; Paracelsus [2008], 113ff.); and in alchemy, those of Zosimos (f. 300), George Ripley (c.1415-1490), Thomas Norton (c.1433-c.1513), and Michael Maier (Taylor [1992], 58; Ashmole [1652], 54ff.; ibid., 112, 133; Maier [1618], 95, 167, 210). On the incidence of the quaternary in alchemy, see Holmyard (1990), 21ff.; Principe (2013), 37ff.; Tilton (2003), 49f. On the quaternary in number symbolism more generally, see Cirlot (1981), 230ff.; Hopper (1938), 8f., 14, 31, 83f.
[361] See Wolfram (1900), 169f.; ibid. (1903), 367; Goethe (1990), 154f.

instructed him to draw in illustration of her "mystic science" a quadrated circle comprising seven concentric rings; composed of dark and light halves, the "system" of rings depicts a series of interrelated "forces," which she details in considerable degree. [362] In Jung's *Transformations* research, he considered the work of a number of authors who examine quaternary themes, including Inman and Creuzer.[363] Within *Transformations* itself, Jung alludes to the "four streams of Paradise," the "four winds," the sacredness of the cross, and, in connection with the description of a "mystical quadriga" by the Greek philosopher, Dio Chrysostom (c. 40-120), the four elements of the Ancient Greeks.[364] He also cites the Book of Daniel, which recounts King Nebuchadnezzar's attempted burning of three men in the "fiery furnace," where a mysterious fourth appears.[365]

As exemplified by the *Systema* diagram and Phanes series, the images and text of the *Red Book* project, extending through the teens, reflect Jung's continued regard for quaternary motifs—indeed, apropos of Phanes, in particular, appearing to magnify such regard. Affirming, as remarked, the tetradic nature of the Self symbol, the Phanes series constitutes the first of a number of quaternary images of the calligraphic volume, almost half of the remaining images, in fact, exhibiting prominent quaternary motifs.[366] Tetradic symbolism predominates in at least five of these, featuring, for example, the four cardinal directions; a cross in a circle, surrounding an eight-rayed star; and a diamond-like "stone," out of which flow "four streams" (Figure 13).[367] Although uncommon, textual allusions to quaternary themes in Jung's project appear to predate imagistic ones, as demonstrated in the healing incantation for Izdubar and later "offering to the four winds."[368] More prominent instances emerge after Jung's *Systema* sketch, which Philemon appears to evoke in his pronouncement that "four is the number of the principal Gods": the Sun God, Eros, the Tree of Life, and the devil.[369] In advance of the Phanes sketches, Philemon proclaims that he will become Phanes, whom he describes, among other attributions, as "the gushing streams…promise and fulfilment…the tree of light…the sacred number."[370] After the series, Phanes himself declares:

[362] See Figure 2, *CW:1*, 40; on Preiswerk's 'mystic science,' see ibid., §65-§70.
[363] See Inman (1884), 6, 24, 70; Creuzer (1836), 18, 180, 210; also Arnold (1892), 1ff.; Zöckler (1875), 15, 46, 54, 209; Köpping, 183ff.
[364] See Jung (1912:2), 291ff., 321, 355f.; also Dio Chrysostom (1940), 459ff.
[365] Jung (ibid.), 210; Jones (1966), 1:1426ff. (Daniel 3:1-97).
[366] Concerning the images associated with the Phanes series, see Jung (2009:2), 325ff.; ibid. (2009:1), 79-97; Of the twenty-three images that follow in the calligraphic volume (discounting historiated and inhabited initials), eleven exhibit conspicuous quaternary themes.
[367] See, respectively, ibid., 105, 107, 121.
[368] See ibid. (2009:2), 303, 385ff.
[369] Ibid., 524f.
[370] Ibid., 358.

> The mystery of the summer morning…the fullness of the possible…the goal of the four paths, the spring and ocean of the four streams, the fulfilment of the four sufferings and of the four joys, father and mother of the Gods of the four winds…I give you what has been found: the constancy in change and the change in constancy.[371]

3.5.3 Jung's output in the twenties, including his *Golden Flower* commentary

In the 1920s, instances of quaternary themes may be identified both within the context of Jung's *Red Book* project as well as in his public works. In 1921, Jung introduces in *Psychological Types* a fourfold model of the psyche comprising the "function-types" of thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition.[372] Although ascribing no apparent significance to the fourfold quality of the schema, Jung enfolds it into the quaternary symbolizations of the *Red Book*, as reflected in his painting the same year of "a fourfold sacrifice…the inexorable wheel of the four functions."[373] In a 1923 lecture on typology, he begins to develop an historical understanding of this fourfold model, comparing the domination of one function over the other three to the four sons of Horus, only one of which, he notes, is depicted with a human head.[374] In 1927, Jung has, according to his later account, a dream of a dark, rainy city that he identifies as Liverpool.[375] Accompanied by a number of Swiss companions, he found himself at a city junction, where eight streets converge around a central ring (see Jung's "city map" sketch, Figure 9). He describes the ring as encompassing a pool and a central island, whereupon he alone perceives a magnolia tree "covered all over with blossoms and immersed in radiant light."[376] Jung reports that the dream afforded further confirmation of and insight into the Self:

> Through [this dream] I recognized that the Self is an archetype of orientation and meaning [*Sinn*]…I know that the I is not the center, not the Self, but from [one of the dirty streets] I have sight of the divine miracle. I live, indeed, not [at this center], rather I live, as it were, off-center [*exzentrisch*].[377]

The dream served also as the basis of the *Liber Novus* painting that Jung described later as "a window opening on to eternity" (Figure 10).[378]

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[371] Ibid., 359 (July, 1918).
[372] See Jung (1923), 412ff. The four 'function-types' are elucidated, in his exposition, according to two further designations that describe a predominant movement of the libido: extraversion and introversion (ibid., 612f.).
[373] See Jung (2009:1), 127.
[374] See Jung (1942:1), 308.
[375] See *Memories*, 197ff. The location of the dream appears wholly symbolic: in *Memories*, Jung notes that "Liverpool is the 'pool of life,' The 'liver,' according to an old view, is the seat of life—that which 'makes to live'" (ibid., 198).
[376] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 198.
[377] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 197f.
[378] *CW:9.1*§655.

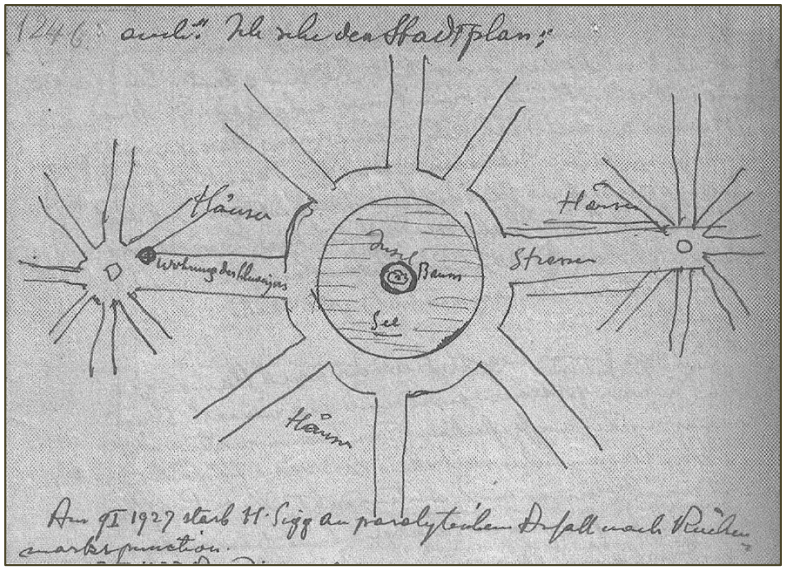

Figure 9

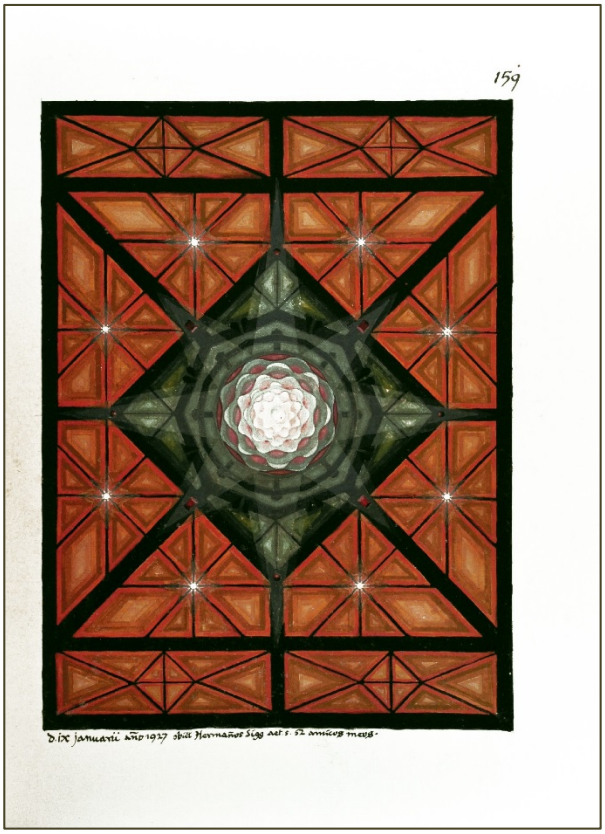

Figure 10

By the early months of 1928, Jung completed the revision of his "Structure" essay, newly entitled *The Relations Between the I and the Unconscious*, within which he communicated for the first time the clinical relevance of quaternary symbolism.[379] He describes a patient's "vision" of being surrounded by "four statues of the gods," toppled by the subject and giving rise to four trees.[380] The trees, according to the patient, eventually disappeared and a "ring of fire contracted to one immense blue flame that carried me up from the earth."[381] Jung interprets the vision as a "symbolical expression of individuation," relating its quaternary symbolism explicitly to the typological functions and implicitly to the Self:

> The total personality is characterized by…the four gods, i.e., the four functions which give orientation in psychic space…The overcoming of the four gods…signifies liberation from the identity with the four functions…through which arises a nearing [*Annäherung*] to the circle, to undivided wholeness [*Ganzheit*].[382]

Jung reports having produced, later in 1928, a quaternary figure of a "city" with a "fortification wall," which he considered "Chinese" in both form and coloration (Figure 11).[383] While completing the painted version, he received the translation of a Taoist manuscript from his friend and colleague, Richard Wilhelm (1873-1930), who requested his formal commentary.[384] Jung "devoured the manuscript at once," drawing a connection between "the thousand-year-old Chinese text" and his 'Chinese' quaternary design.[385] The text and commentary were published the following year under the title, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*.[386]

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[379] See Jung (1928:1). The Translator's Preface of the English edition is dated July, 1928 (see ibid. [1928:2], x).
[380] Ibid., 246f.
[381] Ibid., 247 (trans. alt.).
[382] Ibid. 247f. (trans. alt.); cf. ibid. (1928:1), 178.
[383] Jung (2009:1), 163; *Memories*, 197.
[384] Ibid. Jung appears to have acknowledged receipt of the manuscript only in April, 1929, so Wilhelm's request was likely sent, if in 1928, as Jung reports, very late in that year (see *Letters* [1], 62f.; *CW:13*, 3). A sinologist and missionary, Wilhelm published, in 1924, a translation and commentary of the ancient Chinese divinatory text, the *I Ching*, which Jung later called "the greatest of his achievements" and to which he added his own foreword (*CW:15*§77; Wilhelm [1983]; see also *Memories*, 373ff.).
[385] See the image legend for this 'Chinese' painting, which links the "golden well-fortified castle" at its center with Wilhelm's "text of the yellow castle" Jung (2009:1), 163; ibid. (2009:2), 422.
[386] See Wilhelm (1965). Jung notes the completion of his commentary in September, 1929 (*Letters* [1], 67).

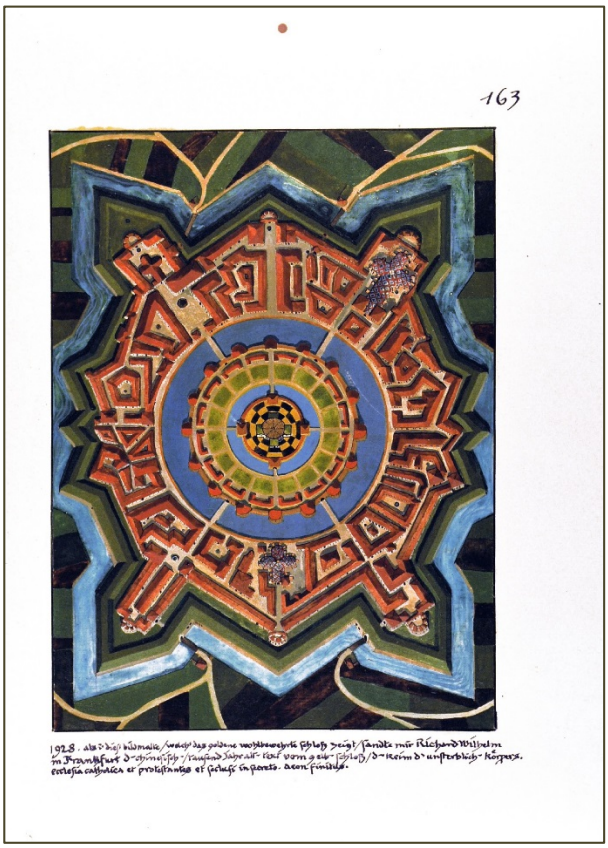

Figure 11

The text, describing a method of contemplation based, by Wilhelm's regard, upon the T'ang-period "Religion of the Golden Elixir of Life," provided for Jung not only further confirmation of the Self, but a means of elucidating its quaternary form.[387] According to Wilhelm's translation and remarks, the meditative practitioner may, through a "circulation of the Light [*Kreislauf des Lichts*]," achieve the "Golden Flower," which "frees the I from the conflict of the opposites…becom[ing] part of the *Tao*, the undivided, great One."[388] Through such practice may be revealed, by various traditional appellations, "the God of Utmost Emptiness and Life," "the center of emptiness," "the ancestral land," or "the yellow castle."[389] In his commentary, intended as "a bridge…between East and West," Jung considers the 'circulation of light' as a method of engaging "all sides of the personality…activating all the light and the dark forces of human nature," the Golden Flower, by his appraisal, effecting a new "center of gravity of the total personality…between the conscious and the unconscious…[that] might be called the self."[390] Mindful, perhaps, of his own Phanes series and Liverpool dream, Jung asserts that

[387] Wilhelm (1975), 6, 16f., 25. Wilhelm's translation is based upon the seventeenth-century manuscript entitled *T'ai I Chin Hua Tsung Chih* (*The Secret of the Golden Flower*) (ibid., 5). He identified it, however, with a much older oral tradition stemming from an eighth-century 'Religion of the Golden Elixir of Life' and linked to the teachings of the Taoist adept, Lü Yen (ibid., 6, 25).
[388] Ibid., 34ff., 73.
[389] Ibid., 24. On 'the center,' see also ibid., 39, 62, 66.
[390] Ibid., 136, 101, 123.

engagement with the unconscious, when aestheticized, produces circular figures "with a distinct tendency toward the quaternary [*Vierzahl*]"[391] Although Wilhelm's text lacks mention of quaternary themes or imagery, Jung draws a connection between such radially symmetrical figures and the Golden Flower, which he considers renderable in profile "as a flower growing out of a plant" or, seen from above, "as a regular geometric ornament."[392] As comparative evidence of the latter form, Jung adduces the mandala, a cosmographic Buddhist representation traditionally employed as a meditative aid. Although the mandala concept is absent from Wilhelm's commentary and the *Golden Flower* text, he apparently included a mandala image in his initial correspondence with Jung—ostensibly the same image appearing as frontispiece in the published version of the text (Figure 12).[393] Jung defines 'mandala' as "a circle, more especially a magic circle…not only…found all through the East, but also among us."[394] Marshalling examples of biblical and Greek tetrads, he cites as well a Paleolithic "sun wheel," Navajo sand paintings, and (as in 1923) representations of the four sons of Horus.[395] As products, according to Jung, of spontaneous psychic processes, mandalas may be adduced also through clinical demonstration, to which he lays claim particularly through the quadrated Preiswerk diagram.[396] Attesting to the importance of such representations, he includes with his commentary ten "examples of European mandalas," including three of his own *Red Book* designs.[397] As facilitated by the mandala concept, then, Jung's quaternary Self archetype comes fully into view.[398]

[391] Ibid. (1965), 20.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Ibid., ii; *Letters* (1), 64.
[394] Wilhelm (1975), 96.
[395] Ibid., 96f.
[396] Ibid., 97, 101.
[397] Ibid., 138ff. Jung dates the earliest of the ten images to 1916 (ibid., 137). Of his own contributions, Jung anonymously includes his 'Chinese' and 'Liverpool' paintings (Images 159 and 163), as well as a third featuring "at the cardinal points, the masculine and feminine souls" (ibid., 138; Jung [2009:1], 105). In 1935, Jung wrote that he "had known about the spontaneous emergence of [mandala] symbols for 17 years but deliberately published nothing on this subject so as to prevent the regrettable but undeniable imitative instinct from getting hold of these pictures" (*Letters* [1], 197).
[398] From this point onward, Jung refers to these and other quaternary images of his *Red Book* project as mandalas, identifying the *Systema munditotius*, for example, as a "mandala of a modern man" (*CW:9.1*, ii).

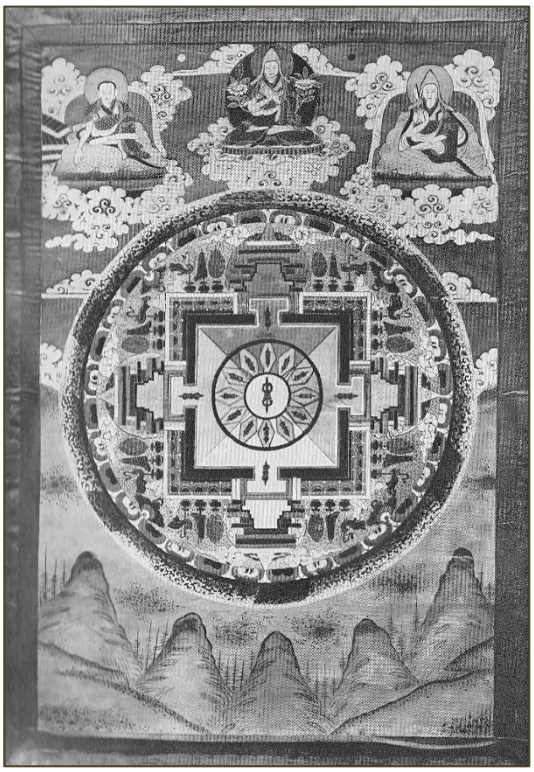

Figure 12

Chapter 4

Jung's alchemical engagements and encounters

4.1

Jung's early life and career

The Wilhelm text afforded Jung not only corroboration, through its eponymous symbol, of the quaternary Self archetype, but also, according to Jaffé's account, "light on the nature of alchemy," which, in her phrasing, "began to come to me only after I had read the text of the *Golden Flower*."[399] Before assessing such 'light' and the *Golden Flower* text as "that specimen of Chinese alchemy which Richard Wilhelm sent me in 1928," consideration may be accorded to Jung's previous potential encounters and engagements with alchemy and at least nominally alchemical themes.[400] Early such incidences, through the *Transformations* period, appear rare and perhaps, for Jung, only retrospectively 'alchemical' in their import. Mention may be made, first of all, of Jung's youthful reading of *Faust*, a work that contains only passing alchemical allusions but which Jung later regarded as a "last summit" of Western alchemy (see Chapter 7).[401] Mention may also be made of Jung's gymnasium-period fantasy of chrysopoeia, described in *Memories* as entailing "a certain inconceivable something" drawn from the air and conducted into "a kind of laboratory in which I made gold."[402] In *Transformations*, Jung discusses briefly the visionary writings of the Greco-Egyptian alchemist and Gnostic, Zosimos of Panopolis (fl. 300), noting in this context that "the original meaning of alchemy" consists in "a primordial fertilization-magic [*Befruchtungszauber*], i.e., a means by which children could be made without the mother."[403] He cites also the Emerald Tablet of Hermes (see above, 2.7),

[399] *Memories*, 204.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Jung (1937), 105. See, for instance, in *Faust*, Goethe (1952), 26, 40, 137ff., 168. For an examination of *Faust* and alchemy in the context of Jung, see Bishop (2009), 112. For a pointed criticism of Jung's alchemical reading of the drama, see Jantz (1962), 133ff.
[402] *Memories*, 81f.
[403] Jung, (1912:2), 184; cf. ibid. (1916), 154, 511. See also ibid., 351, 524.

which he links the following year with a dream of a green stone table and a dove that turns into a girl.[404]

4.2
Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism

4.2.1 Silberer's alchemical thought

Jung reports having read, around 1914, *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, for which, notably, he later pronounced its author, the Viennese psychoanalyst, Herbert Silberer, "the first to discover the secret threads that lead from alchemy to the psychology of the unconscious."[405] Applying the psycho-mythical comparative insights of his previous studies as well as those of other *Jahrbuch* authors, Silberer examines in *Problems* a host of alchemical, Rosicrucian, and freemasonic sources, identifying through their symbols both an "analytic" and "synthetic" import.[406] He gives special emphasis to the so-called "Parabola," an alchemical transmutation narrative extracted from the eighteenth-century treatise, *Secret Figures of the Rosicrucians*, which details, among other occurrences, the coital conjunction of an incestuous king and queen.[407] Drawing for his first, 'analytic' interpretation of the story primarily upon Freud's hermeneutic, Silberer discerns that the king-figure "removes and improves the father, wins the mother, [and] procreates himself with her, enjoy[ing] her love even in the womb."[408] Silberer finds, however, that "psychoanalysis has not by any means exhausted the contents of the parable," appealing in turn to a 'synthetic' or "anagogic" interpretation of "mystical"

[404] Jung (2012:2), 42f.; *Memories*, 171f.
[405] *CW:14*§792; also ibid., xiv. In *Memories*, Jung reports having been in correspondence with Silberer at the time, perhaps reading *Problems* in manuscript form (*Memories*, 204).
[406] Silberer's 'analytic' and 'synthetic' approaches divide his text in two. Concerning his previous studies, see, for example, Silberer (1911) and ibid. (1912). In addition to the work of Freud and Jung, he also draws in *Problems* upon that of Riklin, Maeder, Abraham, Rank, and Pfister. Silberer's historical sources date primarily from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Reflecting a fusion of Hermetic, kabbalistic, and gnostic influences, Rosicrucianism (<N.L. *Rosae Crucis*, of the rose-cross [latinization of *Rosenkreutz*]) concerns the teachings of its fabled, fifteenth-century founder, Christian Rosenkreutz, as described in a trilogy of seventeenth-century texts. Silberer posits an identity between Rosicrucianism and "higher alchemy" (Silberer [1917], 204) and finds a perpetuation of both in certain masonic orders of the late eighteenth century (see, for example, ibid., 174, 191, 204, 378f.), a movement he distinguishes as "spiritual, symbolical freemasonry" (ibid., 176).
[407] Silberer opens his study with a verbatim reproduction of the "Parabola" (see Silberer [1914], 7-17; ibid. [1917], 1-14; also *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer, aus dem 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert: Zweites Heft* (1788) (unpaginated); and *Secret Symbols of the Rosicrucians* (1939), 44-46.
[408] Silberer (1917), 110.

experience that he explicates, in subsequent chapters, through an assortment of historical texts.[409]

In the elaboration of his 'anagogic' approach, Silberer relies upon the hermeneutical methods of two figures especially, the first of whom is Jung. Drawing particularly upon *Transformations*, Silberer affirms the trans-individual nature of the unconscious, citing Jung's finding that it embodies "the condensation of the historically average and oft-repeated."[410] Such a nature, manifested through "elementary types [*Elementartypen*]" of "universal validity," may be accessed, again following the Miller study, through the application of certain symbols—symbols, Silberer adds, that may be distinguished in "the 'mythological' science of alchemy."[411] An 'anagogic' reading of symbols reflects, according to Silberer, the *Transformations* concept of 'introversion,' described in *Problems* as "the sinking into one's soul," "a seeking for the libido sources in one's I" that implicates the "intensive exercise of religion and a mystic life."[412] Indeed, the 'anagogic' approach to symbols finds its end in mysticism, defined experientially as "that religious conduct [*Verhalten*] which strives toward…union with the godhead; or as an intensive processing [*Bearbeitung*] of oneself in order to experience this union."[413] Conducted properly, such 'introversion' results in an "extension…of the personality."[414] But Silberer warns that it is "no child's play": "it leads to the abysses [*Abgründe*], by which one can be devoured [*verschlungen*], beyond all hope…as Mephistopheles says, 'The danger is great.'"[415] Silberer recognizes, moreover, Jung's definition of alchemy as a *Befruchtungszauber* by which 'children could be made without the mother,' developing the definition further by proclaiming the mystic "his own father…beget[ting] a new human (himself) out of himself with a merely symbolic mother."[416] Framed anagogically, then, the alchemical opus for Silberer expresses, mystically, steps toward one's union with God, and, psychologically, stages in the 'introversion' process, as elaborated by Jung.[417]

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[409] Silberer's 'analytic' and 'synthetic' modes of interpretation appear directly to have inspired Jung's 'reductive' and 'constructive' modes respectively, first introduced in his lecture (and resulting essay), "On Psychological Understanding," delivered in July, 1914 (see Chapter 2) . Although crediting Silberer neither in "On Psychological Understanding" nor in "The Transcendent Function" (where he develops the modes further), Jung acknowledged the contribution of *Problems* in this regard both in his "Structure" and "Unconscious Processes" essays, as well as in *Psychological Types* (see Jung, *CW:7*§492; ibid., §128 and ibid. [1917], 98; ibid. [1923], 537).

[410] Silberer (1917), 375; Jung (1911), 170.

[411] See Silberer (1917), 326f.; also ibid., 374f.

[412] Ibid. (1914), 155.

[413] Ibid., 162.

[414] Ibid., 182.

[415] Ibid., 171. Silberer's language appears to draw directly upon that of *Transformations*, where Jung warns of the alluring danger of "one's own abyss [*Abgrund*]," of the "devourment [*Verschlingung*] in the mother" (Jung [1912:2], 386; also 432).

[416] Silberer (1914), 203.

[417] See ibid. (1917), 336ff. On the stages in the process, see, for example, ibid., 266ff., 366ff., 413.

4.2.2 Hitchcock (via Silberer)

Pivotal also to the logic and exposition of the 'anagogic' approach in *Problems* is the work of American army general and alchemy enthusiast, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, whom Silberer credits as "having rediscovered, beyond the chemical and physical, the intrinsic value of alchemy."[418] He cites extensively from the former's 1857 text, *Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists*, regarding the work as pioneering an essentially "psychological view" of alchemy, construed generally along anagogical lines.[419] "Hitchcock," Silberer maintains, "in a single word provides us the key to understanding the Hermetic masters when he says: the subject is—man."[420] As articulated in *Remarks* and paraphrased in *Problems*, "man is the central object in all alchemical books; yet, not man as he is an individual, but as he is a *Nature*, containing or manifesting the great world, or as he is the Image of God."[421] Silberer defends Hitchcock's notion of mercury as conscience, citing him thusly: "When the conscience, wherein lives the feeling for the right and the good, under the guiding idea, 'God,' becomes active, so it is endowed with 'supernatural' power and is then the alchemists' philosophical mercury."[422] Through conscience, man may turn, according to Silberer again citing Hitchcock, to "God, as the Eternal" as his "object of desire," and "since human nature takes its character from its dominant wish [*Wunsche*], the whole man is gradually transformed or 'transmuted' into that one [eternal] thing."[423] Although Jung appears not to have read *Remarks* directly, he became familiar with Hitchcock's thought through *Problems*, as through sources of his later acquaintance.[424]

[418] Ibid., 151 (trans. alt.). One may note Silberer's affirmation of material (as well as psychological) causes in the history of alchemy (see ibid. 150, 328ff.). In this vein, he cites the works, among others, of R.F. Marchand (1847), A. Bauer (1883), and Hermann Kopp (1886:2).
[419] Silberer (1917), 347. Silberer cites extensively from Hitchcock's text, at least partly, as he writes, because of its inaccessibility to readers (ibid., 152; also Reichstein [1991], 2). He also cites, in passing, another pioneer of the 'psychological' approach, N. Landur, who in 1868 states that "when [the alchemists] talk about making gold…they allude to purely moral works. The materials on which they work, the metals of the philosophers, are not (as they say incessantly) vulgar metals—they are living metals, men [*des metaux vivants, des hommes*]" (see ibid., 151; Kopp [1886:2], 192; also Needham [1986], 16).
[420] Silberer (1914), 97.
[421] Hitchcock (1857), 40; see also ibid., 22, 31; Silberer (1917), 159.
[422] Silberer (1914), 211; cf. ibid. (1917), 337f. Silberer's citation of the passage introduces quotation marks (omitted in Jelliffe's translation) around the words, "God" and "supernatural", which may be construed as a subtle psychologization of Hitchcock's essentially religious view (cf. Hitchcock [ibid.], 53).
[423] Silberer (1914), 217f.; cf. ibid. (1917), 347f.; Hitchcock (ibid.), 294ff.
[424] Of such sources, see, for example, Waite (1888), 10ff.; ibid., (1926), 35ff.; Reichstein (1991), 13. In the same period as his Silberer reading, Jung appears also to have gained a psychological perspective of alchemy—and perhaps an introduction to Hitchcock as well—through his attendance of Flournoy's lectures on "the occult sciences," delivered at the University of Geneva in 1912-1913 and 1915-1916 (see Shamdasani [2012], 166f.).

4.3

A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery

Sometime after his reading of Silberer's text, Jung encountered another nineteenth-century study of alchemy conceivably proto-psychological in its purport: *A Suggestive Inquiry into the Hermetic Mystery*, by the English writer and Hermeticist, Mary Anne Atwood (née South).[425] Absent from *Problems*, her work, in fact, predates Hitchcock's by seven years, although achieving wide circulation only after re-publication in 1918.[426] Atwood found, in advance of *Remarks*, that "Man was the proper laboratory of the whole Art…the most perfect chemical apparatus devised by Nature for the distillation of her Spirit."[427] The production of the Philosophers' Stone, according to the author, consisted in the alteration of such 'Spirit' in order "to induce a new life and growth into consciousness."[428] Whereas Hitchcock's exercise of conscience may aptly be conceived as a religious transformation, Atwood's transformation process, accomplished through a "faculty of Wisdom," appears spiritualistic or occult:

> Man…is demonstrated to be a compendium of the whole created nature, and was generated to become wise and have a dominion over the whole of things; having within him…the *germ* of a higher faculty of Wisdom…[which] is reputed so to subsist with reference to nature as her substratal source, that it works magically withal, discovering latent properties as a principle, governing and supplying all dependent existence."[429]

Jung later recognized *A Suggestive Inquiry*, but as a "thoroughly medieval" composition, "with theosophical attempts at explanation as a concession to the syncretism of the new age."[430] Jung's critique aside, Atwood's work may be regarded in his reading as another confirmation of the consciousness-transforming nature of alchemy—one invoking, unlike *Problems*, a full range of Western alchemical texts.[431]

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[425] Jung's first reading of the text likely occurred only after its re-issue in 1918.
[426] On the initial rarity of the text, see Atwood (1918), 6f.; also Jung (1960:1), 93f. Hitchcock makes no mention of Atwood's volume in *Remarks*, although she later paid heed to his work (see Atwood [ibid.], 58).
[427] Atwood (1850), 514.
[428] Ibid., 287.
[429] Ibid., 155. Atwood's description is offered, ostensibly, as a reflection of "cabalistic scriptures and schools of antique experience," although one to which she gives her assent. She writes further on this faculty that "the true method…of Self-Knowledge" consists in "no common trance or day-dream, or any fanatical vision of celestials…but [rather] true psychical experience" (ibid., 166).
[430] Jung (1946:2), 216; cf. *CW:16*§505; see also *CW:14*§181. In 1940, Jung remarked that Atwood's text "is by no means unintelligent but she certainly does not betray any mysteries…It is extremely intuitive and emotional…written by an overflowing animus" (ibid. [1960], 94). For Jung's views on theosophy, see, for example, *CW:7*§118; *CW:8*§737; *CW:10*§169-170.
[431] For a sampling of Atwood's range of study, see Chapter II (Atwood [1850], 68ff.). Jung draws upon Atwood's source material for use in his 1935 essay on alchemy (see Chapter 6), removing these citations,

4.4

The *Red Book* project

Within the scope of Jung's *Red Book* project, possible engagements and encounters with alchemical symbolism are memorable though rare. As indicated previously, Jung identified Philemon as bearing 'the wisdom of Hermes Trismegistus,' an imaginal figure who himself identified Jung's I in the specie of 'Hermetic gold.'[432] In 1919, Jung drew an even more explicit alchemical allusion, ascribing the symbol of the philosophers' stone to his already noted painting of four streams and a diamond-like stone (Figure 13). In the legend of this painting, Jung wrote, somewhat enigmatically, that

> this stone, so exquisitely conceived, is certainly the Lapis Philosophorum. It is harder than diamond. But it extends into the regions of four qualities, namely breadth, height, depth and time. It is therefore invisible and you can walk straight through it without noticing it.[433]

The declaration may count not only as Jung's first pronouncement upon the quaternary nature of the philosophers' stone, but also his first expression of the stone as a symbol of the Self.

however, in the essay's later revision (see Jung [1936], 57, 63; cf. *CW:12*§141, §155). For more on Atwood's alchemical ideas, see Merkur (1993), 55-58.

[432] These insights appear to date, respectively, from January, 1914, and September, 1915, thus allowing for an overlap with Jung's first reading of Silberer's *Problems*.

[433] See Jung (2009:1), 121.

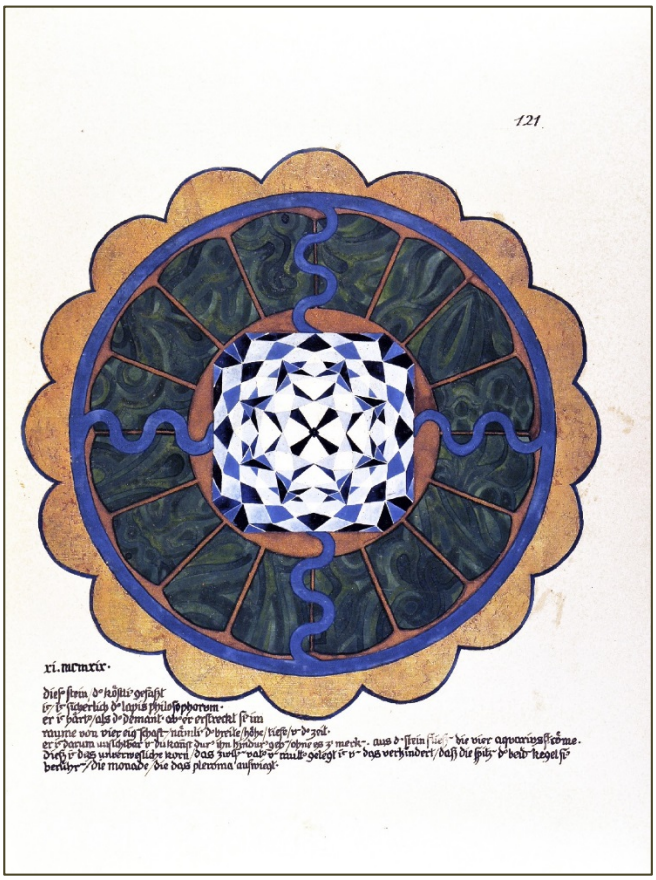

Figure 13

4.5
Annex dreams

As detailed in the Introduction, Jung understood his ‘manor house’ dream (c. 1926) as an important, unconscious harbinger of his alchemical research. He presumably recalled the dream while pondering the *Artis auriferae*, the sixteenth-century collection of alchemical texts that he acquired around the year 1930. As Jaffé relates, the dream was not the only one foretokening Jung’s investigation of Western alchemy:

> Before I discovered alchemy, I had a series of dreams which repeatedly dealt with the same theme. Beside my house stood another, that is to say, another wing or annex, which was strange to me. Each time I would wonder in my dream why I did not know this house, although it had apparently always been there. Finally came a dream [attributed, by Jaffé, to around the year, 1925] in which I reached the other wing. I discovered there a wonderful library, dating largely from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Large, fat folio volumes, bound in pigskin, stood along the walls. Among them were a number of books embellished with copper engravings of a strange character, and

> illustrations containing curious symbols…Only much later did I recognize them as alchemical symbols…The unknown wing of the house…and especially the library, referred to alchemy, of which I was ignorant, but which I was soon to study. Some fifteen years later I had assembled a library very like the one in the dream.[434]

4.6
Writings from 1928

In early 1928, Jung offers the lineaments of his later alchemical thesis in *The Relations Between the I and the Unconscious*, recognizing a proto-chemical dimension to alchemy, but also avouching, for the first time,

> a not-to-be-underestimated spiritual side, which, psychologically, is still quite insufficiently appreciated: there was an "alchemical philosophy," the tentative precursor of the most modern psychology. Its secret is the fact of the transcendent function, the transformation of the personality through the mixture and binding of noble and base components, of the differentiated and inferior [*unminderwertigen* {sic}] functions, of the conscious and the unconscious.[435]

If identifying alchemy with the transcendent function—his concept from the teens of that 'living third thing' between the *Ich* and the *Nicht-Ich*—Jung identified it also with the four (differentiated and inferior) functions, as explicated in *Psychological Types*. One may thus discern, given this association of 'alchemical philosophy' with the 'function-types,' a quaternary aspect of Jung's alchemical thesis from its very inception—a finding underscored in *Relations* by his coupling of the 'four gods' vision (see above, 3.5.3) with the "medieval problem of the squaring of the circle, which belongs to the sphere of alchemy."[436] Jung attests

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[434] *Memories*, 202; Jaffé (1984), 53. One may note that although *Memories* situates Jung's 'manor house' dream as occurring around the year, 1926, an alternative dating may be found in the Protocols, where Jaffé recorded the following statement (subsequently crossing out "very soon after" and writing in "later"): "And then, around 1920, came the dream that I was locked in the 17th century, and very soon after alchemy began to interest me" (Protocols). This dating would position the dream after Jung's *lapis philosophorum* painting and before his annex dreams.

[435] Jung (1928:1), 173; cf. ibid. (1928:2), 243f.; also *GW:7*§360. Jung's notion concerning 'the mixture and binding of noble and base components' in alchemy is at least somewhat at odds with his later notion of a true transformation process (see Chapter 7; also, however, Jung (1948), 229, concerning the 'tincture').

[436] Ibid. (1928:2), 247. In *Psychology and Alchemy*, Jung writes of the 'squaring of the circle' as "a symbol of the *opus alchymicum*, since it breaks down the original chaotic unity into the four elements and then combines them again in a higher unity. Unity is represented by a circle and the four elements by a square" (*CW:12*§165; see also *CW:13*§115; *CW:14*§439, §776). As evidence of the symbol, Jung replicates circle-and-square illustrations from seventeenth-century alchemical texts (see *CW:12*, pp. 125f.; also Jamsthaler [1625], 272) and Maier [1687], 61). The originally ancient problem of 'squaring the circle' referred, mathematically, to the

to the psychological significance of alchemy as well in another essay of 1928, entitled "On the Energetics of the Soul," wherein he writes that "the symbolism of [alchemy] shows with unequivocal clarity the transformation process of [instinctual] energy."[437] In *Memories*, Jaffé presents Jung's 'discovery' of alchemy first through the relation of his 'annex' and 'manor house' dreams, followed by the admission, in Jung's voice, that

> oddly enough, I had entirely forgotten what Herbert Silberer had written about alchemy…Light on the nature of alchemy began to come to me only after I had read the text of the *Golden Flower*…I was stirred by the desire to become more closely acquainted with the alchemical texts.[438]

Although the *Golden Flower* episode, occurring at the end of 1928, surely galvanized Jung's interest in alchemy (see below), the above essays appear already to have established such interest; indeed, Jung's thesis in *Relations* reveals that, by early 1928, "light on the nature of alchemy" had already begun to dawn. Moreover, Jung appears, contrary to Jaffé's construction, not to have "entirely forgotten what Herbert Silberer had written," for he cites *Problems* in both of the above essays, commenting in *Relations* that "Silberer has, in a very commendable work, already given extensive indication of the psychological content of alchemy."[439]

4.7
The alchemical significance of the *Golden Flower* commentary

As seen previously, the *Golden Flower* episode facilitated Jung's conception of the Self archetype, particularly with regard to its quaternary form. If apprehending the Golden Flower as an Eastern symbol of the Self, which marks the achievement of a new 'center of gravity of the total personality…between the conscious and the unconscious,' Jung recognized it, in accordance with Wilhelm's translation and commentary, as a symbol also of Eastern alchemical transformation. In Wilhelm's rendering, the *Golden Flower* text describes the Elixir of Life alchemically as "depend[ing] from beginning to end on the [central] One: the metal in the middle of the water, i.e., the lead [*Blei*] in the place of the water," out of which the Golden

precise method of devising a square of equal area to a given circle using only a compass and ruler (see Kasner [1933], 67ff.; also Levine [1985], 280ff. and Tilton [2003], 186f.).

[437] Ibid. (1928:3), 78f.; cf. ibid. (1942:1), 52.

[438] *Memories*, 204.

[439] Jung (1928:1), 172; cf. ibid. (1928:2), 243. See also ibid. (1928:3), 78. In Jaffé's defense, Jung's recollections as reflected in the Protocols emphasize, as in *Memories*, the relevant dream material and *Golden Flower* text. Both documents omit mention of the aforementioned 1928 essays in this regard.

Flower blooms: "yellow gold fills the house…rotten and stinking things on Earth…immediately become alive again…The fragile body of the flesh is pure gold and gemstone [*Edelstein*]."[440] Wilhelm accounts for such language by noting that, in the Han period, "court magicians of Taoist origin were seeking, by means of alchemy, the Golden Pill (philosophers' stone), which would create gold out of base metals and award men physical immortality."[441] "Lü Yen's movement," which, as he indicates, gave rise to the *Golden Flower* text, "represented a reform. The alchemistic signs became symbols of psychological processes."[442] For Jung, the text embodied, in his later recollection to Jaffé, "pure Chinese alchemy."[443] This assessment, however, at least according to the 1938 foreword to his commentary, appears only gradually to have taken hold:

> That *The Secret of the Golden Flower* is not only a Taoist text concerned with Chinese yoga, but also an alchemical treatise, seemed to me [in 1929] unimportant. A subsequent, immersive study of the Latin treatises has, however, taught me better and has shown me that the alchemical character of the text is of vital significance.[444]

Notwithstanding this retrospective valuation, Jung does, in fact, draw attention to alchemy in his commentary, citing, for example, the "alchemistic instruction" of another eighteenth-century Chinese text, the *Hui Ming Ching*:

> If you desire to achieve the diamond body [*diamantnen Leib*] without leakage,
> You must heat with diligence the root of consciousness and life.
> You must illuminate that steadily near the blessed land
> And there always let your true I [*Ich*] secretly dwell.[445]

He also cites the 'metal' passage above, affirming that the symbolism of the Golden Flower—and, by extension, the mandala—

> refers to a kind of alchemistic process of refinement and ennoblement; darkness giving birth to light, the noble gold growing from "the lead of the water-region," unconscious coming to consciousness in the form of a life and growth process…In such a way arises the union of consciousness and life.[446]

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[440] Wilhelm (1965), 106; 102.
[441] Ibid., 66.
[442] Ibid. For more on the Elixir and relevant Taoist history, see Cooper (1990).
[443] Protocols.
[444] Wilhelm (ibid.), viii; cf. *CW:13*, 4.
[445] Wilhelm (ibid.), 18; cf.
[446] Ibid., 21.

Jung's statement on the Golden Flower may be understood as an echo and elaboration of his *Relations* statement from the previous year that alchemy embodied 'the transformation of the personality through the mixture and binding of noble and base components…of the conscious and the unconscious.' Its 'secret,' as he wrote there, lay in the transcendent function, a topic he continued to explore in his 1929 commentary, primarily through the phenomenological symbolism of the quaternary Self archetype. As seen, Jung regarded the Golden Flower as such a Self symbol, an Eastern manifestation of psychic processes with Western parallels, evidenced not only in traditional depictions of, for example, the four evangelists, but also in 'mandala' compositions of contemporary Europeans—including his own quaternary designs.

Although fleetingly, Jung thus recognized the Golden Flower as a symbol of Eastern alchemy, a signification that appears, indeed, to have piqued his interest in Western alchemy. He reports in the Protocols that "first through the *Golden Flower*…I saw [that] I should really get to know these old [Western alchemical] texts."[447] One may surmise that Jung was inspired, more specifically, to uncover a Western alchemical analogue of the Self symbol of the Golden Flower, a supposition that appears likely given the sole Western alchemical allusion of his 1929 commentary: Böhme's "philosophical eye" or "mirror of wisdom" (Figure 17).[448] In his Golden Flower text, Jung recognizes the image as "a clear and extremely interesting mandala"; in his "Visions" seminar, three years later, he identifies it also as an instance of the *lapis philosophorum*, a symbol of Western alchemy that, as established, Jung links principally with the Self.[449]

[447] Protocols.
[448] Wilhelm (ibid.), 19f. On Böhme, see O'Regan (2002); Hvolbek (1991), 105ff.; Trinick (1953).
[449] Wilhelm (ibid.), 19f; Jung (1997), 557; Böhme (1682), 26ff. See also *CW:9.1*, 296ff., 381, 389.

Chapter 5

Transitions

5.1
The phenomenology of the unconscious

5.1.1 Introduction

Having traced the conceptual threads that inform Jung's Self-*lapis* formulation, investigating, through the writing of his 1929 commentary, the histories of Self, quaternary, and alchemy themes, attention may be turned to a consideration of both the *Relations* and *Golden Flower* texts in the evolution of Jung's phenomenology of the unconscious, first cultivated in the teens. In "Structure," upon which *Relations* is based, Jung surveyed the nature of the collective psyche and the manner in which it may be approached, weighing propitiously the individual's disidentification from but continual engagement with the contents of the impersonal unconscious. He refrained, however, from a detailing of those contents, noting though in his "Transcendent Function" essay of the same year the importance of such a task.[450] In an undated, early revision of "Structure," Jung ventured to address these contents, outlining summarily certain personified psychical forms.[451] He offers, namely, a sketch of the anima, an imaginal female figure encountered through dreams and representing "a compromise formation between the individual and the unconscious world"; and he posits the existence of a "masculine figure," a manifestation of "individuality…in the dreams and fantasies of men."[452]

[450] *CW:8*§191.
[451] See *CW:7*, 269, 295f. (editors' notes).
[452] *CW:7*§507, §520.

5.1.2 The *Relations* phenomenology

In *Relations,* Jung elaborates considerably upon these "figures of the unconscious," distinguishing such patterns of psyche as "hereditary categories [*vererbter Kategorien*] or archetypes" and elucidating not only their respective relations to the I but their interrelation as well.[453] He writes of the anima as an "inherited collective image of woman…in a man's unconscious," an autonomous soul-complex that may appear as a "Circe or Calypso," "a being full of some occult and enchanting quality (*mana*), equipped with magical knowledge and powers."[454] If "depotentiated" through continual engagement and differentiation from the I, the anima, according to the *Relations* narrative, "loses [her] daemonic strength" and assumes a functional role between the conscious and the unconscious.[455] She, in other words, "loses her mana," which is transferred, following the narrative, to the "mana-personality," another "dominant of the collective unconscious, the…magician, medicine-man, and saint, the lord of men and spirits, the friend of God."[456] Jung explains this transfer of mana, however, as one also to the I, who assumes an identity with the 'magician.' Remarking on the dynamic, Jung warns of

> this masculine collective figure who now emerges out of the dark background and takes possession of the conscious personality. This psychic danger is of a subtle nature, for it can through inflation of the conscious mind destroy everything that was perhaps gained through the confrontation with the anima…The I has appropriated something that does not belong to it.[457]

The I, according to Jung, should rid itself of this "deception" through differentiation from the mana-personality, effected—as with the anima—through the realization of contents specific to it: "the secret name or the special knowledge or the prerogative of a special way of acting (*quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi* [what is permitted to Jupiter is not permitted to the ox])."[458] If achieved, such differentiation induces a further transfer of mana from the 'magician' to the Self, which Jung describes as

> an actual, living something…strange to us and yet so near, wholly ourselves and yet unknowable, a virtual middle-point [*Mittelpunkt*] of so mysterious a constitution that it can claim anything, kinship

[453] See Jung (1928:2), 139, 233; also ibid., 207, 253.
[454] Ibid., 205; 231; 252 (trans. alt.).
[455] Ibid., 252 (trans. alt.).
[456] Ibid., 253 (trans. alt.).
[457] Ibid. (1928:1), 186f.; cf. ibid. (1928:2), 253f. On the nature of "psychic inflation," see ibid., 145ff.
[458] Jung (1928:1), 188, 197f.

> with animals and with gods, with crystals and stars, without moving us to wonder, without even stirring our disapproval…I have called this middle-point the Self.[459]

Experientially, the I should, for Jung, relate to the Self not merely as an intellectual "construct," a "psychological concept" indicating "autonomous psychic contents," but also as "the God in us":

> By employing the notion of a "divinity [*Göttlichen*]," we aptly express the peculiar way in which we experience the workings of these autonomous contents…With the perception of the Self as something irrational…to which the I is neither opposed nor subjected, but rather attached, and about which it, in a sense, rotates like the Earth around the sun, is the goal of individuation achieved.[460]

5.1.3 The phenomenology of the *Golden Flower* commentary

In his 1934 preface to *Relations*, Jung identifies its subject, including the foregoing, as an attempt "to depict—at least in its chief characteristics—the odd character and course of that *drame intérieur* [interior drama], the transformation process of the unconscious mind."[461] For an elaboration of this process, he refers the reader to his *Golden Flower* commentary, which he calls "a continuation of the last chapter" of *Relations.*[462] In his 1929 commentary, Jung alludes to that *drame*, stressing the importance of fantasies, out of which emerge "intuitive formulations of dimly sensed laws or principles…[that] tend to be dramatized or personified."[463] He indicates this elsewhere in the text as well, emphasizing, though, not the mere 'emergence of intuitive formulations,' but—employing an alchemical metaphor—the effort entailed in "extract[ing] their quintessence":

> Naturally, the unconscious figures do not appear abstractly and stripped of every accoutrement; on the contrary, they are embedded and interwoven into a web of fantasies of incredible variety and dizzying abundance…Only when we have found the sense in the apparent nonsense can we divide the valueless from the valuable.[464]

[459] Ibid., 202.
[460] Ibid., 203-206.
[461] Jung (1945), 5.
[462] Ibid., 8.
[463] Wilhelm (1965), 19.
[464] Ibid., 37f.

More significantly in his commentary, Jung asserts his notion of the quaternary Self. In *Relations*, as seen, he cast light upon this aspect of the Self in his interpretation of the 'four gods' vision, only disclosing it fully, however, in his *Golden Flower* text.

5.2
Jung's pivot toward alchemical research

Jung later recalled the period in the aftermath of his *Golden Flower* commentary as marking a transition between his own *drame intérieur*, made manifest through the *Red Book* project, and a worldly, *wissenschaftliche* orientation encompassing his alchemical research. With reference to the Self, Jung reports to Jaffé that "when I had reached this central point (Tao)…the confrontations [*Auseinandersetzungen*] with the world began: I began to hold many lectures and write short papers."[465] As a last inscription in *Liber Novus*, Jung penned the following remark:

> I worked on this book for 16 years. My acquaintance with alchemy in 1930 took me away from it. The beginning of the end came in 1928, when Wilhelm sent me the text of the "Golden Flower," an alchemical treatise. There the contents of this book found their way into actuality and I could no longer continue working on it. To the superficial observer, it will appear like madness. It would also have developed into one, had I not been able to absorb the overpowering force of the original experiences. With the help of alchemy, I could finally arrange them into a whole.[466]

On the close of his years-long, 'interior' project, Jung remarks, again to Jaffé, that "it became clear to me that I still had to come back again to the human side…return[ing] again to solid ground, and that is science [*Wissenschaft*]. From the insights [of the *Red Book*], I had to draw concrete conclusions."[467] In pursuit of such 'conclusions,' Jung began to seek out Western alchemical texts, acquiring the aforementioned *Artis auriferae* likely at the end of 1930.[468] According to the Protocols, he initiated study of the text about a year later, soon becoming

[465] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 208. The 'confrontations' expressed here may serve as a complement to the earlier articulated 'confrontation' with his soul. Given his output of lectures, articles, and longer essays already in 1928, one could posit a somewhat earlier dating for the increase in such worldly confrontations (see *CW:19*, 18ff.).
[466] Jung (2009:1), 190, 360 (dated 1959). Shamdasani has noted that the *Black Books* trail off by 1932 (Shamdasani [2012], 170). In *Memories*, the *Golden Flower* episode is described as a (meaningful) coincidence or "synchronicity"—a term Jung defines in 1952 as "an acausal connection principle" (see *Memories*, 197; *CW:8*, 417ff.).
[467] Protocols.
[468] Ibid.

"terribly excited" with his findings.[469] "The traditions between gnosis and the present were broken," but alchemy, Jung indicated, could provide the needed repair: "for the first time, I had the feeling: now the bridge is built between the past and present. Now I could, as it were, cross over into the past."[470]

Jaffé, as seen, accounted for the inception of Jung's alchemical interest and research in *Memories* chiefly through reference to his ostensibly 'alchemical' dreams and *Golden Flower* episode, thereby neglecting or minimizing a number of other pertinent considerations. She highlighted, as previously addressed, Jung's 'forgetting' of Silberer's *Problems* in the aftermath of the *Golden Flower*, failing to note Jung's previous citations of the study in 1916, 1917, 1921, and 1928. She omitted mention also of Jung's 1928 statements on alchemy and his earlier engagements with the subject, as reflected in *Transformations* and, more personally, in his 'diamond' painting of 1919. Also overlooked is, in Jung's words, the "case that led me to the study of alchemy," about which he first wrote in 1933 (see below, 5.5).[471] Finally, the *Memories* account neglected the possible impact or importance of Tadeus Reichstein (1897-1996), a chemist and professor at the Zurich-based Swiss Polytechnic (E.T.H.). In the fall of 1931, Jung attended his presentation on alchemy at the Psychological Club, which may have directly prompted his study of the *Artis* the following winter.[472] In a lecture earlier that year, Reichstein speaks of alchemy as entailing "that individual inner world of man," citing the works of both Hitchcock and Silberer.[473] He attended Jung's "Visions" seminar from 1930 onward, the two becoming colleagues when Jung began lecturing at the E.T.H. in 1933.[474]

5.3
Alchemy as reflected in Jung's seminars, 1928-1934

5.3.1 The "Dream Analysis" seminar

An expedient method by which to approach Jung's transition from his passing pronouncements on alchemy in the late twenties to his first writings on the topic in the mid-thirties may be found, in fact, in Jung's seminars of this period, not only in "Visions" but also

[469] Ibid. In *Memories*, by contrast, Jaffé notes that the *Artis* "lie almost untouched for nearly two years" (*Memories*, 204). Jung reports, specifically, that he began to read the *Rosarium Philosophorum* in 1931 (Protocols; *Artis* [1593:2], 204ff.).
[470] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 201.
[471] Jung (1948), 51.
[472] Ibid. (1997), 436.
[473] Reichstein (1931), 2, 7, 13.
[474] Shamdasani (2012), 204.

in his so-called "Dream Analysis" seminar. Consisting of fifty-one sessions, the latter was held first, from November, 1928, to June, 1930, at the Psychological Club.[475] Coterminous with Jung's *Golden Flower* episode, the seminar offers insight not only on his burgeoning alchemical interest but also the development of his quaternary concept. Concerning the quaternary, Jung introduced his mandala concept in a lecture from February, 1929, discussing its Self symbolism in connection with his theory of 'function-types.'[476] Offering the example of a dream of four chickens trying continually to escape, Jung notes that they pertain to "that center" of the Self, their confinement signifying an unconscious wish for the dreamer "to hold his individuality together."[477] Of one chicken, placed with the others in a basin and, as supposed by the dreamer, pressed particularly hard, Jung remarks that it "is obviously one of his functions…his inferior function, the one most out of control."[478] Later that month, Jung muses on the nature of the quaternary, admitting that "what we said about the mandala and its possible meaning sounds like philosophy, but it is not philosophy…It is merely an expression of unconscious facts."[479] The following October, he broaches the topic of these 'facts' again:

> When we dream of the mystic four of Pythagoras and the Greek philosophers, we naturally ask, what is the four anyway? It may mean something that we cannot conceive of now. Originally it was the four sons of Horus, later the four Evangelists, and in the twentieth century the four functions…They are not objects of the mind but categories of the imagination…inexhaustible because they are *before* the mind…If you ask how I know, I have no absolute evidence.[480]

Concerning alchemy, Jung relates the basin of the chicken dream to, among other symbols, "the retort of the alchemists": "fragments of things are thrown together which do not ordinarily mix, but they unite in the fire and produce the gold, the new man…the *lapis lapidum*…the philosophers' stone."[481] He explains in a later lecture that the alchemists' production of a "new man" consists not in the generation of an actual human being or homunculus, but of "a new philosophy…to change man himself."[482]

[475] Ibid., x.
[476] Ibid., 103ff.
[477] Ibid., 105ff.
[478] Ibid., 105, 109.
[479] Ibid., 115.
[480] Ibid., 330.
[481] Ibid., 108 (February 6th, 1929).
[482] Ibid., 334. As in *Relations*, Jung makes mention, in January, 1930, of the squaring of the circle, a problem, he notes, of "psychological completeness" (ibid., 453).

5.3.2 The "Visions" seminar

The "Visions" seminar from October, 1930, to March, 1934, reflects Jung's continued regard for quaternary symbolism and an increased attention to alchemical imagery and texts. Reasserting the universal significance of the quaternary, Jung proclaims in October, 1930, that "people from all over the world…have the same basic symbol in their unconscious…the fourfold symbol…the projection of an inner sense of orientation which consists of four points, and why that is I do not know."[483] In June, 1931, he considers "the eagle in alchemy" as a "symbol of rebirth" associated with the phoenix: "a germ of higher consciousness contained originally in the fire below can become air-like and rise to the head…That is the idea which gave rise to…the alchemist system of philosophy in the Middle Ages."[484] He offers a parallel, in December, 1931, between the visionary material of a patient, Christiana Morgan, whose 'visions' form the basis of the seminar, and an image in Hieronymus Reusner's *Pandora* (1588), "a little medieval book about alchemy, which Dr. Reichstein has just given me."[485] Furthering the correspondence between alchemy and his own *Relations* phenomenology, Jung declares in March, 1932, that "the beginning of the alchemistic procedure" entails "the imprisonment of the animus…for the purpose of transformation."[486] Relatedly, he considers in the same period the philosophers' stone as a "reconciling symbol…characterized by the union of the male and the female."[487] In March, 1933, Jung affirms "alchemistic philosophy" as "a sort of psychology of the unconscious," elaborating as well on the alchemical hermaphrodite, an intermediary stage of reconciliation "first represented as animals" and then "in a human form."[488] The following March, he recalls the "diamond body" of his *Golden Flower* commentary, described here as "the everlasting body of the Self" and equated with "the *lapis philosophorum*, the *elixir vitae* [elixir of life], the *quinta-essentia* [fifth essence], the *tinctura magna* [great tincture] of alchemy."[489]

[483] Jung (1997), 36.
[484] Ibid., 409.
[485] Ibid., 497f.; see also ibid., 466f., 500f.; Reusner (1588), 225.
[486] Ibid., 613; also 628.
[487] Ibid., 574.
[488] Ibid. (1997), 933f. On the hermaphrodite in alchemy, see DeVun (2008), 194ff.; Principe (2013), 78f.; Furness (1965), 60ff.; Abraham (1998), 98f.; Roob (2001), 456ff.; also, in the context of Jung, Haeffner (1991), 140ff.; Schwarz (1980), 58f.
[489] Ibid., 1337f. Concerning the *quinta essentia* in Jung's works, see, for example, *CW:13*§148, *CW:14*§439, 719; concerning the *tinctura magna,* see ibid. (1984:1), 128. On the quintessence and healing elixir in Western alchemy, see Gruman (1966), 62ff.

5.4

The mystery of the Self-*lapis* formulation

One may mark at this point a certain irreducible mystery in the genesis of Jung's quaternary Self-*lapis* formulation, a process, given its admixture of personal, clinical and scholarly inputs, only partially explicable, as through the foregoing account. Mystery may be observed first in Jung's alignment of the Self with quaternary forms. In "Structure" and "Unconscious Processes," he developed, as seen, a relational concept—later called the Self—between the *Ich* and the *Nicht-Ich*, engaging at the same time with quaternary symbols through his *Systema* diagram and Phanes 'cryptograms.' He continued producing quaternary paintings through the late teens and into the twenties, a period in which, with the collaboration of colleagues, he conceived a fourfold typology (as reflected in one of his paintings), introducing as well a notion of a non-quaternary 'Self.' Mystery may also be observed in the manner in which the Self is coupled with the *lapis philosophorum*. As remarked, a notion of the *lapis* is already present in his 'diamond' painting of 1919, providing thus an implicit connection between the quaternary 'cryptograms' and the philosophers' stone. Jung's alchemical thesis is expressed for the first time in *Relations*, where, through discussion of the 'four gods' vision, his Self, *lapis*, and quaternary themes undeclaredly intersect. Their confluence is made more manifest in Jung's *Golden Flower* commentary, with its clear articulation of a distinctly quaternary Self and suggestion of a mandala-*lapis* through Böhme's 'philosophical eye.' In "Visions," finally, the triple convergence comes fully into view. The compound mystery of this Self-*lapis* formulation—the opaque record of its development and evolution—may, indeed, count as a third type of mysterious conjunction, the formulation arising as an 'occult' product of Jung's *lapis comparationis* and immeasurable melding of his evidentiary forms: dream, art and fantasy; personal testament and clinical case study; psychological theory and historical text. Although elusory, the conjunction of quaternary, Self, and *lapis* gives rise to a pivotal and perdurable result, a formulation that pervades Jung's later alchemical thought. If regarding Jung as a kind of 'alchemist' himself, one who renders through his own *lapis comparationis* interpretative 'transformations' of psyche and text, the quaternary Self-*lapis* formulation may rightly be construed as its principle product, its veritable 'gold.'

5.5
"On the Empirical Evidence of the Individuation Process": The case of Kristine Mann

5.5.1 The 1933 version

In a 1933 lecture, delivered at the first so-called 'Eranos' conference and entitled "On the Empirical Evidence of the Individuation Process," Jung discussed a clinical encounter that he later claimed led to his study of alchemy.[490] An examination of his treatment of the case may serve to demonstrate the manner in which he began to apply the *Relations* phenomenology in his own writings. It also may serve to show, in light of his 1940 commentary on the topic, the complexity and challenge of charting the origination and development of Jung's alchemical thought. As presented in 1933, the case pertains to one of Jung's patients, the physician and psychoanalyst, Kristine Mann (1873-1945), whom Jung anonymously describes as an unmarried, American woman, aged fifty-five, who "came to a dark place, where the path apparently was at an end"; Mann travelled to Zurich "in a last attempt…to try something," Jung serving, by his description, as "the last piece on her chessboard."[491] Jung structured his analysis of the case around five of his subject's paintings, images based on fantasy and dream material that he used to illustrate the individuation process. Of particular relevance to his later alchemical understanding of the material, the third painting displays a gray sky with a golden serpent, below which hovers a blue-and-red sphere begirded by a silver band that is emblazoned with the number "12" (Figure 14).[492] Harkening back to a dream, the band, according to Mann, refers to "zones of condensation and rarefaction," the number signifying "twelve nodes in world history and at the same time [twelve] great personalities."[493] She relates the painted version of the band—a "field of oscillation"—with quicksilver, "the wings of Mercury," and (Jung's conception of) the animus.[494] Jung interprets the sphere as a reference to the Self and the number as a "point of culmination" corresponding to the patient's birth-hour.[495] Mann claimed to have been disturbed by the quicksilver band, which, in a further fantasy and painting, condensed into a winged, black snake that penetrated the sphere, now depicted with three inner

[490] On the nature and history of the Eranos conference, held annually in Ascona, Switzerland, see Progoff (1966) and Hakl (2013).
[491] Jung (1934), 204; cf. ibid. (1948), 32f. On Mann's relation to Jung, see Kirsch (2000), 61ff.
[492] See ibid. (1948), *Tafel 3*. In 1950, Jung offered a further revision of this essay, adding to his study another nineteen of Mann's paintings (see *CW:9.1*, 290ff.). See also on the Mann case, Jung (1960:1), 81ff.
[493] Ibid. (1934), 208.
[494] Ibid. In the 1950 version of the essay, Jung relates the 'nodes' and oscillation field of Mann—identified there as "Miss X"—with details of "a similar individuation process" in a patient from 1916 (*CW:9.1*§550-551).
[495] Ibid., 209.

lobes (Figure 15).[496] This image Jung interprets as "a triad against…the serpent: the trinity against the devil, the fourth."[497] Indicative of the need to integrate the animus, represented as the devil, the image more generally communicates, according to him, "the vivid truth that the I is not the center of psychic life; that it revolves around the Self…like a planet around the sun."[498] Jung reports that with "submission [*Unterwerfung*]" to the Self, "a transformation took place that is depicted in the next image," the serpent now placed under the sphere, signifying that it (and, by extension, the animus) has "been embraced as an outer world-principle" (Figure 16).[499] Importantly, the sphere in this image contains four inner spheres, which Jung identifies with "the structure of human nature…the Pythagorean tetraktys…[and] the four basic psychological functions," remarking further that "this perception of the fourness [*Vierheit*], the wholeness of the psychical structure, expresses illumination of the 'inner space.'"[500]

Figure 14

[496] Ibid., 209f. and *Tafel 4*; *CW:9.1*, Picture 4.
[497] Ibid. (1934), 210.
[498] Ibid. (1948), 38 (trans. alt.).
[499] Ibid. (1934), 212f. and *Tafel 5*.
[500] Ibid., 213.

Figure 15

Figure 16

5.5.2 The 1940 revision

In 1940, Jung appended additional commentary to this essay for its English-language translation, highlighting in particular the alchemical significance of the case. Whereas, in 1933, Jung identifies the painted sphere as merely a Self symbol indicating "the totality of the whole human being," he adds in 1940 its affinity with "the alchemistic idea of the all-round being, the so-called *rotundum*, represent[ing] the *materia prima* and its final product, the philosophers' stone."[501] In the earlier version, moreover, the golden coloration of Mann's paintings signifies simply "something highly valuable to her," while in the later version it is associated with

[501] Ibid., 209; ibid. (1948), 46.

alchemistic "philosophical gold."[502] Still further alchemical associations are drawn in 1940 relating, for example, to *plumbum philosophicum* (philosophical lead), quicksilver, the winged serpent, and the "alchemistic egg [or vessel]".[503] At the close of his later commentary, Jung concedes that such parallels between "spontaneous imagination" and "alchemistic symbolism" is "rather startling," affirming, nonetheless, the regular incidence of such parallels beyond the present case.[504] He reflects, more generally, that, at least for some alchemists, "'making gold' was…taken in an allegorical sense…they understood by it a spiritual transmutation, or what we would today call a psychological transmutation or readjustment."[505] Jung originally framed the case with references to Eastern symbolism, offering, in a manner redolent of his *Golden Flower* text, appeals to Eastern wisdom and passages from the *Tao Tê Ching.* He ended his presentation thusly:

> Despite our so-called culture, we in the West are still barbarians and children in relation to the psychical. We have, indeed, found the gemstone [*Edelstein*] again, but we have yet to polish it. I could not, therefore, show you a polished gemstone. But I believe I have found some stones that are not mere pebbles [*Kieselsteine*].[506]

Jung's *Edelstein* comment may be read, given the earlier text, as an allusion to the Self, uncovered through his own fantasies and dreams, adduced comparatively through *Golden Flower* 'mandalas,' and corroborated empirically through the paintings of Kristine Mann. It may also be read, in light of his 1940 addendum, as a tacit reference to the philosophers' stone, a symbol of the Self only 'polished' by Jung *after* his writing in 1933.

Jung claimed in 1940 that when Mann first consulted him, he had no knowledge of alchemical ideas and that, indeed, "it was this very case that led me to the study of alchemy."[507] In the 1950 version of the essay, Jung adds that the third painting, in particular, "conveys a theme that points unequivocally to alchemy, and actually gave me the definitive incentive [*Anstoß*] to engage thoroughly with the classical works of the old adepts."[508] These assertions should be tempered, however, given Jung's previous pronouncements on alchemy in 1928 and his longtime familiarity with Silberer's text.[509] Despite these facts and Jung's alchemical

[502] Ibid. (1934), 207, 213; ibid. (1948), 46.
[503] Ibid., 46f.
[504] Ibid., 49.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid. (1934), 214.
[507] Ibid. (1948), 51.
[508] *GW:9.1*§544; see also Jung (1948), 28.
[509] According to Mann's notation, the earliest paintings in the series, including those described above, are dated October, 1928 (see note, *CW:9.1*, 348).

discussions in the aforementioned seminars, the earlier version of the essay suggests that, even in 1933, more than a full year after initiating active alchemical research, the subject of alchemy had not yet assumed the primacy that is characteristic of his later analysis and prose. Given its tensions concerning chronology and context, the case underscores the apparent complexity of chronicling Jung's alchemical thought.

5.6
"On the Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious"

In 1934, Jung delivered another Eranos lecture, entitled "On the Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," that affirms his *Relations* phenomenology while developing his understanding of its *drame intérieur*. Jung opens the lecture with an attestation to the truth of the unconscious in both its personal and collective forms, as well as of their respective components, feeling-stressed complexes and archetypes.[510] He laments the "alarming impoverishment of symbolism" in the modern age, proposing its redress through the "natural symbolism" of fantasies and dreams.[511] One may engage the "symbolic process," he informs, by allowing the "I-consciousness [*Ichbewußtsein*]" to "enter the particular image," temporarily abdicating thereby "the state of being the subject."[512] Such an engagement prompts, first, a "meeting [*Begegnung*] with one's own shadow [*Schatten*]," identified as an archetype of the devil and other representations of evil, symbols of "the more unpleasant things" of the personality normally masked by the persona.[513] Further engagement may evoke, in echo of *Relations*, "living beings" of the unconscious, the anima foremost among them: the "*a priori* element in moods, reactions [and] impulses," "a magical feminine being," and "archetype of meaning [*Sinn*]."[514] The magician too may be evoked: the archetype, as Jung describes, of the "old wise man," "the enlightener, the teacher and master," the source of "the hieratic language of *Zarathustra*" and "so-called occult or religious experience."[515] In addition to such personified archetypes, Jung discusses "archetypes of conversion [*Wandlung*]," "true symbols" that represent stages of psychological transformation.[516] To the beginning of the transformation

[510] Jung (1935), 180.
[511] Ibid., 190, 196.
[512] Ibid., 224.
[513] Ibid., 199f.; also 227.
[514] Ibid., 204, 208, 214.
[515] Ibid., 220f. Among other traditional personages, Jung links the magician archetype with Hermes Trismegistus, providing thus a link with Philemon as well (ibid. 221).
[516] Jung (1935), 222.

process, he attributes symbols like the Calvary cross, the serpent, horse and bull.[517] To intermediate stages he assigns symbols like the cave, frog, hermaphrodite and tree.[518] "To the end of the process belong," for Jung, "all the symbols of the Self in its various aspects": the equal-armed cross, circle and square; "the fourfold [*Vierzahl*] opposed to the threefold in all possible forms"; the flower, star and egg.[519] Jung indicates, more generally, that "archetypes are complexes of experience" and that "nothing whatsoever is gained by memorizing a list of [them]."[520] His exposition is intended only as a "rapid survey of the symbols of the inner drama," its "approximate representation…in no way approach[ing] the richness of reality."[521]

[517] Ibid., 227, 229.
[518] Ibid., 228.
[519] Ibid., 229.
[520] Ibid., 211f.
[521] Ibid., 229.

Section II (*Solutio*):

Jung's alchemy

Chapter 6

"Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process" with remarks on Jung's historiography

6.1
Introduction to "Dream Symbols"

As in the initial version of the Mann essay, "On the Archetypes" exhibits a conspicuous absence of alchemical themes. The fruits of Jung's alchemical research become apparent only after more than two years of historical research, as evinced in the Eranos lectures that follow: "Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process," delivered in 1935, and "Notions of Redemption in Alchemy," delivered in 1936.[522] The two studies may rightly be considered the founding documents of Jung's alchemical enterprise, discourses which form the basis of his first major text on the subject, *Psychology and Alchemy*, in 1944. On the importance of *Psychology and Alchemy*, Jung remarks in *Memories* that

> I had at last reached the ground which underlay my own [*Red Book*] experiences of the years 1913 to 1917; for the process through which I had passed at that time corresponded to the process of alchemical transformation discussed in that book.[523]

Jung's "Redemption" essay concentrates upon the historical-comparative aspects of his alchemical project, identifying and elucidating psychological patterns in alchemical texts (see Chapter 7). "Dream Symbols" initiates this process of identification and elucidation, but focuses, in a complementary manner, on the clinical dimensions of his thesis, achieved through the investigation of a particular case. Centering upon a "youngish man" of "excellent scientific

[522] Through the late thirties and into the forties, Jung's Eranos lectures may be understood, more generally, as the primary vehicle of his alchemical thought.
[523] *Memories*, 209. The 1944 volume retains the overall character and progression of the 1935 and 1936 essays, but includes a new introduction to the essays (ibid., 11-62), as well as much added commentary and supplementary artwork (see Jung [1944], 7).

training and talent," later recognized as the Austrian-born physicist, Wolfgang Pauli (1900-1958), the work consists in the chronological analysis of four hundred "dreams and visual impressions," "three hundred and fifty-five" of which, as Jung submits in the interest of impartiality, "were dreamt without any personal contact with me."[524] Building upon the Mann study, the case reflects an unprecedentedly elaborate corroboration of Jung's phenomenology of individuation, particularly with regard to the quaternary Self. The phenomenology, in turn, facilitates the associations Jung draws between alchemical themes and the material of the case, characterized in his "Redemption" essay as "an 'alchemistic' dream process…from [which] it follows that the philosophical stone is one of the many symbols of the Self."[525]

In the writings and seminars preceding "Dream Symbols," Jung probed the linkages between psychology and alchemy, although, as observed, in a relatively limited way. In the interest of further advancing his alchemical thesis, he may, conceivably, have required a critical case—one of considerable richness and utility, not unlike that of Frank Miller. In "Dream Symbols," in fact, Jung compares the two cases, noting his treatment in each "of a series of spontaneous manifestations of the unconscious."[526] He remarks, however, that the Miller study deals more with "a neurotic (puberty) problem," while the Pauli study entails the problem of individuation, adding that the "earlier case…terminated with a psychic catastrophe (psychosis). But the present case represents a normal development, such that I have often observed in persons of superior mentality."[527] Notwithstanding such differences, Jung's comparison proves apt, for in "Dream Symbols" he implements the logic and terminology of *Transformations*, describing the method by which to rightly apprehend its content this way:

> In the case of 'unconscious' manifestations…there exists no language that we would consider directed and adapted [*gerichtet und angepaßt*]…The objective-psychic utterance is strange even to the consciousness in which it expresses itself. One must, therefore, inevitably apply that method demanded by the reading of a fragmentary text or one containing unknown words: *one examines the context*.[528]

Jung explains that, for any given dream, the context lies, first, in the series of dreams, itself.[529] As in *Transformations*, however, it lies also in data beyond the dreamer's ken: referring to the

[524] Jung (1936), 14. For a discussion of Pauli in this context, see, for example, Pauli/Jung (2014), xxxii-xxxv; Gieser (2005), 142ff.; Miller (2009), 124ff.; and Westman (1984), 207ff. On the collaboration between Jung and Pauli, more generally, see also Donati (2004); Atmanspacher (1996); Card (1991), 28ff.
[525] Jung (1937), 102.
[526] Jung (1936), 126.
[527] Ibid., 126f.
[528] Jung (1948), 99 (trans. alt); cf. ibid. (1936), 16f. (emphasis in original).
[529] Jung (1936), 18.

quaternary, Jung declares that "we are dealing with a definite archetype that has long been known to us from other sources, through which the interpretation is substantially facilitated."[530] Redolent of his remarks in the Miller text, Jung indicates, too, that Pauli, without any "conscious apprehension…behaves in his dreams as if he were a connoisseur of…curious processes of cultural history…*Cum grano salis*, one could write history from his unconscious just as well as from the texts that are objectively present."[531]

6.2
"Dream Symbols" and the phenomenology of the unconscious

6.2.1 The essay in view of Jung's more general phenomenology

Demonstrating the manner in which "Dream Symbols" corroborates the phenomenology of individuation, one may note, first, Jung's identification in the dream and fantasy series of non-quaternary themes that correspond with the stages and figures of his *drame intérieur*. In the first and shorter section of his analysis, Jung expresses, through symbols of the psychical content, itself, the necessity of "a partial *sacrificium intellectus* [sacrifice of the intellect]," by which "the dark grounds [*Gründe*] of the unconscious" may be recognized and affirmed.[532] Thus subordinated and directed toward such 'grounds,' the intellect may, by Jung's description, initiate the interior *drame*, which he outlines, expectedly, as "the confrontation [*Auseinandersetzung*]…with the figures of the unknown woman (anima), the unknown man ('shadow'), the old wise man ('mana personality') and the symbols of the Self."[533] The anima, first of all, is detected by Jung throughout the series, as identified, for example, in the sixth entry of the first series (I.6), a visual impression featuring "the veiled figure of a woman…seated upon a stair"; and in entry II.30, a dream in which the subject "sits with the dark, unknown woman at a round table."[534] The shadow, defined here as "a negative I-consciousness [*Ichbewußtsein*] encompass[ing] all those characteristics whose existence is embarrassing and regrettable," is discerned chiefly in entry II.31, a dream in which the subject "sits with a certain man of a negative quality at a round table. On it stands a glass filled with a

[530] Jung (1948), 101 (trans. alt.).
[531] Jung (1948), 123 (trans. alt.); cf. ibid. (1936), 43f. Apropos of Jung's use of the Miller and Pauli cases as a means of advancing psychodynamic theory, see Forrester (1996); also Sealey (2011).
[532] Jung (1936), 23, 47. According to Jung's analysis, the *Degradierung* is accomplished, in the first series, through the liberation of the subject from a "father" figure (see entries I.4, I.13-15), as facilitated through the intervention of a "Mephisto" character with a "pointed beard" (see entries 14 and 22).
[533] Ibid., 47.
[534]Jung (1936), 25, 99.

gelatinous mass."[535] Finally, the mana-personality (or magician) is identified by Jung toward the end of the second series, as in entry II.47, a dream in which "the old wise man shows [the subject] a spot on the ground that is marked in a special way"; in entry II.50, a dream in which "an unknown man gives [the subject] a gemstone [*Edelstein*]"; and in II.53, a dream of a "particularly solemn house, the 'house of the gathering,'" before which stands an old man."[536]

6.2.2 The essay as focused on the quaternary aspect of his phenomenology

Notwithstanding the foregoing descriptions, Jung states that the focus of his essay lies not on the "multiple steps and transformations of the individuation process," but on symbols signaling "the production of a new center of the personality [*Persönlichkeitszentrum*]," those identified with the Self and "belong[ing] to a distinct category [of images] that I call mandala symbolism [*Mandalasymbolik*]."[537] The series of dreams and impressions thus reflect the incidence, chiefly, of quaternary representations, which, as may be noted first, Jung relates to a medley of themes, including the theory of four 'function-types,' an observed tension between triadic and tetradic symbols, and an intrapsychic engagement with 'animal' motifs.[538] Exemplifying the quaternary, in general, in the case study, multiple entries of the second series describe dreams with four figures, as in II.12, featuring the dreamer, "father, mother, and sister"; and II.15, showing "the dreamer, the father, a particular friend, and the unknown woman."[539] Additionally, subsequent to II.22, a dream featuring an eight-spoked wheel, Pauli apparently sketched the image, as noted by Jung: "the dreamer spontaneously draws a circle, the quadrants of which are tinted with [four] colors. It is a wheel with eight spokes. In the middle is a four-petalled, blue flower."[540] 'Negative' manifestations of the quaternary are discerned as well by Jung, as in a dream of a "circular table" with four empty chairs (II.38), and in another of "an empty, square space" (II.53).[541] As in previous works, Jung connects the quaternary in "Dream Symbols" with the function-types of his 1921 study, which, as expressed in his commentary on entry II.10—another dream of four figures—facilitates his substantiation of the Self: "it would not be impossible that the four persons represent the four functions and, indeed, as components

[535] Ibid., 99. Jung connects this dream with the previous one featuring 'the dark unknown woman,' suggesting that her replacement by the man at the 'round table' signifies a desirable differentiation of the shadow from the anima, both of which previously, "being unconscious, are contaminated with each other" (ibid., 100). The anima is thus "freed from the projection of inferior moral qualities, and can move into her actual function, namely, the creative-vital function…[which] is well represented by the glass with the peculiar content" (ibid.).
[536] Ibid., 111f.
[537] Jung (1936), 14.
[538] Ibid., 13f.
[539] Ibid., 60f., 65.
[540] Ibid., 84, 90f.
[541] Ibid., 108, 114.

of the total personality…Ego plus Non-Ego."[542] In the interpretation of certain dreams, he, moreover, dynamizes his quaternary types model, as seen, for example, in entries II.19 and II.20, in which the number and status of dream figures align with the concurrent number of function-types deemed unconscious in the dreamer.[543] Jung relates the quaternary symbolism of the essay also with an observed tension between triadic and tetradic symbols, actuated, in fact, through his model of the function-types. In entry II.22, for instance, the dreamer reportedly ascends in an elevator "up until about the third or fourth floor," its failure to arrive at the latter floor interpreted by Jung as a rejection by the I of the fourth function.[544] Adducing the tension through historical sources, he cites the so-called Cabiri of *Faust*, the "creative dwarf gods" about which, in Goethe's depiction, nereids and tritons sing: "three we have brought, the fourth would not come."[545] Finally, Jung explicates via the quaternary in the series an intrapsychic engagement with 'animal' motifs, as illustrated, for example, in his treatment of entry II.16, a dream in which many people rotate leftward around a square in order to "reconstruct the gibbon"; and of entry II.18, a dream of another square space, where "complicated ceremonies take place…having as their purpose the transformation of animals into men."[546]

6.2.3 The essay's development of the Self concept

In a manner implicative of the foregoing themes and figures, Jung related the quaternary manifestations in "Dream Symbols," above all, to the individuation process and archetype of the Self. He attests in the essay that "every life, finally, is a realization of a whole, that is, of a Self, whereby the realization can be termed individuation."[547] He affirms, also, that the Self or "center," although "unknowable," can be "expressed symbolically through its phenomenology," saliently, in his view, through "the phenomenon of fourfoldness."[548] "It is as

[542] Ibid., 54f.
[543] Ibid. (1936), 83.
[544] Ibid., 84. The dream description indicates that the subject subsequently ascends further "to about the seventh or eighth floor," which Jung interprets as a greater acceptance of the fourth function, identified here as the carrier of the anima (see ibid., 84, 86; also 80f.).
[545] Ibid., 86f. The Priest translation renders the passage this way: "We have brought three only,/The fourth one tarried lonely;/He said he must stay yonder/Since he for all must ponder" (Goethe [1952], 199). Queried about the apparent delay of the three Cabiri, the nereids and tritons respond: "For that we've no suggestion,/But on Olympus question;/Haply the eighth's there biding,/Not thought-of yet, and hiding" (ibid.). Jung cites this passage in his commentary, thus relating the symbolical shift from four to eight to a similar shift in the elevator dream (Jung [1936], 88). Likely of Phrygian origin, the Cabiri (<Gk. *Kabiroi*), as indicated by Jung, were chthonic deities associated with fertility and the protection of seafarers (ibid., 87). Jung discussed the Cabiri in *Transformations* (ibid. [1912:2], 166f.), citing the mythological studies of Roscher and Creuzer (ibid., 166, 288; Roscher [1894-1897], 2538; Creuzer [1820], 350).
[546] Ibid., 66, 76. The 'reconstruction' of the gibbon suggests for Jung that "the anthropoid, the archaic fact of man, should be reconstituted," thus ameliorating an "intolerable alienation from instinct" brought about by "the autonomy and autarchy of consciousness" (ibid., 70f.).
[547] Jung (1935), 132.
[548] Ibid., 128.

if a pre-existent ground plan were furnished," he offers in another passage, "a kind of Pythagorean τετρακτύς [tetraktys]…It probably explains the universal dissemination…of the cross or quadrated circle."[549] He avouches, moreover, particular historical manifestations of the Self symbol, linking these to his case:

> The unconscious, indeed, invokes a confusing plethora of designations for this dark [or mysterious] thing we call…the "Self"…I will not elaborate upon what the *lapis* meant to our forefathers…or still the "golden pill" to the Taoists…But what does it mean when the unconscious of a cultured European demonstrates with invariable stubbornness such abstruse symbolism? [550]

On the generation of such symbolism by his subject, he notes "the consistency in the development of the central [Self] symbol…The middle-point, unrecognizable in itself, acts like a magnet on the disparate materials and processes of the unconscious and gradually collects these like a crystal grate."[551] Such a 'magnetic' effect is demonstrated by Jung through his exposition of the aforementioned figures and themes, which he finds commingled not only with each other, but also with symbols of the quaternary Self. In addition to the quaternaries noted above, Jung offered, in the case study, a number of other instances of *Mandalasymbolik*, including a strange hat (I.1), a garden with a central fountain (II.13), a green tree in a circle (II.27), and a bouquet of roses (II.29).[552] Some the quaternaries in the series, considered with their corresponding commentaries, recall Jung's previous engagements with Self symbolism. In the visual impression of the green tree, for example, Jung notes that "in the circle, a fierce conflict is taking place among savages," who, like Jung's companions in his Liverpool dream, fail to see the tree.[553] He also compares the square in the aforementioned gibbon dream (II.16) to "the square ground plan of a stupa…a house or temple or…inner, walled-in space," thus evoking the 'city' and 'fortification wall' of his own 'Chinese' design.[554] The gibbon dream additionally reflects, as exemplative of a number of other entries in the series, a "*circumambulatio* of the square," which, in a manner resonant with Jung's previous insights on the *circumambulatio,* suggests for him "that the squaring of the circle…is an instrumental transition point [on the way to the unconscious]…one of the ways to the center of the Non-Ego."[555] The case study concludes with a "great vision" of a "world-clock" (II.59), which Jung

[549] Ibid., 79.
[550] Ibid., 103.
[551] Ibid., 127.
[552] Ibid., 61, 98f.
[553] Ibid., 98.
[554] Ibid., 66.
[555] Ibid., 67f. Within "Dream Symbols," in general, the 'squaring of the circle' appears to be linked with the recognition and integration of the four personality functions (e.g., ibid., 54f., 81f., 113).

identifies as a "three-dimensional mandala" and associates with a decisive, although undisclosed, personal realization of his subject.[556] Notwithstanding the "exceedingly dark [or obscure]" aspects of the vision, Jung identifies the clock, with its corresponding "impression of 'the greatest harmony,'" as a consummate symbol of the Self, in which "disparate and incongruous elements have unified themselves in the most fortunate way…and have generated an image that realizes in great measure the 'intentions' of the unconscious."[557]

6.3
The alchemical aspects of "Dream Symbols"

6.3.1 General comments on alchemy

"Dream Symbols" may be understood, chiefly, as an extensive clinical corroboration of the phenomenology of individuation, particularly as related to the quaternary Self; it may also be understood, among Jung's published writings, as his first substantive engagement with Western alchemical themes, marshalled in the essay in pursuit of such corroboration. For an exposition of the individuation process that underlay his case, Jung referred, at the start of "Dream Symbols," directly to *Relations*.[558] With reference to the quaternary symbolism of the Self, he appealed to his *Golden Flower* commentary, reaffirming its findings concerning the universality and import of *Mandalasymbolik*.[559] Offering a transition from Eastern to Western Self symbols, he writes that "the text of the *Golden Flower*…indicates also particular 'alchemistic' properties of this [mandala] center, in accordance with the qualities of the *lapis* as well as the *elixir vitae*; thus, with a φάρμακον αθανασίας or τής ζωής [drug of immortality or of life]."[560] Through this and other introductory remarks, Jung proceeds in the essay to posit a number of correspondences between the themes of individuation, as exemplified through his case study, and those identified in Western alchemical texts.[561] He demarcates his use of such

[556] Ibid., 119f.
[557] Ibid., 120.
[558] Jung (1936), 13.
[559] Ibid., 14.
[560] Ibid., 49. Concerning the φάρμακον αθανασίας (*pharmakon athanasias*), Jung refers to *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (1910) by the German philologist, Richard Reitzenstein (see, for example, Reitzenstein [1920], 58, 246, 253). For an early reference to the *pharmakon*, see the letters to the Ephesians by Ignatius of Antioch (d. c. 110) (Ehrman [2003], 240f.).
[561] Ibid., 35f. The apparently incidental manner in which Jung introduces the topic of alchemy in his essay (see also ibid., 26, 33f., 37, 39, 43) suggests, indeed, that, as in the instance of his 1933 essay, his objective lay primarily in a proof of his individuation phenomenology and only secondarily addressed the alchemical analogues of the case. His retrospective emphasis upon the essay's alchemical aspects, however, may be

texts this way: "the parallels that I cite are derived predominantly from the early Latin literature of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. One of the most interesting texts is the *Rosarium*…a lengthy treatise that uses a number of much older sources…reaching back to antiquity."[562] The anonymous *Rosarium* author, he adds, "is a decided 'philosopher' and grasps the fact, probably consciously, that [alchemy] concerns not the ordinary making-of-gold, but rather a 'philosophical' secret."[563] Developing his *Relations* thesis concerning 'alchemical philosophy,' Jung declares that

> the unfamiliarity at that time with chemical matter led to a projection of psychic material into the unintelligible chemical processes and thereby, on the one hand, stimulated chemical research, but on the other, gave rise to the transformation of chemical procedure into speculative-philosophical symbols.[564]

In accordance with this thesis, Jung identifies the "water" poured by "the mother…from one bowl into another" in entry I.15 with—in addition to other expressions—the "*aqua vitae* [water of life]" of "the ancient alchemists," recognizing both as symbols for "the living essence of psychical nature."[565] He extends this insight in his interpretation of entry II.14, a dream in which the subject "goes with the father into a pharmacy. Valuable things are to be had there at a cheap price, especially a particular water."[566] Remarking upon the significance of the dream, Jung submits that

> the "particular water" is, as it were, literally the "*aqua nostra* [our water]" "*non vulgi* [not of the common man]"...The water of life can be had cheaply, since everyone possesses it, albeit without knowing its value. "*Spernitur a stultis,*" it is despised by the foolish, because they assume that everything good would always be outside and elsewhere.[567]

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observed in its retitling for the English-language edition of *Psychology and Alchemy*, where it is called "Individual Dream Symbols in Relation to Alchemy" (*CW:12*, xi).

[562] Ibid., 35f. The above passage indicates the connection drawn by Jung between ancient and medieval symbolism and helps to define the range of his Western alchemical project, as conveyed in his Prefatory Note to *Psychology and Alchemy*. The *Rosarium Philosophorum*, in its 1593 edition, indeed, constitutes Jung's main comparative source in "Dream Symbols," in keeping with its apparent standing as the first text of his alchemical study. Other primary sources include the *Turba Philosophorum* (e.g., ibid., 64; *Artis* [1593:1], 13) and the *Tractatus vere aureus* (*Truly Golden Treatise*) (e.g., Jung [1936], 57; *Tractatus* [1610], 198).

[563] Jung (1936), 36.

[564] Ibid. Jung states additionally, in this context, that "two fundamentally different lines of alchemy emerged that, indeed, remained commingled over several centuries and only with the complete degeneration of the philosophical line in the eighteenth century disconnected from one another" (ibid.).

[565] Ibid., 32, 35. Concerning the *aqua vitae* in the *Rosarium*, see, for example, *Artis* (1593:2), 250, 285, 367.

[566] Ibid., 64.

[567] Ibid. Jung's '*non vulgi*' quotation recalls the frequent alchemical pronouncement that, as expressed in the *Rosarium*, "*aurum noſtrum non eſt aurum vulgi* [our gold is not the gold of the common man]," an appraisal emphasized as well in the works of Silberer, Hitchcock, and Atwood (see ibid., 89, where Jung quotes this passage more fully; *Artis* [1593:2], 220; Silberer [1917], 146; Hitchcock [1857], 30, 144; Atwood [1850], 128).

Adducing this psycho-alchemical understanding of the dream, Jung cites a passage from the *Turba Philosophorum* (*Assembly of the Philosophers*) on the "cheapness of the 'water'": "What we are seeking is publicly sold at a cheap price, and if it were recognized, the merchants would not have sold it for so little."[568] As reflected in Jung's commentary upon entry II.10, the alchemists recognized, moreover, that "the ancient (and Christian) conception of the Son eternally dwelling in the Father…could be generated from one's own nature," a heretical notion of self-transformation that accounts for the apparent "secretiveness" displayed in alchemical texts.[569] The generation of such a conception arises, as suggested in Jung's commentary concerning entry II.23, through "the application of the *imaginatio*," upon which the *Rosarium* expounds:

> Nature performs her operations little by little: I wish, truly, that you would do the same, indeed, let your imagination be in accordance with nature. And see in accordance with nature by what [process] bodies are regenerated in the bowels of the earth. And you must imagine this by means of true imagination and not fantastical imagination.[570]

Oriented by such 'true imagination,' the alchemist could "declare," according to Jung, "the guidance of the unconscious binding in his conduct of life," thus affirming a 'demotion of the intellect' and its attendant "dogma, be it of an ecclesiastical, philosophical, or scientific nature."[571] As offered by Jung in his explication of entry II.10, the alchemist rightly understood, therefore, in the words of the *Rosarium*, that he "is not the master of the stone, but the servant."[572]

With reference to *aqua nostra* in the *Rosarium*, see, for example, *Artis* (1593:2), 250, 285, 367. Jung's '*spernitur*' reference derives from the following *Rosarium* passage: "This stone appears poor, indeed, cheap in its price; by the foolish it is spurned, the more treasured by the wise" (*Artis* [1593:2], 210).

[568] *Artis* (1593:1), 103; cf. Jung (1936), 64.

[569] Ibid., 58.

[570] *Artis* (1593:2), 214f.; cf. Jung (1936), 91. Through such a pronouncement, Jung may be understood as aligning, implicitly, 'the application of the *imaginatio*' by the alchemists with the practice of active imagination employed in his *Red Book* 'experiment'—a process made explicit in the "Redemption" essay that follows.

[571] Jung (1936), 34.

[572] *Artis* (1593:2), 356; cf. Jung (1936), 57. Although communicating the value of engaging with the unconscious, the *Rosarium* also indicates for Jung the inherent danger of such an engagement, as reflected in the (unsubstantiated) pronouncement that "several have perished in our undertaking" (ibid., 78). This may be a paraphrase of the following *Rosarium* statement, underlined in Jung's copy of the *Artis* and quoted in a later study: "this is therefore a great sign, in the investigation of which several have perished" (*Artis* [1593:2], 264; *CW:16*§476).

6.3.2 Linkages between alchemy and the psychology of individuation

These more general correspondences aside, Jung also coupled Western alchemical themes to particular processes and patterns of individuation that he identified in the series symbols, notably those concerning the Self. He associated the philosophers' stone, for example, directly with the Self-referential gemstones of entry II.24, a dream in which "two persons speak about crystals, especially about a diamond."[573] Jung comments that "this dream lays bare the historical substratum and implies that it actually deals with the sought-after *lapis*…The 'opus' of the dreamer is practically an unconscious repetition of the aspirations of the medieval *lapis* philosophy."[574] The association is confirmed for him by the following entry, a dream concerning "the construction of a middle-point and a symmetrization of the figure through reflection at this point."[575] "The reflecting," he remarks, "seems again to indicate the underlying idea of the *lapis*, the *aurum philosophicum*, the elixir, the *aqua nostra*, etc."[576] He draws associations also between the *lapis* and the motifs of entry II.13, a dream in which "a treasure lies in the sea…It is dangerous, but one will find a companion below. The dreamer…discovers there a beautiful, regularly designed garden with a fountain in the center."[577] Like the treasure and garden fountain, Jung interprets the 'companion' as a symbol of the Self: "one…who walks with us through life, indeed, a close analogue of the lonely I, to whom a You [*Du*] is allied in the Self, since 'Self' is initially the foreign Non-Ego."[578] He links all three symbols, moreover, to the *lapis*, supporting its signification as a 'companion' through an injunction by the *lapis* itself, as claimed by Hermes in the *Rosarium*: "Protect me and I will protect you: grant me my due so that I may help you."[579] Jung subsequently connects the themes of this dream with those of entries II.28 and II.29, visual impressions, respectively, of a circle with steps leading up to a basin with fountains and a bouquet of roses: "the symbolism returns to II.13…Circle and basin emphasize the mandala, which in medieval symbolism is the 'rose.' The 'Rose Garden of the Philosophers' is a favorite alchemistic symbol."[580] Additionally, Jung stresses the Self-like composite nature of the *lapis*, declaring that it

> is not only a "stone," rather…it is composed *de re animali, vegetabili et minerali* [of animal, vegetable, and mineral matter] and *compositus est ex corpore, anima et spiritu* [is made up of body,

[573] Jung (1936), 94.
[574] Ibid., 94.
[575] Ibid.
[576] Ibid., 95.
[577] Ibid., 61.
[578] Ibid., 62.
[579] *Artis* (1593:2), 239; cf. Jung (1936), 63.
[580] Jung (1936), 98.

soul, and spirit] (*Ros*. p. 237)…*Lapis est res media inter perfecta et imperfecta corpora et quod natura ipsa incoepit, hoc per artem ad perfectionem ducitur* [The stone is an intermediary between perfected and imperfected bodies, and what nature herself begins, this is led to perfection by art] (236).[581]

In its composite aspect, he compares the *lapis*, specifically, to the series symbols of "the undifferentiated 'life-mass' in II.18" and the more differentiated 'gelatinous mass' of II.31, which reflects, as noted, the separation of the anima from the shadow.[582] As comparative proof of the anima, in particular, he offers the following *Tractatus* passage: "our hermaphroditic Adam, although he may appear in the form of a man, nevertheless, always carries with him Eve or his woman, hidden within in his body."[583] The more precise quaternary aspect of the Self symbol is substantiated by Jung through cited *Rosarium* passages, concerning both the philosophers' stone: "our stone is from the four elements"; and its corollary: "in the gold the four elements are accommodated in equal proportion."[584] He posits an affinity between the quaternary imagery of entry II:23, "three-leaved clovers or distorted crosses in four different colors: red, yellow, green, and blue," and a chromatic tetrad in the *Rosarium*, as proclaimed through a vulture's cry: "I am the white, the black, and the red, the yellow."[585] Jung further compares the '*circumambulatio* of the square' of entry II.16 to a "circulation of the spirits" in the *Tractatus vere aureus* (*Tractatus*): "if [the spirits] were to come together in a

[581] Ibid., 101. The first passage may be found in the *Rosarium* (*Artis* [1593:2], 206). The '*compositus*' passage derives not from the *Rosarium*, as indicated, but from the *Novum lumen* by Arnold de Villanova, located also in the *Artis* (see *Artis* [1593:2], 482). The last passage may be found, indeed, in the *Rosarium* (ibid., 235f.) (*N.B.* Jung slightly misquotes the passage, offering ducitur (*ducere*) for deducitur (*deducere*), but without alteration of meaning).
[582] Jung (1936), 100. Jung also compares the 'glass' that contains the 'gelatinous mass' with the "one vessel" of alchemical operation, as mentioned in the *Rosarium* (e.g., *Artis* [1593:2], 206, 223, 285).
[583] *Tractatus* (1610), 101; cf. Jung (1936), 81. Concerning the anima, Jung also adduces *An die menschliche Seele* (*On the Human Soul*), an Arabic treatise attributed to Hermes Trismegistus and translated by the Orientalist, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer (ibid., 100; Fleischer [1870], 7).
[584] *Artis* (1593:2), 207f.; cf. Jung (1936), 93. Jung furnishes still other *Rosarium* quotations reflecting the nature of the *lapis*. Demonstrating a shift from a quadrangular to round composition, the *Rosarium* tenders, for Jung, the following: "make a round circle out of male and female, and extract from it a quadrangle, and out of the quadrangle a triangle: make a round circle and you will have the philosophers' stone" (*Artis* [1593:2], 261; Jung [1936], 68). That the opus begins, however, also with a body that is round is shown by way of a different passage: "take a body that is most simple and round, and refuse to take one that is triangular or even quadrangular, rather a round one" (*Artis* [1593:2], 317; Jung [1936], 94). As remarked in the *Tractatus vere aureus* and noted by Jung, the circle acts as a "mediator, making peace between enemies or elements" (*Tractatus* [1610], 44; Jung, ibid.). The symbolic progression from a unity to a quaternary to another unity is indicated as well in the *Tractatus*: "separate your stone into the four elements, rectify them, and unite them into one, and you will have the whole magistery" (*Tractatus*, ibid.; Jung, ibid.).
[585] *Artis* (1593:2), 293; Jung (1936), 93. Drawing, moreover, upon the aforementioned symbolic tension between three and four, Jung interprets the 'three-leaved clovers' as the "Christian Trinity, but tinted, colored or overshadowed by the four (colors). The colors appear here as a concretization of the τετρακτύς [tetraktys]" (ibid.). Adducing this numerical tension, Jung cites the *Tabula Smaragdina*: "The stone is, in fact, three and one, having four natures, namely, four elements, and three colors, namely, black, white and red" (*Ars chemica* [1566], 47; Jung [1936], 88).

circle…everything would be one in one…vessel."[586] Finally, Jung identifies certain series symbols with particular stages of the alchemical process, like that of the *nigredo* (blackness), which he couples with the "chthonian element" of entry II.39, a bear with four eyes.[587] More prominently, he discerns a sublimative stage of *solificatio*—'sunification' or aurification—linked initially with the anima symbol of the 'unknown woman' and ultimately with a Self-referential "return of the soul to the solar godhead."[588] At the end of the second series, Jung communicates a more implicit stage of aurification in his presentation of a "dark ring" (entries II.56 and II.57) that is subsequently seized by a black eagle and turned to gold (entry II.58). The eagle, Jung states, "is a well-known alchemistic symbol…[that] in the final analysis depict[s] the transcendence of consciousness [*Bewußtseinstranszendenz*]…that we designate as the Self."[589] In the 'great vision' (entry II.59), the golden ring is depicted as encompassing the horizontal disc of the 'world-clock' mandala.[590]

6.4
The historiography of "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption"

6.4.1 Sources and methods of research

With consideration both of "Dream Symbols" and the "Redemption" essay that follows, attention may be given to the manner in which Jung conducted his alchemical research: the materials, means and methods of his historiography. Heeding his own acknowledgements in the essays, one may note, first, Jung's recognition and employment of the secondary literature of alchemy. He paid tribute, most patently, to Silberer's "attempt to illuminate the psychological content of alchemy," citing in "Dream Symbols" the work of Atwood as well.[591]

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[586] *Tractatus* [1610], 263; Jung (1936), 68; cf. *CW:12*§167. Cf. Jung's previous identification of the *circumambulatio* with the 'circulation of the Light' in the *Golden Flower*. In its description of the '*spirituum circulatio*,' the *Tractatus* presents as well an accompanying diagram of a quadrated circle with a circular center, an "*oceanus* [ocean]" from and back to which four "*fluvii* [rivers]" flow (*Tractatus*, ibid.). Jung highlighted this description and reproduced a simplified version of the diagram (Jung, ibid.), with recollection, perhaps, of his own *lapis* painting with 'four streams.'

[587] Ibid., 109.

[588] Ibid., 25f.; see also ibid., 42f. Concerning "*Sol*" and "*folificum*" as symbols of gold in the *Rosarium*, see, for example, *Artis* (1593:2), 237, 261, 295, 343; on the "*folificatio*," see ibid., 218. Jung links the alchemical *solificatio* with initiatory rites of late antiquity, as depicted in the fictional narrative, *The Golden Ass*, by Lucius Apuleius (born c.124) and in the visionary account of Zosimos (Jung [1936], 26; see also Apuleius [1924], 582f.; Reitzenstein [1904], 9ff.; Berthelot et al. [1887-1888:2], 117ff.).

[589] Jung (1936), 118f. Like the raven, vulture, and phoenix, Jung associated the eagle with the attainment of the *lapis* (see ibid.).

[590] Ibid., 119.

[591]Jung (1937), 14; ibid. (1936), 35, 57, 63. In passing, Reichstein is also recognized (see Jung [1937], 21).

In his "Redemption" study, Jung lauded the psychological treatment of alchemy by another Eranos lecturer from the previous year, Rudolf Bernoulli (1880-1948), who spoke, according to his lecture title, upon "Spiritual Development in the Mirror of Alchemy and Related Disciplines."[592] In "Dream Symbols," Jung acknowledged the alchemical scholarship of still other writers on alchemy, including Julius Ruska, Richard Reitzenstein, and Marcellin Berthelot, recognizing, in his "Redemption" essay, the scholarly contributions also of Walter Scott, Edmund von Lippmann, Hermann Kopp, Sherwood Taylor, Karl Christoff Schmieder, and Arthur Edward Waite.[593] As seen, however, Jung turned directly to the primary sources as well, citing in "Dream Symbols" such texts as the *Rosarium*, *Tractatus*, and *Turba Philosophorum*, a corpus of historical resources to which he added considerably in his "Redemption" essay (see Chapter 7). Such sources were drawn, first, from Jung's own private collection of alchemical works, an assemblage beginning, as noted, with his acquisition of the *Artis auriferae* volume and developing into an extensive library of over two-hundred rare books.[594] Jung drew upon public collections as well, citing, in his 1935 essay, the British Library and *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*; and, in his 1936 essay, the "British Museum,"

[592] Ibid.; also Bernoulli (1936), 231ff.; Bernoulli et al. (1960), 305ff. A lecturer and later professor of art at the E.T.H., Bernoulli spoke also at the 1934 Eranos conference, giving a talk entitled "On the Symbolism of Geometrical Figures and Numbers" (referring passingly there to quaternary symbolism [see ibid. {1935}, 381, 384, 411]). In his 1935 talk, Bernoulli endorsed not only a more general, psychological interpretation of alchemical symbols (see ibid. [1936], 245ff.), but one avouching the specific archetypal patterns of Jung's Mann and Pauli studies (ibid., 286).

[593] For specific works by these authors consulted in Jung's 1935 and 1936 essays, see the *Turba Philosophorum* (1931), by the German historian and philologist, Julius Ruska; *Poimandres* (1904) and *Alchemistische Lehrschriften und Märchen bei den Arabern* (1923) by the German philologist, Richard Reitzenstein; *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (1887-1888), by the French chemist and historian, Marcellin Berthelot et al.; *Hermetica* (1924), by the English classicist, Walter Scott; *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (1919), by the German chemist and historian, Edmund Oscar von Lippmann; *Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit* (1886), by the German chemist, Hermann Kopp; "A Survey of Greek Alchemy," by the chemist and historian of science, Sherwood Taylor; *Geschichte der Alchemie* (1832), by the German historian of science, Karl Christoff Schmieder; and *The Secret Tradition in Alchemy* (1926), by the British scholar and occultist, Arthur Edward Waite. Interestingly, Bernoulli credited Schmieder for his recognition of the "deeper significance" of alchemy, in anticipation of Silberer's work (Bernoulli [1936], 241); Jung, however, considered Schmieder blind to this interpretation (*CW:13*§252). Concerning Waite, Tilton has claimed, incorrectly, that "we find no mention of Waite's theories on alchemy in Jung's works" (see Tilton [2013], 19; Jung (1937), 79; *CW:16*§417). Although "Redemption" contains Jung's first published reference to Waite, Principe and Newman have suggested his familiarity with this author already in the 1910s, proposing, further, Waite's possible influence upon Jung's early alchemical conceptions (see Principe and Newman [2001], 402, 426). Relying on Noll's 1997 study, they reference Jung's remarks upon alchemy in 1913, as recorded by Fanny Bowditch Katz, although these appear to refer directly to Jung's *Transformations* commentary on alchemy, not to ideas of Waite (see Noll [1997:1], 171; on Bowditch Katz, see Bair [2003], 259f.). They note that "Waite's works were circulating among members of Jung's Zurich Psychological Club in the 1910s," but Noll mentions only the possible reading of Waite by a patient and patron of Jung, Harold McCormick (Noll [ibid.], 229f.).

[594] As remarked, Jung understood his library as fulfilling his 'annex' dreams from the nineteen-twenties. Along with texts on magic and the cabala, Jung's alchemical collection has been digitized for placement on the e-rara.ch website for rare books (see http://www.e-rara.ch/alch/nav/classification/1133851). Concerning Jung's acquisition of additional alchemical volumes beyond the *Artis*, see Fischer (2011), 172f.

Bibliothèque Nationale, *Münchner Staatsbibliothek*, and *Zentralbibliothek Zürich*.[595] In the Protocols, Jung remarked upon his encounter with the source material and the expressly philological way in which he executed his alchemical research:

> I needed a long time to locate the thread of interpretation in alchemical works. I noticed in the *Rosarium* the presence of typical idioms that were always repeated. Naturally, I did not comprehend them at first. So, for example, "*solve et coagula* [dissolve and coagulate]," and so forth...I said to myself: now I must create…a lexicon with cross-references in order to understand the underlying meaning. I have thus recorded many thousands of keywords. It was a purely philological method.[596]

6.4.2 The execution of Jung's 'philological method'

Jung's 'philological method' manifested through the creation of a series of notebooks, compiled chiefly in the late 1930s, which served not only as a kind of 'lexicon,' but also as a source of alchemical "*excerpta* [excerpts]" and "*extracta* [extracts]"—passages selected and transcribed from historical texts. Indeed, in one's survey of Jung's alchemical thought, these notebooks may be viewed as an important primary source for Jung in and of themselves, a *vade mecum* by which his published writings took shape. With an added index volume, eight notebooks—labeled I through VIII and bearing, in most cases, the title, *Excerpta* or *Extracta*—constitute the series. They include, in all, over a thousand pages of handwritten notes, with entries dating from 1935 to 1953. The first notebook is entitled "Treasure Hunting."[597]

A substantial number of the notebook entries reflect the labor of Jung's assistant and chief collaborator on alchemy, Marie-Louise von Franz, whose expertise in classical languages Jung enlisted soon after their meeting in 1933.[598] According to the British psychologist, Barbara Hannah (1891-1986), Jung told von Franz that

> his Latin, and particularly his Greek, were rusty from lack of use, and that to look through all the necessary Greek and Latin texts would take too much of his time. He told her the volumes he needed

[595] In evidence of preserved library tickets, Jung also consulted alchemical texts at the *Universitätsbibliothek Basel* (Foundation of the Works of C.G. Jung archive [FWJ]). One may note that, notwithstanding Jung's distinction, the British Museum and Library constituted one entity at the time of his writing.
[596] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 205. Jung's application of an expressly philological mode of research may be understood as an invocation of his *Transformations* design. The creation, more particularly, of a lexicon suggests a project not unlike that of Ruland (see above; also Jung [1937], 31, 60).
[597] FWJ; see also Ribi [2013], 138ff., 312f. For images of the series, see Shamdasani (2012), 172ff. Without apparent knowledge of this 'lexicon,' Obrist suggestively remarked that Jung renders alchemical writings and illustrations as "products of the unconscious…interpreted in the manner of a dream. As the dream consists of images, it tends to break the unity of the alchemical texts in order to isolate the pictorial expressions in a kind of dreamlike glossary [*glossaire onirique*]" (Obrist [1982], 32).
[598] Hannah (1991), 229. See, particularly, notebooks II-IV (FWJ).

> to know and instructed her to go right through them and pick out the bits that were "symbolically interesting." She was terrified, for at that time she knew nothing of symbols. But she turned out to have what amounted to a genius for picking out the right bits, thus saving him untold time and trouble.[599]

On the matter of 'picking out the right bits,' Jaffé comments as well:

> Fundamentally it was not the thoughts of individual alchemists that were of importance for Jung's researches so much as the inexhaustible variety of their arcane images and descriptions…In this sense his collection was an indispensable help to him and a mine of psychological insights. There was no particular book that he valued above all others. He would single out one or another according to its applicability to the theme he was interested in and was writing about at the moment.[600]

In his "Redemption" essay, Jung appears, himself, to communicate the principles and parameters of his alchemical project, to this end 'singling out' primary-source material in the manner Jaffé described. Drawing upon alchemical compendia, specifically, the six-volume *Theatrum Chemicum* (1602-1661) and the two-volume *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa* (*Bibliotheca*) (1702), he states that "one should not content oneself with one [book]; rather, one should possess many books, since 'one book opens another.'"[601] One should, furthermore, "read carefully, from section to section," as urged in the *Rosarium*: "then, one will make discoveries."[602] But the *Rosarium* also signals, according to Jung, that "the [alchemical] terms are…entirely unreliable," an explicable finding given that the projection of such appellations emanate "from the individual and [are] hence different in each case."[603] "One has the impression," Jung offers, tellingly, "that each individual had attempted to give expression to

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[599] Ibid. One is likely to undervalue the role of von Franz in Jung's alchemical endeavors, at least in view of *Memories* (where, in connection with alchemy, she is mentioned not at all) and the *Collected Works* (where references are scarce: see, for example, *CW:12*, x; *CW:13*§86, §132). Although only a matriculating university student at the time of her meeting with Jung, von Franz eventually obtained a doctorate in philology, working subsequently as a Jungian analyst and lecturer. In addition to facilitating, more generally, Jung's engagement with the primary sources of alchemy (in connection, likely, with "Dream Symbols," as with subsequent works), von Franz contributed, as "co-worker," the last volume of the originally three-part *Mysterium Coniunctionis* series (1955-1957), providing there a translation and commentary of the *Aurora consurgens* (1625) (see Jung [1957]; *CW:14*, xvi; see also Hannah [1991], 230). On von Franz, see also Anthony (1999), 65ff.; Bair (2003), 368ff.

[600] Jaffé (1984), 54f.; see also ibid., 57f.

[601] Jung (1937), 59; see also Mangetus (1702:2), 33 ("*liber enim librum aperit* [one book, indeed, opens {another} book]"); *Theatrum chemicum* (1659), 227. Jung cites also the following injunction: "pray, read, read, read, re-read, work and you will find" (*Mutus liber* [1677], 14).

[602] Jung, ibid.; *Artis* (1593:2), 230 ("and if you wish to understand well, read the entire work from part to part, and you will see wonders").

[603] Jung, ibid., 59f. On the unreliability of terms, Jung refers to the *Rosarium* pronouncement that the "*modus Philoſophorum* [mode of the Philosophers]" consists in concealment: "to hide the matter…through metaphorical words" (*Artis* [1593:2], 269; also ibid., 211, 243).

his own particular experiences, referring in the process to the dicta of the masters that seem for him to contain something similar."[604] Drawing again from the *Rosarium*, he declares that "this science [of alchemy] is given only to the few…Because all the essential matters are expressed in metaphors, their transmission proceeds only to the intelligent, who possess the gift of understanding. The foolish, rather, let themselves be blinded by literal interpretations and recipes." [605] "True alchemy," he resolves, "was never a business or a career, but a veritable *opus* that one accomplished through quiet, self-sacrificing work."[606] In view of such insights, Jung concludes that

> there are good and bad authors…in the alchemical literature…Inferior writings are easy to recognize by their copious recipes…[and] shameless insistence on the making of gold. Good books can always be recognized by the diligence, care, and obvious spiritual exertion [*geistige Bemühung*] of the author.[607]

[604] Jung, ibid., 58.
[605] Jung, ibid., 58f. Jung refers again to the *Rosarium*: "fools understanding, literally, the sayings of the philosophers, see poorly, and do not discover, unless falsely (*Artis* [1593:2], 210; also ibid., 212, 228, 230).
[606] Jung, ibid., 58.
[607] Jung, ibid., 59. Apropos of this 'spiritual exertion,' Jung writes, with support from cited sources, that "the *materia lapidis* [matter of the stone] can be found through the inspiration of God" and that "occasionally, a dream says what the sought-for substance is" (ibid.; see also Figulus [1608:2], 32f.; Mangetus [1702:2], 475).

Chapter 7

“Notions of Redemption in Alchemy”

7.1
Introduction

Within “Notions of Redemption in Alchemy,” Jung described the topic of his essay from the previous year as an ‘alchemistic dream process’, a demonstration, in effect, of the clinical dimensions of his alchemical theory. Within “Redemption” itself, Jung developed, to a much greater degree, the historical-comparative aspect of this theory, adducing the psychological character and content of alchemical texts. Stating his thesis once more, Jung proclaims in his 1936 essay that “the alchemistic process of the classical period (from antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century) was an inherently chemical investigation into which blended unconscious psychical material by means of projection.”[608] Alchemical theory, he explains, consisted originally of “so-called ‘Hermetic philosophy’ that extended itself, even early in the pre-Reformation period, through the assimilation of dogmatic Christian notions.”[609] He indicates further that its “inner decomposition” began in the seventeenth century, “in the time of Jakob Böhme, when already many alchemists abandoned retorts and crucibles and devoted themselves exclusively to Hermetic philosophy.”[610] Others took a path leading to modern science, adopting the role of the “laboratory worker” in pursuit not only of chemical aims but also a “sanative potion,” an historical development attributable to the “overwhelming influence of Paracelsus.”[611] Jung grants that, to a certain degree, the alchemists of the ‘classical’ period

[608] Jung (1937), 103.
[609] Jung (1937), 41f.
[610] Ibid., 13. Usefully noted by Hanegraaff, Jung continues this passage, concerning the ‘degeneracy’ of later forms of ‘spiritual alchemy,’ in this way: “chemistry became natural science; hermeticism, however, lost the empirical ground from under its feet and climbed too high into allegories and speculations as equally overblown as they were meaningless, merely living on the memories of a better age” (see ibid.; also Hanegraaff [2012], 291).
[611] Ibid., 101.

"knew what chemical processes were," and that they even achieved some experimental success.[612] By some measure, they could distinguish, following the title of a treatise by (pseudo-)Democritus, between "τα φυσικα και τα μυστικα [the physical and the 'philosophical']," aspiring toward the former "in the form of physical gold or the universal medicine or the strongly transformative tincture."[613] But such discretionary powers were impeded, Jung claims, by their ignorance not only of modern chemistry—"the real nature of matter," he notes, still eluded them—but also the "psychology of the empirical soul."[614] He judges their "practical, chemical activity," therefore, as "never entirely pure…express[ing] in and through itself also unconscious content," occasioning, thereby, "psychical activity that can best be compared to so-called active imagination."[615] Accounting for this "amalgamation of the physical and psychical," he states that "there was no either-or for that period [of the alchemists] but rather…an intermediate realm [*Zwischenreich*] between substance and spirit, namely a psychical realm of subtle bodies, for which was suited both a spiritual and material mode of appearance."[616] The manner in which such 'subtle bodies' could arise he describes this way:

> During the execution of the chemical experiment the laboratory worker had certain psychical experiences that appeared to him, rather, as a particular behavior of the chemical process…He experienced his projection as a characteristic of matter. What in reality he experienced, however, was his unconscious.[617]

As a corollary of this insight, Jung identifies "the real root of alchemy" less with "transmitted, philosophical views" than with "certain projection experiences [*Projektionserlebnisse*] of the individual researcher," suggesting an invoked "doctrine of correspondence [*Lehre der Entsprechung*]" as, rather, a "rationalization of the projection experience" than a true explanation of alchemical thought.[618] He proposes, further, that such experiences help account for the mystification of alchemical writings: "in order to explain the mystery [*Geheimnis*] of matter, [the alchemist] projected a different mystery, namely his unknown psychical

[612] Ibid., 17. In "Redemption" (as in "Dream Symbols" before), Jung made frequent mention to 'the alchemists,' a term he employs mainly with regard to Western alchemical practitioners of the given 'classical' period. Concerning the alchemists' 'experimental success,' one may note that the identification in alchemical descriptions of psychical material, for Jung, does not preclude the presence as well of effectual chemical procedures (even if failing to achieve the *lapis* or other consummate goal). Such may be observed in his consideration of Zosimos' "tincture" (see below).
[613] Ibid., 17f., 74; also Berthelot (1887-1888:1), 41 ("Texte Grec"). On the shortcomings of the Berthelot translations, see Principe (2013), 214.
[614] Ibid., 19, 33.
[615] Ibid., 74.
[616] Jung (1937), 34f.
[617] Ibid., 20. Such projection phenomena aside, Jung considered the alchemists' expression of psychical content also through instances of vision and dream, as in the case of the "Visio Arislei" (see below).
[618] Ibid., 20.

background, into that to be explained: *obscurum per obscurius*, *ignotum per ingotius* [the obscure by the more obscure, the unknown by the more unknown]!"[619] More particularly, he asserted, in accord with "Dream Symbols," that this projection inheres in the real mystery of the Self. Jung exceeded his previous claims, however, in his assertion that alchemists not only experienced the psychology of individuation, but attempted its description through an understanding of the constructive method: the reinforcement (*Verstärkung*) and enrichment (*Anreicherung*) of psychical content through the introduction of historical parallels.[620] "Every original alchemist," he declares, "assembles for himself a more or less individual edifice of thought consisting of the dicta of the philosophers and a combination of analogies of basic alchemical notions."[621] Such an alchemist devises, in other words, "a new nomenclature for the psychical changes that really fascinated him."[622] Latinizing his term for the constructive method coined the year before, Jung contends that "the *amplificatio* [amplification] forms the second part of the [alchemical] *opus*," the first consisting, presumably, in the actual engagement with archetypes of individuation.[623]

7.2
Jung's presentation of the alchemical process

At the start of "Redemption," Jung presents, for the first time, an outline of the alchemical process as a whole, a conceptual framework from which the essay's psycho-alchemical interpretations derive. "Seen superficially and sketched in the broadest strokes," he offers the following "skeleton":

> The process begins with an unknown *materia prima* in the state of blackness (*nigredo*). Chronologically near to this state occurs the union (*conjunctio*) of contradictory principles, usually characterized as ♂ [male] and ♀ [female]. Thereupon follows frequently a decomposition or a death (*putrefactio*, *mortificatio*, *calcinatio*), then the ablution (*ablutio*) that causes the whitening (*albedo*)…The next transformation is the reddening (*rubedo*)…The *rubedo* is frequently compared to…the carbuncle [or gemstone]…[which] tends to show that the climax has been achieved. The carbuncle is then the red tincture, the projection of which upon base metals transforms these into

[619] Ibid., 19. Cf. "Dream Symbols," where Jung suggested such mystification arising from the possible heretical character of alchemical doctrine. On the relationship of alchemy and hermeticism, see Pereira (2000).
[620] Ibid., 41.
[621] Ibid., 41; also, 58.
[622] Ibid.
[623] Ibid. On amplification, see Jung (1968), 92f. (Tavistock lectures).

> gold or silver, or it is also the universal medicine and the *elixir vitae*…When the objective is gold…the yellowing (*citrinitas*) succeeds the *rubedo*, and therewith the emergence of the coagulated, solid, or fluid gold (*aurum potabile*).[624]

Jung adds that the *lapis philosophorum* may be conceived as either an intermediary goal, represented, perhaps, by the 'red tincture,' or as an absolute end, signifying in this case "a thoroughly mystical being…composed of body, mind, and spirit, and…portrayed as winged and hermaphroditic."[625] Also, an instrumental role may be observed in representations both of quicksilver (*mercurius*), which "plays its mysterious part throughout the entire process," and the Hermetic vessel (*vas Hermetis*), the retort or crucible in which the transformation processes take place.[626] "The [alchemical] procedure, itself," Jung concludes, "was repeated cyclically in its sub-processes: solutions and coagulations, sublimations and separations," the whole operation being designated a "*circulatio*, *rotatio*, or *rota* (wheel)."[627]

7.3
The psychological dimensions of the alchemical *opus*

In view of the given framework, Jung attended primarily in "Redemption" to factors concerning the beginning and end stages of the alchemical *opus*, paying especial heed to considerations of the *prima materia*, *nigredo*, and *coniunctio* concepts (see below). Preliminary to such considerations, he provided a number of citations addressing the psychological dimensions of the *opus*, including characterological prescriptions and instructions commending a certain orientation of mind. On the centrality of the psyche to the alchemical enterprise, Jung furnishes—with his own parenthetical remarks—the following *Rosarium* passage:

> Who therefore knows the salt and its solution knows the concealed secret of the ancient wise ones. Set your mind [*Geist*] therefore upon the salt, for in it (*Geist*) alone (in *ips*a *sol*a, with reference to *mens*) is hidden the science and the most distinguished and most concealed secret of all the ancient philosophers.[628]

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[624] Ibid., 14-16.
[625] Ibid., 15.
[626] Ibid., 15f.
[627] Ibid., 16.
[628] Jung (1937), 24f.; cf. *Artis* (1593:2), 244f. Jung calls attention here to the pronoun, *ipsa* (itself), which appears to refer not to the masculine noun, *sal* (salt), but to the feminine noun, *mens* (mind). Granting this, the sentence communicates that in *mind* 'is hidden the science and the…secret of all the ancient philosophers.' He notes also his verification of the pronoun gender in two other versions of the text (see Jung, ibid., 25; also

He notes, additionally, an emphasis in alchemical texts upon particular "psychological prerequisites" for the work.[629] In Maier's *Symbola aureæ mensæ*, for example, Morienus Romanus advises that the *lapis* can only be attained "through patience and humility and through a fixed and most perfect love"[630]; in the *Rosarium*, Geber urges, moreover, that "it is necessary that the artist of this science be of the most subtle character…The son of learning…is firm in purpose and constant, patient, gentle, long-suffering and temperate"[631]; and the *Aurora consurgens* instructs that "wisdom has built itself a house" founded upon fourteen principal virtues, including "spiritual discipline or understanding."[632] Jung also furnished textual evidence concerning a proper orientation of mind in connection with the *opus*. Johannes a Mehung's *Demonstratio naturae* indicates that, in order to begin the work, one should be "of a free and empty mind"[633]; Thomas Norton's *Tractatus Chymicus* states that, for the alchemical aspirant, "the first rule is to observe if his mind accords with the work"[634]; the *Aurora consurgens* advises, in the words of Alfidius, that "you cannot have this knowledge unless your mind is purified by God"[635]; and the *Aquarium sapientum* counsels that seekers "should examine themselves rightly, and learn in addition the proper golden apprehension…[They] should open their eyes (understand: minds and souls)…and look acutely and recognize [the

Rosarivm Philosophorvm [1550], 50; Mangetus [1702:2], 95). On the nature of alchemical 'salt' according Jung, see, for instance, *CW:14*§240-244.

[629] Ibid., 103; also 25.

[630] Maier (1617), 142; cf. Jung (1937), 28. Citing Reitzenstein and Lippmann, Jung notes that the legendary figure, Morienus, served as teacher, supposedly, to the Umayyad prince, Khalid ibn Yazid (d. 704) (see Jung, ibid.; Reitzenstein [1923], 67ff.; Lippmann [1919], 357). In apparent accord with his views on the rarity of individuation, Jung also cites Morienus on God's selection of certain individuals for "this divine science" (Jung [1937], 29; cf. Maier [1617], 143).

[631] *Artis* (1593:2), 228; cf. Jung (1937), 27f. Jung also indicates, according to the *Rosarium* (which he quotes), that "the stone is found 'if the investigation weighs upon the investigator'" and that the seeker should be "not arrogant but devout…'to fear God, who knows your nature'" (ibid., 25, 28; cf. *Artis* [1593:2], 243, 227).

[632] *Codex Rhenoviensis 172* (*Rhenoviensis*), Zentralbibliothek Zürich (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/zbz/Ms-Rh-0172/3r-7/0/Sequence-1170; http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/zbz/Ms-Rh-0172/5r-11/0/Sequence-1170); see also von Franz (1966), 100f., 116f; Jung (1937), 26f. Concerning such 'spiritual understanding,' the text exhorts readers to "be renewed in the spirit of your mind and assume the part of the (new) man; this is subtle understanding"—an allusion, as noted by Jung, to the Book of Ephesians 4:23 (von Franz, 116f.; *Rhenoviensis*, ibid.; *Biblia Sacra* [1592], 1071; Jones [1966], 2:334; Jung, ibid., 27). Jung comments that a portion of the *Codex Rhenoviensis* has been excised on account of its perceived heretical content, citing as evidence a prefatory remark to another abridged rendering of the *Aurora* in the *Artis auriferae* (ibid., 85f.). The *Artis* printer, Conrad Waldkirch, explains that the author of the *Aurora* "twisted [*contorsit*] the most holy mystery of the Incarnation and death of our Lord Christ (which is abominable) to [accord with] the mystery of the most profane stone [*lapis*]" (*Artis* [1593:1], 183). (On the different parts and versions of the *Aurora*, see von Franz [1966], 5f., 25-27.) Haaning has justifiably emphasized the importance of the Waldkirch remark in both establishing a basis for Jung's postulated *lapis*-Christ parallel (see below) and stimulating his later research on the *Aurora* (see Haaning [2014], 14ff.; also on Jung and the *Aurora*, Davis [2010]).

[633] *Musæum Hermeticum* (*Musæum*) (1678), 157; cf. Jung (1937), 26. "Redemption" indicates as the attributed author of the *Demonstratio* "Joh. A Mehrung," a misprint of Johannes a Mehung (Jean de Meun) (d. c. 1305), whose works included an installment of the *Roman de la Rose*.

[634] *Musæum* (1678), 519; cf. Jung (1937), 26.

[635] *Rhenoviensis* (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/zbz/Ms-Rh-0172/4r-9/0/Sequence-1170); von Franz (1966), 106f.; Jung (1937), 26.

word] by means of the internal light, John 1:5 (which GOD kindled in nature and in our hearts from the beginning)."[636] Apropos of such 'light,' Alexander states in the *Bibliotheca* that "there are two orders in this art, namely, seeing by the eye and understanding by the heart," categories that, in Jung's view, "correspond psychologically to conscious comprehension…based on sense data, and to the projection of unconscious contents."[637] He writes, relatedly, of "understanding" guided by "spirit," summarizing an instruction (with parenthetical remarks) in the *Theatrum Chemicum* by Christopher of Paris:

> Our understanding (*intellectus*) must convert this natural work of art, that is, chaos, with the "divine and glowing spirit" (*spiritu*), into the heavenly nature of the quintessence…In this chaos exists, *in potentia*, the named precious substance in the shape of a *massa confusa* of the unified elements, and therefore man must diligently apply his reason to it (*incumbere debet!*) so that he can convert our Heaven "into reality" (*ad actum*).[638]

7.4
Meditation and imagination in alchemy

Probing an alchemical orientation of mind more particularly, Jung offered a number of citations on the themes of meditation and imagination, positing through such activity the alchemists' engagement with archetypes of individuation. Concerning the first theme, Jung supplies the definition of *meditatio* found in Ruland's *Lexicon Alchemiæ*: "a meditation is declared as often as an internal conversation is held by one with another who is yet not to be seen. As, for example, with God when he himself will be called upon, or with [the conversant] himself, or with his own good angel."[639] "Ruland's definition," Jung concludes, "proves beyond all doubt that, when the alchemists speak of *meditari*, they in no way mean a mere contemplation, but rather an inner dialogue and hence a living relationship to the answering voice of the 'other' within us, that is, the unconscious."[640] He finds support for this conclusion in Philalethes' *Introitus apertus*, which declares as "remarkable" that "our stone, already wholly perfect…voluntarily humbles itself again, and [that] before any manual imposition a

[636] *Musæum* (1678), 107; *Biblia Sacra* (1592), 979; Jones (1966), 2:146; Jung (1937), 26.
[637] Mangetus (1702:2), 29; Jung (1937), 82f.
[638] Ibid., 69f.; cf. *Theatri Chemici* (1661), 228.
[639] Ruland (1612), 327; cf. Jung (1937), 31.
[640] Ibid. Referring to *Relations*, Jung identifies this inner dialogue further as "an essential part of the technique [*Technik*] of the confrontation [*Auseinandersetzung*] with the unconscious" (ibid.).

new volatility will be contemplated."[641] Identifying the 'meditation' of the object of alchemical operation (the stone) with the operant himself, Jung resolves that both, apparently, become "more spiritualized, volatilized or sublimated," the result, he claims, of a "dialogue with God."[642] On the theme of imagination, he cites, again, Ruland's *Lexicon*, which defines *imaginatio* as "the star in man, the celestial or supercelestial body"[643]—evidence, for Jung, that "fantasy processes linked to the *opus*" should be regarded not as "insubstantial phantoms" of fantasy, but as "something corporeal…a 'subtle body' of half-spiritual nature."[644] Also on the topic, he quotes the *Novum lumen chemicum* (*De Sulphure*), which communicates, by his reading, that the soul "stands in the place of God (*sui locum tenens seu vice Rex est*)…and imagines far higher things than the body of the world can conceive (*concipere*), and these are outside of nature, God's own secrets."[645] For Jung, the concept of the *imaginatio* represents "probably one of the most important, if not the most important, key to understanding the alchemical *opus*": a means of plumbing such 'secrets,' a method of actualizing

> those contents of the unconscious that are *extra naturam* [outside of nature], i.e., not given in our empirical world, thus an *a priori* of archetypal nature. The place or medium of the actualization is neither matter nor spirit, but that intermediate realm [*Zwischenreich*] of subtle actuality that can be expressed sufficiently only through the symbol.[646]

Concerning the contents of this *Zwischenreich*, Jung notes that they constitute, 'an *a priori* of archetypal nature,' propounding, more particularly, that "alchemistic procedure concerns itself with events the same as or, at least, very similar to those in the integration or individuation processes."[647] In affirmation of this finding, he quotes the *Symbola aureæ mensæ*, claiming Maier's averment that "chemistry incites the artifex to meditation on the good things of heaven [*meditatio caelestium bonorum*]," a meditation that, for Jung, "must be construed in the sense of a living dialectical relationship to certain dominants of the unconscious."[648] Concerning the manner in which this *Zwischenreich* is accessed by the alchemists, Jung postulates

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[641] *Musæum* (1678), 693; cf. Jung (1937), 32. On Philalethes, see Wilkinson (1964); ibid. (1973); Newman (1990); ibid. (1994).
[642] Jung (1937), 32. Through description of this 'humbling,' Jung appears to describe, in other words, the relation between to the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*.
[643] Ruland (1612), 264; cf. Jung (1937), 33.
[644] Ibid. As in "Dream Symbols," he cites, again, in "Redemption" the '*per veram imaginationem*' from the *Rosarium* (ibid., 25).
[645] Ibid., 36; cf. *Musæum* (1678), 617. The *Novum lumen chemicum* (*New Chemical Light*), the second part of which is entitled *De Sulphure* (*Concerning Sulphur*), is attributed by Waite and others to the Polish alchemist, Michael Sendivogius (1566-1636) (see Waite [1999], 2:79).
[646] Jung (1937), 35, 39.
[647] Ibid., 74.
[648] Ibid., 30, 32; cf. Maier (1617), 144.

combinations of chemical experimentation with practices resembling active imagination, asserting that "during the practical work, hallucinatory or visionary perceptions occurred that can be nothing other than projections of unconscious contents."[649] In support of this proposition, he offers two passages from the *Theatrum Chemicum*, the first from Theobaldus de Hoghelande's *De alchemiæ difficultatibus liber*, which states that different names were assigned to the stone "on account of the wonderful variety of figures that would appear in the work itself…just as you would be amazed at the shapes, among clouds or in fire, of animals, reptiles or trees."[650] The anonymous *Instructio de arbore solari* offers, according to Jung, "a somewhat different aspect of the relation of the psychical [realm] to the chemical work…This seems to point to active imagination, which quite properly sets (*promovere*) the process in motion"[651]: "I ask, behold with the eyes of the mind this little tree of the grain of wheat in all of its circumstances so that you can propagate the tree of the philosophers in the same manner and thus promote the growth of its moist root."[652]

7.5
Notions of 'redemption' in alchemy

7.5.1 Inspirited matter

In keeping with its title, Jung concentrated the discussions and arguments of his essay upon 'notions of redemption in alchemy,' recognizing thereby an historical narrative concerning a mercurial spirit, bound in matter, that through alchemical processing, may be extricated or 'redeemed'; once freed, such a spirit could be employed further in the interest of specified transmutative ends. In support of this narrative, Jung offered a number of alchemical quotations describing forms of inspirited matter. He writes, thus, of Zosimos, who, in a tract entitled "On Virtue and Interpretation," refers to "the very ancient Ostanes," an alchemical forebear who reportedly instructs: "go to the current of the Nile; you will find there a stone that has a spirit [πνευμα]. Take it, divide it in two, put your hand into the interior and pull out the heart: for its

[649] Ibid., 23f.
[650] *Theatrvm Chemicvm* (1602), 164f.; cf. Jung (1937), 23. As additional evidence of this sort, Jung cites also an eighteenth-century German-language treatise entitled *Abtala Jurain filii Jacob Juran, Hyle und Coahyl* (see ibid., 21ff.).
[651] Jung (1937), 24.
[652] *Theatri Chemici* (1661), 168; cf. Jung, ibid. (Jung mistakenly dates this volume of the *Theatrum* series to 1659.)

soul [ψυχή] is in its heart."[653] Jung cites also, in this regard, *De Sulphure*, which, in a discussion of the elements, teaches that "air is a complete element, in its nature most dignified: outside, light and invisible, inside, however, heavy, visible and fixed…For, in fact, confined within that [element] is the most heavenly Spirit, which, by witness of the Holy Scripture, was spread over the waters before the creation, and 'flew upon the wings of the winds'"[654] Additionally, Basilius Valentinus' *Practica cum duodecim clavibus* indicates that the earth contains a "life-giving force" or "spirit of life," and that "all herbs, trees, and roots, and all metals and minerals, receive their growth and nutriment from the spirit of the earth…which [itself] is fed by the stars."[655] In the *Arca arcani artificiosissimi*, moreover, Johannes Grasseus makes mention of the "lead of the philosophers, which they call the lead of the air, within which is the noble, white Dove. [The Dove] is called the salt of the metals. In [the salt] exists the magistery of the work."[656] Such accounts of inspirited matter indicate, for Jung, that the alchemists

> sought the wondrous stone that contained a pneumatic essence in order to win from it the substance that penetrates all bodies…This "spirit-substance [*Geiststoff*]" is like quicksilver that resides unseen within the ore, and that must first be expelled if one wants to acquire it *in substantia* [in its essence]…If one has this penetrating mercury, then one can "project" it upon other substances and convert them from the incomplete to the complete state.[657]

7.5.2 The *prima materia* and *nigredo* stages

In his alignment of the foregoing redemption narrative with the psychology of individuation, Jung identified inspirited matter, in its bound form, with the *prima materia* and *nigredo* stage of the work. With reference to this alignment, in general, he asserts that the alchemists projected into matter the

> impersonal, so-called collective archetypes…primarily the image of the spirit caught in the darkness of the world, i.e., the [state of] unredemption [*Unerlöstheit*] of a painfully felt condition of relative

[653] Berthelot et al. (1887-1888:2), 1:121f.; 2:129f.; cf. Jung (1937), 44. On the 'Zosimos' and other Greek tracts, see Taylor (1930); ibid. (1937); also Edwards (1992).
[654] *Musæum* (1678), 612f.; cf. Jung (1937), 37; *Biblia Sacra* (1592), 486 (LVB: Psalms 17:11); Jones (1966), 1:798 (KJV: Psalms 18:10).
[655] *Musæum* (1678), 403f.; cf. Jung (1937), 70. Jung identifies other accounts of 'celestially-fed' matter both by Maier and—extending beyond alchemy—by Ralph Waldo Emerson as well (see ibid., 70f.; Maier [1616], 6f.; Emerson [1903], 303ff.).
[656] *Theatri Chemici* (1661), 314; cf. Jung (1937), 70.
[657] Jung (1937), 45.

> unconsciousness, which is recognized in the mirror of matter and therefore also treated at the [level of] matter.[658]

More specifically, 'redemption,' in Jung's conception, entails the transformation of the *prima materia*, with which his outline of the alchemical process begins. "Carry[ing] the projection of the autonomous psychical content," the *prima materia*, he states, "invariably has the character of ubiquity, it is available always and everywhere, i.e., the projection can always and everywhere take place."[659] Such projection explained, according to Jung, the historical identification of the *prima materia* with a host of differing, seemingly irreconcilable substances.[660] He cites Ruland's *Lexicon*, which provides a litany of such ascriptions, including "vinegar," "lead," "magnesium carbonate," "burning water," "poison," "maiden's milk," "boys' urine," "spiritual blood," and "the microcosm."[661] Given this variety, Jung concludes that, objectively, the *prima materia* "could not be named, because the projection proceeds from the individual and is hence different in each case."[662] The *prima materia* represents, for Jung, a first, hidden state in the *opus*, a condition of unknowing psychical projection that "through the art [of alchemy]…can be transformed into the second, manifest state…namely, the *nigredo*, the blackness." [663] The *nigredo* stage signifies, by his reading, the recognition of the *prima materia* and its *massa confusa* of disordered elements, an acknowledgment, in other words, of *Unerlöstheit* and the 'painfully felt condition of relative unconsciousness.' Jung finds support for his stance through citations revealing "the difficulty and grief that stand at the beginning of the work."[664] In Maier's *Symbola aureæ mensæ*, for instance, Morienus Romanus remarks that "most narrow is the entrance to peace, and no one can go to it except through suffering of the soul."[665] In the same text, Maier himself attests that

> as indeed the chemists say: there is in chemistry a certain noble body, which is passed from master to master, at the start of which would be suffering with vinegar, in its end, though, true delight with joy. And I have supposed that it will happen thus to me, so that at first I would experience many adversities, endure many disappointments, and taste much sadness and tedium, in the end considering all things joyful and easy.[666]

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[658] Jung (1937), 103f.
[659] Ibid., 60. The ubiquity of the *prima materia* suggests, furthermore, the potential ubiquity of the *lapis* as well, as confirmed by Jung in Ripley's *Opera omnia chemica* (ibid., 61; Ripley [1649], 10).
[660] Jung, ibid.
[661] Ruland (1612), 322ff.; Jung, ibid.
[662] Jung (1937), 60.
[663] Ibid., 62.
[664] Ibid., 30.
[665] Maier (1617), 145; cf. Jung (1937), 29. As "adepts…conduct[ing] their work with an unusual concentration, indeed, with religious fervor," the alchemists, for Jung, are also "decided solitaries" (ibid., 30; 57f.).
[666] Maier (1617), 568; cf. Jung (1937), 29.

In the *Aurora consurgens*, finally, pseudo-Thomas provides, according to Jung,

> a citation that reads: "cleanse the horrible darknesses of our spirit [*horridas nostrae mentis purge tenebras*]," and cites as a parallel to it the early alchemist, Senior, where he speaks about *nigredo* and *dealbatio* [*et facit omne nigrum album et omne album rubeum*]. In this way, "darknesses of our spirit" fall unmistakably into one with the "*nigredo*," the "blackness," i.e., the author feels or experiences the opening stage of the alchemistic process as coincident or even identical with his psychological condition.[667]

7.5.3 The *coniunctio* stage

If the stage of the *nigredo* represents, for Jung, that 'painfully felt condition of relative unconsciousness,' an incipient awareness of the *prima materia* carrying the projection of 'autonomous psychical content,' then the stage of the *coniunctio* represents the confrontation with and continued integration of that content through the Self relation, a process symbolized, in his conception, by an alchemical interplay of opposites. Indeed, according to Jung, the alchemists apprehended the Self relation, if not through direct cognizance of the psyche, than through projected, oppositive pairs. He states that, for the alchemists, "every elementary form of existence also contains its inner opposite, [a doctrine] whereby they have long anticipated our psychological problem of the opposites," i.e., the reconciliation of the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich* by means of the transcendent function.[668] Such symbolical binaries include "dry-wet, hot-cold, male-female, sun-moon, gold-silver, mercury-sulphur…[and] physical-spiritual," the last of which he emphasizes, in particular, in his essay in illustration of his 'redemption' theme.[669]

7.5.4 *Physis* and *nous*

Jung understood this 'physical-spiritual' pair to encompass not only the aforementioned accounts of inspirited matter, but also the Gnostic binary of *physis* (φύσις) and *nous* (νους), which, in his estimation, precedes and prefigures such narratives of alchemical 'redemption.'

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[667] Ibid., 27; *Rhenoviensis* (see http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/zbz/Ms-Rh-0172/2r-5/0/Sequence-1170); von Franz (1966), 90f. The '*horridas*' passage derives from a Pentacostal hymn entitled "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia" by the Benedictine monk, Notker of Saint Gall (d. 912) (see ibid., 91; Odenheimer [1871], 201f.). The '*facit*' passage ("and he makes all that is black white and all that is white red") offers a paraphrase of a statement in *De Chemia*, a text attributed to the tenth-century alchemist, Senior Zadith (Muhammed ibn Umail) (see Senior [c. 1560], 68; von Franz [1966], 91). On Senior, see Holmyard, 102.

[668] Jung (1937), 37, 104. Concerning Jung's phenomenology of opposites, see, for example ibid. (1928:2), 62, 79, 154, 194, 248, 255.

[669] Ibid., 64; also 61.

In his explication of this pair, he draws upon a body of late antique, mystical writings as a likely influence upon Zosimos' thought, referencing, in particular, the "Ποιμάνδρης [Poimandres]" of Hermes Trismegistus.[670] As part of a cosmogonic narrative, the divine figure, Poimandres, discloses therein that

> *Nous* [mind] the Father of all…gave birth to *Anthropos* [άνθρωπον], a Being like Himself…[*Anthropos*] looked down through the structure of the heavens…and showed to downward-tending *Physis* [φύσει] the beautiful form of God. And *Physis*…smiled with insatiate love of *Anthropos*, showing the reflection of that most beautiful form [of God] in the water…And he, seeing this [reflection], loved it, and willed to dwell there…[*Physis*] wrapped him in her clasp, and they were mingled in one; for they were in love with one another.[671]

Extrapolating upon the narrative, Jung explains that, consequent to the perceived envelopment by *physis* of *anthropos*—that original, divine human and progeny of *nous*—humans, as his supposed descendants, experience *nous* only as an entity exterior to themselves, a projected "divine demon" of the unconscious.[672] Elucidating the character of *nous* in a different way, he cites, from the same body of Hermetic writings, a treatise entitled "Ὁ κρατήρ [The Mixing Bowl]," in which Hermes reveals that God

> filled a great mixing bowl with mind [*nous*], and sent it down to earth, appointing a herald whom he bid to proclaim to the hearts of men: "immerse yourself in this mixing bowl, if you can, recognizing for what purpose you have been made"…Now those who heeded the proclamation…got a share of *gnosis* [γνώσεως]; they received mind, and so became complete men.[673]

Such *nous* or *pneuma* (πνευμα) accordingly constitutes, for Jung, "an autonomous complex lead[ing] an independent existence in the psychical Non-Ego," an aspect of the Self reflecting the role of a "redeeming psychopomp" or "God-man," and exhibiting "both a higher consciousness and a pre-eminence over common humanity."[674] He claims further that, for Zosimos, such *nous* was projected into the matter (as an embodiment of *physis*) with which he

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[670] Concerning this so-called Corpus Hermeticum (including "Poimandres"), Jung draws upon the translation of Walter Scott (see Scott [1924], 114ff.), consulting as well the work of Reitzenstein, Wolfgang Schultz and Eduard Zeller (see, for example, Reitzenstein [1904], 50; Schultz [1910], 64; Zeller [1868] 23, 26).
[671] Scott (ibid.), 120-123 (trans. alt.); see also Copenhaver (1992), 3.
[672] Jung (1937), 49. Concerning the physis-nous pair, see also, for example, *CW:13*§138; *CW:14*§104. Concerning the Anthropos, considered by Jung as a projected Self symbol, see *CW:11*§276, *CW:13*§173.
[673] Scott (ibid.), 150f. (trans. alt); cf. Copenhaver (ibid.), 15f. Revealing a series of oppositive pairs, the text urges the embrace of the incorporeal over the corporeal, mind over body, and heaven over earth (see Scott [ibid.], 152ff.).
[674] Jung (1937), 47, 49. (*N.B.* psychopomp <Gk. ψυχοπομπός, conductor of souls [to the afterlife].)

worked: more particularly, into a kind of tincture or dyestuff (βαφειον), capable of producing not only real physical effects (as an agent of pigmentation), but, in the assumption of a 'psychopompic' role, real psychical effects as well.[675] Representative of alchemists more generally, Zosimos thus furnishes, for Jung, the oppositive interplay of *physis* and *nous*, elucidating, in turn, the *coniunctio* of the Self.

7.5.5 The interplay of opposites in the Self relation

Evident although not articulated in Jung's account, the alchemical symbolization of the Self relation through an interplay of opposites may be envisaged in various ways. One may note, first, that the conjunction of the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich* is renderable inversely, through a represented liberation from unawareness, a symbolization conveyed through the redemption narrative of matter-bound spirit—as applicable to the *physis-nous* pair. The redemption narrative, in this case, may be understood to disclose a kind of separation or extraction process, a stage not prominently featured in Jung's alchemical outline.[676] The relative inattention to this stage in his exposition may prove inappreciable, however, given that a drawing of spirit from matter, if signifying a 'separation' of archetypes from the unconscious, i.e., from a state of projection, may necessitate an effective (if not explicit) *coniunctio* with consciousness. Indeed, the Self relation is expressible also through this direct representation of the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*, the respective symbols of which betoken the *coniunctio* through their patent union. Jung remarks, in his elucidation of this type of symbolization, that "the uniting of opposites plays a decisive role in the alchemistic process," emphasizing this 'union of contradictory principles' in his alchemical outline.[677] He offers as examples the congress of the male Sun (*Sol*) and female Moon (*Luna*), as reflected in the *Tabula Smaragdina*, and also that of Thabritis and his sister, Beya, from the "Visio Arislei" (see below).[678] In light of the latter coupling, Jung notes that "the alchemists frequently represented the sinfulness of [an incestuous *coniunctio oppositorum* {conjunction of opposites}]," identifying the proscribed affinity between siblings with the "attraction" of the *Ich* by the "supremely fascinating unconscious content" of the *Nicht-Ich*.[679] The forbiddance of the union, for him, was emphasized by the alchemists as an expression of the potential danger posed by the *Nicht-Ich* to the *Ich*,

[675] Ibid., 47f.
[676] See, however, Jung (1937), 44, 100f.
[677] Jung (1937), 104.
[678] Concerning the *Sol-Luna* conjunction, see ibid., 72; also, in previous works, Jung (1936), 118; ibid. (1968 [1935]), 135.
[679] Jung (1937), 64f., 73.

> for it seems as if it were extinguishing itself…Because it concerns a diminution or extinction of consciousness…an *abaissement du niveau mental*…so the intentional or even wanton activation of this condition is a sacrilege or breach of the taboo whereupon the harshest penalties apply.[680]

Notably, Jung employs the *physis-nous* pair, in his exposition, within the context of both types of *coniunctio* representation. Concerning the inverse sort, Jung understands *nous* as the carrier of the 'highly fascinating, unconscious content,' to be liberated from the "embrace of *physis*."[681] Bespeaking the direct sort, however, he considers *nous* also as a carrier of consciousness, as seen in the union of Thabritis (*Ich*) and Beya (*Nicht-Ich*).[682]

7.5.6 Two stages of the *coniunctio* and the *rota* of the work

Discernible in Jung's descriptions of liberation and union are not only 'inverse' and 'direct' expressions of the psychological *coniunctio*, but also, potentially, two stages of that *coniunctio*—stages renderable, in fact, through his very employment of the word, "redemption" (*Erlösung*). In review of Jung's psycho-alchemical attributions, the *prima materia* signifies, by his reading, a dissociation of the individual psyche, without awareness, from archetypal content; the *nigredo* stage perpetuates this dissociation, but with a burgeoning cognizance of that state. To this schema may be added two additional stages of the *coniunctio*: the initial confrontation (*Auseinandersetzung*) of the *Ich* and the *Nicht-Ich*, from which may arise archetypal content; and the more protracted process of reconciliation, integration and individuation. The first stage, if encompassing the proposed 'direct' and 'inverse' expressions of the *coniunctio*, entails both a 'confrontation' with archetypal content and also the 'liberation' of such content from a latent or inertial state. To this stage may be ascribed Jung's use of 'redemption' to denote, more restrictedly, 'emancipation' or 'release.'[683] The second stage addresses the *coniunctio* not in the original interval of archetypal encounter and engagement, but in the presumably longer period of consolidation and synthesis. To this stage may be ascribed Jung's exercise of 'redemption' in the broader sense of 'reparation,' 'restoration,' or, indeed, 'process of making whole.'[684]

The continual 'redemption' process of the Self relation, that repeated confrontation with and ongoing integration of unconscious contents through an interplay of opposites, suggests a correspondence with the *circulatio* aspect of the *opus*, linked by Jung with the alchemical

[680] Ibid., 65f.
[681] Ibid., 73.
[682] Ibid., 68.
[683] See, for instance, ibid., 50, 57; also, analogous expressions of *Befreiung* (liberation): ibid., 46f., 62, 80, 98.
[684] See ibid., 50f., 96, 104, 106.

symbols of mercury and the dragon. As noted previously, Jung designated the cyclical dimension of alchemical procedure—its recurring 'solutions and coagulations, sublimations and separations'—as a '*circulatio*, *rotatio*, or *rota*.' He remarks that "the alchemists repeat again and again that the *opus* arises from one thing and returns again to the one, [and] so it is virtually a loop, like a dragon that bites itself in the tail."[685] He refers, namely, to the *ouroboros* (ουροβορός), the dragon that "devours himself," that "dies and is resurrected as the *lapis*."[686] To the *circulatio* and *ouroboros*, he adds the further association of Mercury, which "stands at the beginning and at the end of the work," and which, as remarked, 'plays its mysterious part' throughout the alchemical process.[687] "When the alchemist speaks of *mercurius*," Jung writes, "he outwardly means quicksilver, but inwardly the divine and world-creating spirit concealed in matter...He is metal yet still fluid, substance yet still spirit…a symbol that unites the opposites."[688]

7.5.7 Symbols of conjunction

Betokening a state of reconciliation between the *Ich* and the *Nicht-Ich*, the alchemical *coniunctio* of opposites, in Jung's description, produces a corresponding symbol of conjunction. For an elaboration of this "reconciling [*vereinigend*] symbol," he refers to *Psychological Types*, where, as seen, he first postulated the existence of the Self and corresponding *imago Dei*.[689] Alchemical depictions of such a symbol may be observed, by his reading, in representations of philosophical gold, the philosophers' stone, and the intermediary symbol of the *rebis* (<L. *res bina*, double thing), often portrayed as a winged hermaphrodite.[690] The *rebis* and other reconciling symbols are considered, by him, 'subtle bodies' (*corpora subtiles*) in the manner previously discussed (see above, 7.1).[691] More particularly, they stand as instantiations of the "transfigured resurrection body [*verklärten Auferstehungsleib*]," which

[685] Jung (1937), 43. Apropos of this 'loop,' Jung notes the common historical linkage of the *prima materia* with the *lapis* (ibid., 61f.).
[686] Ibid. "Redemption" offers an image of such a 'tail-eater' from the *Codex Marcianus*, likely reproduced from the aforementioned study of Berthelot (see plate facing ibid., 42; also Berthelot et al. [1887-1888:1], 128, 132). On the ouroboros more generally, see Sheppard (1962). As "probably the oldest figurative symbol of alchemy," the dragon is identified by Jung as a veritable monster (*monstrum*): "a symbol composed of the chthonian principle of the snake and air-principle of the bird" (ibid., 42).
[687] Ibid.
[688] Ibid., 43f. Jung identifies Mercury further both as *argentum vivum* or quicksilver—"the miraculous substance that expressed utterly …that which radiates and enlivens from within"—and as "the ancient god of revelation and psychopomp *par excellence*" (ibid.). Elsewhere, he couples the god, Mercury, both with Hermes Trismegistus and the Holy Ghost, who, he states, is "often depicted as a winged old man" (ibid., 71).
[689] Ibid., 104. See ibid. (1923), 234ff.
[690] Ibid., 18; also 98. Jung calls attention to the alchemical hermaphrodite in "Dream Symbols," linking it with the pictured "Ænigma Regis [Enigma of the King]" in the *Rosarium* (see *Artis* [1593:2], 359f.; Jung [1936], 57f., 118).
[691] Ibid., 99.

he compares to the "diamond body" of "Chinese alchemy."[692] Jung emphasizes, in "Redemption," the "numinous character" of such reconciling symbols, directing the reader, with regard to their potential quaternary manifestation, however, to "Dream Symbols," which elucidates, in his expression, the "quadratic space" of the soul.[693]

7.6
The "Vision of Arisleus"

7.6.1 Introduction: an ailing king

In illustration of his psychological understanding of alchemy, Jung offered in "Redemption" an extensive treatment of the so-called "Visio Arislei" ("Vision of Arisleus"), an alchemical fable in which its eponymous hero describes his efforts to help 'the king of the sea' (*rex marinus*) restore the abundance of his kingdom.[694] He attests that, for the alchemists, "the relation to the invisible powers of the psyche constituted the actual secret of the magistery," a secret to which they gave expression through the use of allegorical legend.[695] As "one of the oldest monuments of this genre, one that exerted a considerable influence on the later literature," he cites the "Visio Arislei," which "in its entire nature is a close relative to those visionary series known from the psychology of the unconscious."[696] As found in the *Turba Philosophorum*, Arisleus narrates his vision to an assembly of philosophers:

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[692] Ibid. Finding an affinity with this 'diamond body,' Jung cites the *Bibliotheca* on the philosophers' stone, which it characterizes, among other descriptives, as adamantine (*adamantinus*) (ibid.; Mangetus [1702:2], 527).
[693] Ibid., 67. In passing, Jung remarks elsewhere upon the "mandala-form" of an Assumption image in Reusner's *Pandora*, which depicts the Virgin Mary surrounded by symbols of the four Evangelists (ibid., 98; Reusner [1588], 253). Citing Zeller, Jung notes also that "following Pythagoras, the soul is a square" (Jung [1937], 67; Zeller [1868], 120). In his 1937 Terry lecture series, delivered at Yale University and entitled "Psychology and Religion," Jung offers this citation again, calling attention to another by the same author concerning the so-called Pythagorean oath (see Jung [1966], 120f.). According to Zeller, the oath celebrates "Pythagoras as the herald of the *tetraktys*, and this itself as the source and root of eternal nature" (Zeller [1856], 291). See Zhmud (2012), 301ff., 394ff.; also Dillon (2014), 254f.
[694] Jung draws chiefly upon the fable as found in the Arabic-derived *Turba Philosophorum* estimated to have been composed c. 900 (see Plessner [1954], 334). Jung cites its reproduction in the two-volume *Artis auriferae* (see *Artis* [1593:1], 146ff.). He also draws upon a somewhat different, abridged version of the story as found in the *Rosarium Philosophorum* (see ibid. [1593:2], 246). On the *Turba*, Jung relies as well upon the scholarship of the German historian of science and Semitic philologist, Julius Ruska (1867-1949) (see Ruska [1931]). As noted by Jung (citing Ruska), the narrative's eponymous subject, 'Arisleus' is a corruption (through Arabic translation) of 'Archelaus,' referencing Archelaus of Miletus (fl. 5th cent. BCE), pupil of Anaxagoras (see Jung [ibid.], 63; Ruska [1931], 23; also Zeller [1856], 713ff.). For an address of the "Visio," see Willard (2015).
[695] Ibid., 32f.
[696] Ibid., 33. As a modern visionary series, Jung refers to his 1933 Mann study (ibid., 74). As an historical visionary series analogous to the "Visio," he cites a Zosimos treatise entitled "Ζωσίμου του θείου περι αρετης [Zosimos the Divine concerning Excellence {*Areté*}]" (see ibid.; Berthelot et al. [1887-1888:2], 1:107ff.; 2:117ff.. *N.B.* In Jung's 1937 study of this work, *areté* is translated as "*Kunst* [art]" or *ars* (see Jung [1938], 16; also *CW:13*§86).

> I have seen myself and some from the assembly [of philosophers] riding to the seashore, and behold: the inhabitants are coupling with one another, and nothing is borne by them. They are propagating trees yet they are not bearing fruit, and they are planting and not anything whatsoever springs forth.[697]

Brought before the inhabitants' ruler, the "king of the sea," Arisleus proclaims:

> Lord! Although you would be king, you nevertheless rule badly, ordering, in fact, men to unite with men, understanding that men do not give birth. Generation, indeed, is from the uniting of man and woman, and true generation occurs only if connecting nature to nature, man to young woman, the fit to the fit, and [the pair] is properly united.[698]

For Jung, "the king is *exanimis*, i.e., lifeless" and "his land is barren," characteristics that signify a "concealed state…of latency and potentiality."[699] He reads "the darkness and depth-of-sea" as "the unconscious state of a content that is invisibly projected," a content dissociated from consciousness but that, nevertheless, "belongs to the totality (*Ganzheit*) of the personality."[700] From such dissociation arises, moreover, "an attraction…between consciousness and the projected content," an attraction disclosed in "the king's cry for help."[701] That Arisleus attends to the king reflects, for Jung, the alchemistic view that "consciousness should respond to this cry," initiating thereby "a descent into the dark world of the unconscious."[702]

7.6.2 A union and a death

Appealing to a *generatio* of opposites, Arisleus next advises the king to mate his son, Thabritis, and daughter, Beya, both of whom he has borne from his brain.[703] The regent, however, expresses doubt: "'Come!' says the king, 'can it be that man attracted his wife [in this

[697] *Artis* (1593:1), 146; cf. Jung (ibid.), 63.
[698] *Artis* (ibid.), 147.
[699] Jung, ibid.
[700] Ibid., 63f. Jung refers here to the Self, citing *Relations* (ibid., 64).
[701] Ibid. Jung's description of an '*exanimis*' king who cries (*clamat*) for help alludes, in fact, to a similar though distinct narrative from Maier's *Symbola*, wherein a king proclaims: "whoever will free me from the water and lead me back to dry land, this one I will bless with everlasting riches" (Maier [1617], 380; cf. Jung, ibid., 62f.). In his discussion of the *lapis*-Christ parallel (see below), Jung refers to a third tale of an aggrieved king, the so-called "Cantilena" of George Ripley (ibid., 94; Ripley [1649], 421ff.).
[702] Ibid. Referring to *Transformations*, Jung calls this 'descent' a "night sea journey [*Nachtmeerfahrt*]" and "κατάβασις εις αντρον [descent into the cave]" (see ibid.; also Jung [1916], 375, 399; *CW:15*§213).
[703] *Artis* (ibid.), 147f. Ruska indicates that the names, Thabritis and Beya, derive, respectively, from Arabic terms for sulphur and quicksilver (Ruska [1931], 324; Jung [ibid.], 63). Concerning the Mercury-Sulphur theory of alchemy, see Newman (2014); Principe (2013), 64f., 75ff.

way]?'"[704] But Arisleus rejoins: "our father, Adam, so ordered his sons, and if only you assent to this, King, you will be blessed, and they will beget for you kings and queens, many grandsons and granddaughters. And your son, Thabritis and his sister, Beya, will be made profitable for you, and if dead, will be brought to life again."[705] Thus persuaded, the king assents and the siblings are united; as foreshadowed by Arisleus, however, Thabritis immediately dies.[706] Jung identifies the brother-sister pair, as seen, with the confrontation by the *Ich* of the *Nicht-Ich*, the incestuousness of their union conveying the danger of a 'diminution or extinction of consciousness.' He characterizes the death of Thabritis both as the "completed descent of the spirit into matter," i.e., an absolute submersion of the *Ich* by the *Nicht-Ich*, and as the "punitive outcome" for such a 'descent.'[707]

Angered at the death of his son, the king imprisons Arisleus and his companions in a glass house, itself encased in two additional houses.[708] Arisleus then says to the king: "by what reason are you hastening to inflict punishment on us? At least surrender your daughter to us again, for, as it happens, she will be restoring life to your son, Thabritis."[709] Initially demurring, the king eventually agrees, immuring his daughter along with the philosophers. Arisleus recounts that "she stayed with us in prison for eighty days, and we remained in the darkness of waves and in the intense summer heat, and also in the perturbation of the sea, such as had never befallen us."[710] Reflecting upon this sequence, Jung comments that "the philosopher makes the journey to hell as a 'redeemer.' The 'concealed fire' is the inner opposite of the cold wetness of the sea. In the *visio*, [the fire] is an unmistakable heat of incubation [*Bruthitze*], which corresponds precisely to the condition of Self-incubation [*Selbst-bebrütung*] in the *meditatio*."[711] Recalling *Transformations*, he offers an additional comparison to the "hero myth," which renders this submersive condition as an "engulfment in the whale-(dragon-)belly."[712]

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[704] *Artis* (ibid.), 148.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid. Jung specifies other manifestations of the *coniunctio* as well (Jung [ibid.], 65), as seen in images of a king swallowing his son (*Musæum* [1678], 367) or a lion devouring a sun (*Artis* [1593:2], 366).
[707] Jung (1937), 64, 65. Apropos of Jung's alchemical outline, the Thabritis-Beya sequence reflects a *coniunctio* followed by a *mortificatio*.
[708] *Artis*, ibid.
[709] Ibid.
[710] Ibid.
[711] Jung (1937), 69. Jung draws a further comparison between this scene and Christ's *Höhlenfahrt* (ibid.).
[712] Ibid., 68. Jung notes the 'schizophrenic' outcome of the *Rosarium* version of the "Visio," in which Beya encloses Thabritis in her womb, where he is "broken up into indivisible parts" (*Artis* [1593:2], 246; Jung, ibid.).

7.6.3 The resurrected son

Concluding the "Visio," Arisleus describes the manner in which he and his companions were saved and Thabritis was brought to life: "then exhausted [after long being imprisoned], we saw you, master, in our sleep, and petitioned that you would bring us relief, sending your disciple, Harforetus, who is the originator of the nourishment. And now with that having been granted, we rejoiced, saying to the king: your son, who has been considered long-dead, is alive."[713] Drawing upon a more complete version of the "Visio" found in the *Codex Berolinensis*, Jung identifies the 'master' in the narrative as Pythagoras.[714] He surmises further that the 'nourishment' (*nutrimens*) of his disciple, Harforetus, constitutes the captives' needed 'relief,' linking this *nutrimens* with the fruit of a tree mentioned at the beginning of the "Visio."[715] Absent from the *Artis* versions but found in the codex, Pythagoras initially poses a request to Arisleus, in a manner that frames the latter's report:

> You write and have already written for posterity in what way this precious tree is propagated, the fruit of which is eaten by he who will never go hungry…Speak, therefore, about this [tree] just as you imagine, and put to us an intelligible pattern [*exemplum*] for posterity, by which they could manage [the tree]. Would that you not abandon he who has learned of this tree, [who] afterwards propagated it, to sadly die in distress.[716]

Thus contextualized, Jung discerns that "while Arisleus endured misery and Thabritis lay in the sleep of death, the tree has evidently grown and borne fruit."[717] Noting that the intervention of "the divine Pythagoras…transpires in dream," he underscores the "completely passive" role of Arisleus in the final redemption sequence: "the decisive action comes from the master who sends his messenger, presumably with the food of life."[718] Considered psychologically, the *Ich*, in this reading, relinquishes control, enabling an activation of the Self process: the intercession of one "who is absent and yet present," a symbolic "fourth [*Vierte*]" representing "the divine

[713] *Artis* (1593:1), 148f.
[714] Jung (1937), 75. Concerning this codex version, Jung consulted two works by Ruska, who offered its reproduction in a larger study of the *Turba* (Ruska [1931], 323ff.) as well as a German translation (ibid. [1930], 22ff.).
[715] Jung (1937), 75.
[716] Ruska (1931), 324f.; cf. ibid. (1930), 23; Jung, ibid.
[717] Jung (1937), 75f.
[718] Ibid., 76. Jung associates this food with the φάρμακον ζωής or 'drug of life,' which he identified previously with the Golden Flower and *lapis* symbols (ibid., 76f.). He associates the *nutrimens* further with a "species" requested by the king in Ripley's "Cantilena" (ibid., 94; Ripley [1649], 422).

presence, aid, the completion of the work."[719] If, in considering Jung's overall assessment of the "Visio," the "sick king who cannot procreate" symbolizes "the man who suffers from a condition of spiritual barrenness," the rejuvenated son represents such a man's spiritual rejuvenation through 'Self-incubation': a 'mating' of the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich* through which the 'precious tree' may grow.[720]

7.7
Forms of redemption in alchemy and Christianity

In connection with his consideration of 'notions of redemption in alchemy,' Jung addressed in his essay 'notions of redemption' in Christianity as well, finding in their relation important parallels and disjunctures. He notes that the *nous* or *pneuma* of Gnostic and later alchemical description "has only very seldom been attributed to the human personality," a major exception being the figure of Christ.[721] As both Son of Man and Son of God, Christ stands, for Jung, as a "manifestation of the divine νους," a psychopompic "God-man" who, through his "pneumatic conception," represents an "incarnation of the Logos."[722] Following the Christian narrative of salvation, "man assigns to himself the need for redemption," but "cedes the achievement of redemption to an autonomous divine figure," a "God-hero" through whom "the Godhead itself toils over its imperfect, suffering, living creation."[723] Although representing a unique historical event, the *opus supernaturale* of Christ's sacrifice, according to Church doctrine, "continually repeats itself in the *officium divinum* [divine service]," the sacrificial Mass through which the offerings of bread and wine are transubstantiated: transformed, respectively, into the body and blood (soul) of Christ.[724] Perceiving an accord with alchemical theory, Jung apprehends the Mass as a "*transmutatio* of the elements [bread and wine], which, from a natural, tainted, defective, material state, turn into a subtle body [Christ]."[725] This transformation entails,

[719] Ibid., 75. Concerning the 'fourth,' Jung associates the glass prison of the "Visio" with the 'fiery furnace' of the aforementioned Daniel vision, in this way introducing discussion of the quaternary; the "Visio," itself, however, lacks mention of quaternary themes.
[720] Ibid., 76f. Jung links the 'philosophical tree' of alchemical description with the ongoing process of the Self relation (see ibid., 24, 97f.), in accord with previous insights concerning the Golden Flower and his own 'Liverpool tree.' Such a 'spiritual rejuvenation' is represented, according to Jung, in an illustration from Lambsprinck's *De lapide philosophico*, which juxtaposes a crowned father and son who are mediated by a winged old man; the accompanying text reads: "this father and son are united into one, so that they abide together for eternity" (see *Musæum* [1678], 371; Jung [ibid.], 71).
[721] Ibid., 49.
[722] Ibid., 49. The 'pneumatic conception' refers, in the New Testament, to the impregnation of Mary "through the Holy Spirit" (Jones [1966], 2:16 [Matthew 1:18]).
[723] Ibid., 51f.
[724] Ibid., 53. The transformation of the Mass further suggests for Jung that "not man is in need of redemption but matter, in which the divine soul is bound up in a sleeping, enfettered state" (ibid., 57).
[725] Ibid., 55.

moreover, a *mortificatio* or "destruction of the offering," as well as a "*conjunctio* of the soul with the body," accomplished when, "after the transformation, a piece of the host is mixed with the wine."[726] While highlighting such parallels between Christian and alchemical forms of redemption, Jung draws attention to important differences as well. He considers, for example, the more comprehensive character of alchemical redemption, declaring that "the *descensus spiritus sancti* [descent of the sacred spirit] proceeds, in the Christian projection, only as far as the living body of the Chosen One; in alchemy, by contrast, the descent goes into the darkness of dead matter, the nether parts of which, according to the Neopythagorean view, are governed by evil."[727] He observes also that, in contrast with Christian salvation, which depends upon the action of an 'autonomous divine figure,' alchemical attainment hinges upon the achievement of the one-to-be-redeemed, noting in this case that "man assigns *himself* the duty of accomplishing the redemptive *opus*."[728] He cultivates this distinction thusly:

> The Christian earns for himself *ex opere operato* [from the work of {Christ's} operation] the fruits of grace. The alchemist, however, creates for himself *ex opere operantis* [from the work of the operant]…a "life remedy" (*pharmakon zoēs* [φάρμακον ζωής]), which seems to him either a thinly veiled substitute for the means of grace of the Church, or a completion of and parallel to the divine work of redemption, continued in man.[729]

Jung explains further that, as 'operant' of the redemptive process, the alchemist "stands in place of the Christ who offers himself in the sacrificial Mass," stressing, however, that he avoids "identify[ing] himself with Christ; on the contrary, the alchemy of the later periods parallelizes…the *lapis* with Christ."[730] In demonstration of this parallel, he provides, in his

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[726] Ibid. Jung calls the altered bread an elixir of immortality (φάρμακον αθανασίας), noting that Ambrose (339-397), bishop of Milan, identified it as a *medicina* (ibid., 55f.). Like the alchemical *opus*, the Mass entails for Jung a "healing of the soul ('*et sanabitur anima mea*')" and "*reformatio* of the body ('*et mirabilius reformasti*')," supplying excerpts from the Roman Catholic Liturgy of the Eucharist (ibid., 56; *Manual of Prayers* [1888], 129, 478).

[727] Ibid., 50. Citing Zeller, Jung comments further that such matter, if evil, is also of a feminine character (ibid.; Zeller [1868], 98f., 151f.).

[728] Ibid., 51 (emphasis added). Jung quotes Maier's precept that he "who labors through another's talent and through a hired hand will realize work contrary to the truth" (ibid., 57; Maier [1617], 336). Given this accord, Jung perceives alchemy and Christianity as two distinct, but interrelated spiritual movements in the Middle Ages (Jung [1937], 88, 102f.).

[729] Jung (ibid.), 104. In his analysis of the two types of redemption, Jung highlights, from the offertory of the Mass, the role of God as he who "miraculously created the dignity [*dignitas*] of human substance" and "deemed himself worthy to participate in our humanity" (ibid., 56; *Manual of Prayers* [1888], 129). As an endorsement of redemption *ex opere operantis*, Jung remarks that "if God is *dignatus* [worthy] to participate in human nature, so man may also deem himself worthy to partake of divine nature" (Jung, ibid.).

[730] Ibid., 77f.

essay, an extensive chronicle of alchemical works in which the symbols of Christ and the *lapis* are, by various means, aligned.[731]

7.8
Alchemy in a contemporary context

Of final consideration with regard to the "Redemption" essay, Jung addressed briefly the relevance of alchemy in the contemporary age. "In the present day," he writes, "the former talk concerning 'the error of alchemy' is not only somewhat antiquated, but has also become a sign of intellectual poverty. There are, in alchemy, very modern problems that reside, however, in another field than that of chemistry"—namely, the field of psychology.[732] In view of a post-alchemical mentality, he finds that, "in a certain sense, the old alchemists stood nearer to the psychical truth when they wanted to redeem the fiery spirit from the chemical elements and [when they] treated the *mysterium* as if it lay in the lap of dark and mute nature."[733] In their externalization of that *mysterium*, they apprehended, in other words, the actuality of the archetypes, even if projecting such patterns onto "the philosophical gold or the panacea or the miracle-stone."[734] More particularly, they projected the process of individuation: "the personality-forming, centralizing processes in the unconscious…life processes, which, from time immemorial, have provided the most significant impetus for symbol-formation on account of their numinous character."[735] Broadly conceived, alchemy, for Jung, contributes an episode "in a drama begun in remote antiquity that extends through all centuries into the distant future"—an historical drama distinguished by him as "an *aurora consurgens* [rising dawn]: the coming-to-consciousness [*Bewußtwerdung*] of humanity."[736]

Indeed, Jung considered consciousness as having advanced since the decline of alchemy, a *Bewußtwerdung* he found discernible in the symbolic representations of Goethe and Nietzsche. Concerning the former, he asserts that "alchemy achieved still a last summit and hence the historic turning-point in Goethe's *Faust*, which from beginning to end is imbued with

[731] See Jung (1937), 78-99. Jung intends his chronicle as a proof of the influence of alchemy, along with Christianity, upon the spiritual life of Western man (ibid., 102f.). In addition to providing a record of the *lapis*-Christ parallel (spanning the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries), he also offers a related history of the unicorn as Christ symbol (ibid., 71-73).
[732] Jung (1937), 35.
[733] Ibid., 107.
[734] Ibid., 110.
[735] Ibid.
[736] Ibid., 103.

alchemical trains of thought."[737] He highlights, particularly, the Paris-and-Helen scene, which "for the medieval alchemist…would have signified the mysterious *conjunctio* of Sol and Luna in the retort."[738] Faust, by contrast, seeks to possess Helen as his female counterpart, thereby recognizing the Paris-and-Helen pair as an unconscious projection; he thus

> draws the alchemistic *conjunctio* from the projection into the sphere of personal-psychological experience and hence into consciousness. This decisive step means nothing less than the resolution of the alchemical riddle and hence also the redemption of a hitherto unconscious part of the personality."[739]

In Jung's assessment, however, "every increment in consciousness harbors in itself…the danger of inflation," evidenced by Faust in his compulsion for superhuman status (*Übermenschentum*), as well as by the "*Übermenschen* [super-human]," Zarathustra.[740] Nietzsche's personage, according to "Redemption," embodies the "hubris of individual consciousness that…thrust[s] itself directly against the collective power of Christianity," creating in the process an imbalanced form of individualism.[741]

Thus aided by his elucidation of Faust and Zarathustra, Jung judged the modern psychological disposition to be characterized by an inflation of consciousness or overvaluation of the I. Inquiring into the definition of the soul (*Seele*) since the Enlightenment and spread of scientific rationalism, he resolves that it has become synonymous with consciousness: "soul was nowhere beyond the I…Thus the heretofore projected contents must henceforth appear as possessions, i.e., as shadowy fantasies of an I-consciousness."[742] Such an inflated consciousness, he remarks, is "invariably egocentric and only aware of its own presence…It is hypnotized by itself and therefore, also, cannot be argued with."[743] In its neglect of the archetypes, moreover, this type of consciousness becomes, in his view, susceptible to their influence: "inflation is, paradoxically, a becoming-unconscious of consciousness. This case occurs when the latter transfers to itself contents of the unconscious, and loses the faculty of discrimination, this *sine qua non* of all consciousness."[744] Jung attributes this dynamic to the cause and continuation of the Great War, a "war, over four years, of fantastic atrociousness" in which "European man

[737] Ibid., 105.
[738] Ibid.
[739] Ibid., 106.
[740] Ibid.
[741] Ibid.
[742] Ibid., 108.
[743] Ibid.
[744] Ibid., 108.

was possessed by something that robbed him of all volition."[745] Among those contributing to an overvaluation of the I, he counts "people who have the need to place a superconscious [*Überbewußtes*] by or, if possible, over the unconscious [*Unbewußtes*], [which] they can understand as never other than a subconscious [*Unterbewußtes*]."[746] More broadly, Jung perceives the contemporary Western age as one marked by a "powerless, perhaps fatally wounded Christianity" and a modern pair of opposites: "neurotic individualism" and personality-stifling "collectivism": "an accumulation of masses *tam ethice quam physice* [as much ethically {psychologically} as physically] that mock[s] everything that has come before."[747]

Jung concluded his "Redemption" essay with a petition regarding this modern condition, calling for an embrace of archetypal knowledge and experience. With reference to the inflation of the I, he claims that

> this possessed and unconscious condition will steadfastly continue until the European, one day, becomes "fearful of his godlikeness [*vor seiner Gottähnlichkeit bange*]." This transformation can only begin with individuals, since masses are blind beasts.[748]

Jung appeals, thus, to individuals to "realize that there are contents that, at the minimum, belong not to the I-personality, but are rather to be attributed to a psychical Non-ego."[749] He calls upon them to become like the figures of Philemon and Baucis, who, "when the world had become godless," offered refuge to "the gods."[750] "To this end," he adds (invoking not only symbols of alchemy, but other imaginal representations as well) "one has the useful and edifying patterns [*Vorbilder*] that poets and philosophers reveal to us, patterns or archetypes that one may, indeed, designate as remedies [*Heilmittel*] for people and times."[751] With reference to the aforementioned *corpora subtiles*, he submits that, in the contemporary age, a "turning" is taking place, in which "that intermediate realm is vitalizing itself anew and the physical and psychical are again mixed into an inseparable oneness."[752] At the close of his study, Jung reflects upon the individuation process as the subject of both psychology and alchemy:

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[745] Ibid., 108f.
[746] Ibid., 37. Jung likely refers here to Freud's structural theory of the psyche, which details an interrelation of the I (*Ich*), It (*Es*), and Over-I (*Über-Ich*) (see Freud, [1923]; ibid., *SE:XIX*, 1ff.).
[747] Ibid., 105, 107.
[748] Ibid., 109. The *Gottähnlichkeit* phrase is a quotation from *Faust* (see Goethe [1990] 206f.).
[749] Ibid.
[750] Ibid., 107. Enlisting the Ovidian tale of Philemon and Baucis, Jung suggests that 'divinity,' indeed, exists, contrary to Nietzsche's claim, but is only (phenomenologically) recognized through proper humility and devotion, as demonstrated by the Phrygian pair (ibid.).
[751] Ibid., 109.
[752] Ibid., 35.

> The scientific term, "individuation," in no way signifies that it deals with entirely known and elucidated facts…These processes are mysterious insofar as they present to the human mind riddles, the solution to which it will yet long and perhaps vainly strive for…It was not for nothing that alchemy characterized itself as "art [*Kunst*]," in the true sense that it concerns processes of formation [*Gestaltungsvorgänge*] that can only really be grasped in experience; intellectually [these processes] can only be labeled. Let us not forget that alchemy also coined the dictum: *Rumpite libros, ne corda vestra rumpantur* [rend the books, lest your hearts be rent].[753]

7.9
Jung's alchemical thought after "Redemption"

One may question if, following the composition of his Eranos essays of 1935 and 1936, Jung, in fact, 'rends the books'—both as objects of historical study and of his own personal creation. Indeed, he may be seen to cultivate the themes of those essays in a new corpus of scholarly writings and presentations, which, for their implicit and explicit ties to alchemical literature, may be outlined here in brief. Notable, first, is his 1937 lecture series entitled "Psychology and Religion," which addressed, among other topics, both comparative and clinical manifestations of the symbolic quaternary (here identified for the first time as the "quaternity [*Quaternität*]") offering as evidence the findings of his "Dream Symbols" case.[754] Noteworthy also is his continued use of the Eranos conference as a means of engaging and conveying research of psycho-alchemical import: in 1937, he delivered a presentation on Zosimos, exploring in detail the archetypal content of his visionary text[755]; in 1940, he continued his analysis of tertiary and quaternary themes, highlighting, in particular, representations of the Christian Trinity and Pythagorean tetrad[756]; in 1941, he examined the transformation symbolism of the Mass, comparing it with, among other motifs, analogous patterns in the Zosimos text[757]; lastly, in 1943, he tendered a survey of the Mercurius concept in alchemy, tracing its appearance, among other expressions, as both devil and psychopomp.[758] In addition to his Eranos presentations, Jung also delivered, in the winter of 1940-1941, a series of lectures on alchemy at the E.T.H., winnowing the psychological content of such texts as the *Rosarium Philosophorum*, *Theatrum*

[753] Ibid., 110f.
[754] See Jung (1966).
[755] See ibid. (1938).
[756] See ibid. (1942:4).
[757] See ibid. (1942:3).
[758] See ibid. (1943).

Chemicum, and *Musæum Hermeticum*.[759] In the fall of 1941, he presented two lectures on Paracelsus, the second of which expounded upon his subject's alchemical oeuvre.[760] Under the title, *Psychology and Alchemy*, Jung published, in 1944, expanded versions of his "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays, to which he added an introductory essay and a host of supplementary illustrations.[761] In 1945, he composed a clinical and comparative survey of the "philosophical tree," drawing in the process upon the alchemical writings of George Ripley, Petrus Bonus, and Gerhard Dorn.[762] In 1949, Jung delivered a lecture at the Psychological Club in Zurich on the topic of Faust and alchemy.[763] In his 1951 study, *Aion*, he offered a final outline of his archetypal phenomenology, which he sketched first in "Structure" and later expanded in *Relations* and "On the Archetypes"; he investigated, in particular, quaternary significations of the Self, advancing his earlier conception of a *lapis*-Christ parallel through, most saliently, the symbol of the fish.[764] In *Aion*, as in the foregoing works, Jung probed the concept of the *coniunctio*, which, as seen, he originally interrogated through patient testimony in "Dream Symbols" and through historical writings in "Redemption." As part of a long-running project upon this theme, one may note, finally, two additional works that may be rightly identified as the capstone of Jung's alchemical thought: *The Psychology of the Transference* and *Mysterium Coniunctionis*. Conceived in 1941 and drafted together by 1944, the texts elaborated upon the alchemical conjunction of opposites, both as clinically and historically framed.[765] *The Psychology of the Transference* (1946) emphasized the first of these perspectives, using images from the *Rosarium Philosophorum* to explicate clinically observable processes of the Self.[766] More exclusively comparative in its focus, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (3 volumes: 1955; 1956; 1957) considered, in various alchemical guises, symbolizations of opposites and their union, drawing in its exposition upon such texts as Mylius' *Philosophia reformata*, Dorn's *Speculativa philosophia*, Ripley's "Cantilena," and the *Aurora consurgens*.[767]

[759] See ibid. (1960).
[760] See ibid. (1942:2).
[761] See ibid. (1944).
[762] See ibid. (1954), pp. 351ff. Concerning Ripley, see Rampling (2012); on Bonus, see Crisciani (1973); on Dorn, see Willard (2012).
[763] Although unpublished, a typescript of the lecture is available in the Jung archive at the E.T.H. (see Ehlers [1993], 54; also *CW:18*§1692-1699 [lecture abstract]).
[764] See ibid. (1951).
[765] See *Memories*, 213; von Franz (1966), xiii; *CW:14*, v, xiii, xv.
[766] See Jung (1946:2).
[767] See ibid. (1955); ibid. (1956); ibid. (1957). Beyond the bounds of this study, the historicization of Jung's alchemical thought may aptly proceed through a continuation of the investigated chronology, as framed by two additional periods: Jung's alchemical thought as developed from 1937 through publication of *Psychology and Alchemy* in 1944, and its subsequent address in works on the *coniunctio*, namely, *The Psychology of the Transference* and *Mysterium Coniunctionis.*

7.10

In the manor house

One may recall Jung's 'manor house' dream that, by his later reckoning, 'condemned' him 'to study the whole of alchemy.' By his later recollection, he had found himself 'caught in the seventeenth century,' confined to the grounds of a manor-house estate. According to the report, Jung's dream subject remarks, "but what is there to do here? We'll be caught for years to come!" thereupon noting that "the thought came to me, however: afterwards, I'll get out again."[768] Considering Jung's enduring study of and commentary on alchemy—even after publication of *Mysterium Coniunctionis*—one may wonder if, in alignment with his dream subject, he perceived himself from those 'grounds' ever truly emancipated or discharged.[769]

[768] Protocols.
[769] Concerning Jung's commentary upon alchemy after *Mysterium*, see, for example, ibid. (1958).

Section III (*Coagulum*):
Contextualizations of Jung's alchemy

Chapter 8

Considerations of Jung's historiography

8.1
Jung's alchemical art

In a manner implicative of his own engagement with the subject, Jung characterized the alchemical enterprise at the close of his "Redemption" study as a kind of *Kunst* or art, an encounter with *Gestaltungsvorgänge* (processes of formation) and their symbols that he states, intellectual constructs notwithstanding, 'can only really be grasped in experience.' The task and challenge of the present work has been to elucidate the origins, influences, and components of *Jung's* alchemical art: to address, through the writing of his founding essays of 1935 and 1936, the manner in which elements of his psycho-alchemical theory burgeoned and blossomed, in the process seeking to unriddle the *mysterium coniungtionis* posed at the study's start. If the foregoing sections have offered a chronological analysis of such elements, the present, conclusory section renders their possible synthesis: a complementary *coagulum* to the *solutio* that has come before. Underscoring the singularity, coherence, and, indeed, imaginativeness of his alchemical approach, this final division upholds Jung as a creative contributor to the alchemical tradition, a noteworthy *artifex* of a kind of 'alchemy' in his own right.

8.2
General considerations of Jung's historiography

In the deliberation and discussion of this 'alchemy,' the elaboration and framing of Jung's psycho-alchemical art, this chapter considers the nature and limits of Jung's historiography as concerning both "Redemption" and "Dream Symbols," casting critical reflection upon the character and execution of Jung's historical approach. From his own perspective, Jung may be judged to ply in these writings not a history of patent though passing historical actors and

episodes—the content, conceivably, of more conventional accounts—but rather a hidden history of archetypal patterns, a less transient history of symbolic emanation and change, accessible to him not only through the exercise of a certain philological prowess and pluck, but, critically, through the application of a psychological expertise capable of fathoming the phylogeny of mind. Granting the existence and function of archetypes, such an approach allows Jung the transgression of established historiographic bounds, i.e., the comparison of historical actors remote in time, space, or occupational domain: the apposition, more particularly, of 'the alchemists' with each other throughout a delimited 'classical' age, as well as with those exceeding this category—a twentieth-century physicist, for example, or an ancient Taoist sage.[770] As seen, Jung readily incorporates the scholarship of other historians of alchemy, although typically through an embrace of their sourcework without further attendance to their scholarly views.[771] More often, with the help of von Franz, Jung directly consults the alchemical sources, themselves, which, one may judge, he references reliably, supplying competent translations where required. Following the maxim that 'one book opens another,' he examines, as seen, a plethora of such texts, the nature of this examination being divulged in his "Redemption" study: 'there are good and bad authors…Inferior writings are easy to recognize by their…insistence on the making of gold. Good books…by the…spiritual exertion [*geistige Bemühung*] of the author.'[772] Jung reveals in this way his emphasis upon those texts bespeaking a recognizable *geistige Bemühung*, neglecting by comparison alchemical texts with a too-exclusively chrysopoeic purport. Jung's selectiveness may be seen at the level of individual texts as well, his attention discernibly trained upon passages containing terms like *anima*, *meditatio*, and *imaginatio*, often to the expense of large swaths of alchemical prose.[773] As articulated by Jaffé, it was, however, 'not the thoughts of individual alchemists that were of importance for Jung's researches so much as the inexhaustible variety of their arcane images and descriptions…He would single out one or another according to its applicability to the theme he was interested in.' The context and coherence of individual texts were, in other words, largely sacrificed for a ventured archetypal history, the execution of which finds representation

[770] For problematizations of Jung's periodization of alchemical history and discussion of its ill-effects upon later historians, see Newman and Principe (1998), 35f., 64f.; Principe and Newman (2001), 407f.; see also, in this context, Tilton (2003), 1, 5, 32; Martinón-Torres (2011), 220ff.

[771] Such views could generally be dismissed by Jung considering their supposed ignorance and neglect of the psychology of the unconscious (for an exception regarding Waite, however, see Jung [1937], 79).

[772] Principe and Newman have justifiably highlighted the self-selectiveness of this historical pronouncement (see Principe and Newman [2001], 403, 406). Tilton has suggested that Jung's designation of 'bad' alchemical authors refers "merely to the existence of charlatanism in the alchemical corpus" (Tilton [2003], 13): an understandable reading given, if not the original German-language versions of the text, then the *Collected Works* translation (which alters the passage by omitting the single word, 'also') (see Jung [1937], 59; ibid. [1944], 430; *CW:12*§424).

[773] Such a selection process may be observed in Jung's use, for example, of the *Rosarium* and *De Sulphure*, as well as of texts by Philalethes, Ruland, and Theobaldus de Hoghelande.

through Hannah's remark that von Franz should 'go right through the volumes and pick out the bits that were symbolically interesting.'

The valuable 'bits' were transferred, as stated, to a series of notebooks, which may be regarded as the principal apparatus of Jung's own alchemical craft. Indeed, his archetypal history is disclosed in the manner in which he utilized these notebooks, a philological 'lexicon' compiled by Jung and von Franz. He writes, as if concerning these very notebooks, that 'every original alchemist assembles for himself a more or less individual edifice of thought consisting of the dicta of the philosophers and a combination of analogies of basic alchemical notions,' constructing through this 'a new nomenclature for the psychical changes that really fascinated him.' The notebooks, in fact, build upon the literary practices of the alchemical tradition itself, this 'lexicon' embodying a new kind of florilegium: the collection of 'dicta' advancing a *psycho*-alchemical craft.[774] Perhaps more vividly, the notebooks stand as the vessels or *vasa* for Jung's 'excerpta' and 'extracta,' which, 'denatured' through a process of historical decontextualization, he retains as conceptual 'distillates,' to be commixed and compounded in operations of his *amplificatio*, amalgamated and pressed in the engenderment of a psycho-alchemical discourse. Such a portrayal recalls Jaffé's comment that Jung's alchemical collection served as 'a mine of psychological insights.' It recalls, even more, the foregoing elucidation of Jung's *Transformations* methodology, that *lapis comparationis* by which historical data is mined in the production of a psycho-mythical 'gold.'

8.3
Physical and psychical aspects of the alchemical *opus*

Attention may be turned to more particular considerations regarding the character and constitution of Jung's psycho-alchemical claims. The first pertains to the nature and interrelation of physical and psychical activity among the alchemists, which, as theorized by Jung, suggest not only certain species of contrariety but also an important ambiguity redounding on the way in which his thesis may be validated or disproved. In "Redemption," Jung postulates, as seen, that 'the alchemistic process of the classical period…was an inherently chemical investigation into which blended unconscious psychical material by means of projection.' Notwithstanding this supposedly inherent chemical aspect of their enterprise, Jung

[774] Of Jung's late medieval and early modern forebears, Nummedal writes that "contemporary treatises, commentaries, alchemical poetry, and fragments of recipes promised new insights into alchemy…The process of collecting, assessing, comparing, and commenting on all of these texts engaged many an alchemist" (Nummedal [2011], 332). Concerning alchemical florilegia, see Principe (2013), 73f.

writes elsewhere that "the alchemist in fact and truth takes little interest in the purely chemical side [of his procedure], using this, indeed, only to devise," as mentioned, "a new nomenclature for the psychical changes that really fascinated him."[775] Presenting a different sort of discrepancy, Jung submits in "Dream Symbols" that the alchemists' unfamiliarity with chemical matter 'led to a projection of psychic material into the unintelligible chemical processes'; he asserts in "Redemption," however, that the alchemists 'knew what chemical processes were,' that they could distinguish between the 'physical' and the 'philosophical' in their undertaking. Exemplifying a further incongruity, Jung declares in "Redemption" that "it is, in my assessment, utterly hopeless [*aussichtslos*] to bring any kind of order to the unending chaos of discussed substances and procedures" of the alchemists, adding that the names of such substances "almost always could signify anything at all."[776] He states elsewhere, however, that vis-à-vis alchemical experimentation, "the matter was not entirely hopeless [*aussichtslos*], since, indeed, here and there some useful side-inventions emerged."[777] Such categories of contradictoriness may be summarized through the pronouncement that the alchemists were both interested and uninterested, familiar yet unfamiliar, hopeless though not so hopeless, in the investigation of their chemical art. Such contrariety could at least partly be resolved through a more nuanced examination than a study of 'the alchemists' allows. Jung, however, was keen to preserve an alchemical group identity given their supposed revelation of a *collective* psychological discourse. One may judge, further, that the inconsistency of such statements as the above contributes to a more general ambiguity regarding the relationship, as seen by Jung, between the alchemists' physical and psychical forms of activity. As, perhaps, an attempted clarification of this point, Jung states in "Redemption" that

> as a precursor of chemistry, alchemy had a sufficient *raison d'être*…The decisive point, however, is that it concerned itself not at all [*gar nicht*] or at least not in large measure with chemical experiments, but presumably with something like psychical processes that were expressed in pseudo-chemical language.[778]

[775] Jung (1937), 40f.
[776] Ibid., 39f.
[777] Ibid., 17. Jung alights on one of these in his brief mention of alchemical tinctures in connection with Zosimos (ibid., 46).
[778] Jung (1937), 17. In Stanley Dell's 1940 translation, this passage was inaccurately rendered as follows: "The decisive point is, however, that we are called upon to deal, not with chemical experimentations as such, but with something resembling psychic processes expressed in pseudo-chemical language" (ibid. [1948], 210). Principe and Newman cited this English-language version in their 2001 essay, for which Tilton offered a German-language corrective (see Principe and Newman [2001], 402; Tilton [2003], 12). Tilton cites, specifically, Jung's 1944 revision of the passage in *Psychologie und Alchemie* (a somewhat altered and less equivocal restatement of the original): "The alchemical *opus* concerns itself in large measure not only with chemical experiments alone, but also with something like psychical processes that are expressed in pseudo-chemical language" (Jung, [1944], 333). (Incidentally, Newman's earlier study of Philalethes draws upon, not the Dell version, but the English-

His judgment aside that alchemy concerned itself 'not at all' with chemical procedure, Jung's thesis presents what he calls, in alchemy, two "heterogeneous currents [*Strömungen*] run[ning] side-by-side [*nebeneinander*]."[779] Apart from its inherent unclarity, such an ambiguous construction disallows a refutation of Jung's thesis through a demonstration of a materially viable formula in any given alchemical text: if a stated alchemical sequence *cannot* be realized through physical processes and products, it may be operative on the 'psychical track' instead; if such a sequence *can* be demonstrated through physical processes and products, it may be operative on the 'psychical track' *as well*.[780] One may note additionally on the topic of supposed physical and psychical dimensions of the alchemical *opus* that Jung devotes considerable attention to the potential influence of the latter category of activity upon the former while neglecting its complement: that the patterning of mental impressions and their textual representations could arise through the very physical properties of substances and operations described in alchemical texts, e.g., that oppositive characteristics of Mercury could originate from the seemingly contradictory properties of quicksilver, a liquid metal both wet and dry; that the *mortificatio* of Thabritis could correspond to the dissolution of a chemical compound, precipitated or 'resurrected' given 'perturbation' and 'heat'; or that Sol and Luna could epitomize reactive chemical substances, the *coniunctio* of which produces a volatized or 'winged' compound, a 'double thing' reflective of both its 'parents.'[781] In the execution of his thesis, Jung reverses the conventional interpretative logic that alchemical symbols track real

language translation of the version cited by Tilton [Newman {1996}, 160].) For a retracing of this scholarly narrative, see Hanegraaff (2012), 290f.

[779] Ibid., 18. Among historians of alchemy assessing Jung's work, both Heym and Dobbs, for example, lend credence to his hypothesis of 'heterogeneous currents running side-by-side,' the latter reasoning, further, that "a rational and too-detailed knowledge of matter precludes its [psychological] use…as then matter has its own structure…Knowledge of matter had to be kept vague" (see Dobbs [1973], 161; Heym [1948], 64f.; ibid. [1957], 47; also Merkur [1993], 66). In 1996, Newman offered, in effect, a response and challenge to Dobbs's thought, demonstrating, through the example of Philalethes, that 'knowledge of matter,' as shown by at least certain alchemical practitioners, could be described as anything but 'vague': that, indeed, certain alchemical formulas, encoded in *Decknamen*, could produce real material results (see Newman [1996]; also section below on Jung's use of Philalethes' *Introitus apertus*). Tilton later recognized this rationale, citing Newman's statement with Principe that "if the images used in alchemical texts are in fact irruptions of the unconscious, then there would be no possibility of 'working backward' from them to decipher such images into actual, valid laboratory practice" (Principe and Newman [2001], 406; Tilton [2003], 14). As concerning Jung, however—and indeed, Maier, Tilton's own alchemical subject—he rejected this reasoning as disallowing a perceived multivalence of alchemical symbols, of eschewing, effectually, Jung's proposal of 'heterogeneous currents running side-by-side' (ibid., 14f., 34). (As a means of showing that Jung was not opposed to the *Decknamen* hypothesis, Tilton cites his use of the scholarship of Julius Ruska, an early proponent of the theory [see ibid., 13; *GW:14:2*§345; see also *GW:13*§103; Ruska {1931}].)

[780] As a very basic illustration of the second scenario, while recognizing that the *nigredo* stage of the *opus* entailed a combustive carbonization process that could turn a substance black, Jung also ascribed to the stage psychical significations encompassing themes of sacrifice, resignation, and grief. For a depiction in this latter way of the *nigredo* phase, apropos of Maier, see Tilton (2003), 67, 184, 234. On the modern recreation of historical alchemical processes, see Principe (2013), 137ff.; also Cobb et al. (2014).

[781] One may also consider, in this vein, the dendritic chemical growths, described (and reproduced) by Principe, in connection with the 'philosophical tree' (see Principe [2013], 158ff.).

(though elusive) chemical operations, claiming that such physical operations are guided by psychical, symbolic 'events.'[782]

8.4
Alchemical projection and active imagination

A related topic of potential controversy and concern proceeds from Jung's comments on the intentionality of the alchemists' psychical activity, particularly those regarding his concepts of projection and active imagination.[783] Jung is explicit in his claim that alchemy entails the merger of conscious and unconscious minds, as seen in his first statement on the topic in *Relations*, where he describes the 'secret' of alchemy as 'the transcendent function…the mixture and binding of noble and base components…of the conscious and the unconscious.' Less clear, perhaps, is the manner in which this merger occurs, and with what degree of deliberation. Jung postulates, first, unwitting forms of the alchemists' confrontation with the unconscious, most prominently a kind of experimental projection phenomenon.[784] In "Dream Symbols," he attests that the alchemists' 'unfamiliarity…with chemical matter led to a projection of psychic material into the unintelligible chemical processes,' elaborating in "Redemption," as seen, that

> during the execution of the chemical experiment the laboratory worker had certain psychical experiences that appeared to him, rather, as a particular behavior of the chemical process…He experienced his projection as a characteristic of matter. What in reality he experienced, however, was his unconscious.[785]

As an elucidation of this theory, Jung states in the same essay that "projection is a preconscious process that operates only so long as it is unconscious," contending elsewhere that "strictly speaking, projection is never caused; it happens; it is encountered."[786] Such comments notwithstanding, Jung also compares the alchemists' activity with his more intentional notion of active imagination, as seen in "Redemption":

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[782] Again, Jung's consideration of 'the alchemists' as a block group may hamper his argument in this regard, the influence of symbolic over material events applying more to the later 'speculative' tradition of alchemy than to earlier, more experimental forms.
[783] For a partial address of this topic, see Tilton (2003), 11f.; also Principe and Newman (2001), 402.
[784] Such a confrontation may arise for the alchemists also, according to Jung, through the involuntary means of (non-experimental) vision and dream phenomena.
[785] Jung (1937), 20.
[786] Ibid., 47; 19.

> Insofar as the practical, chemical activity was never entirely pure, but in and through itself also expressing unconscious content, it was likewise a psychical activity that can best be compared with so-called active imagination, an example of which I have given you in my Eranos lecture of 1934.[787]

In that lecture, "On the Archetypes," Jung describes, as previously indicated, a "temporary abdication of the subject-state," a lowering of the consciousness-threshold to permit the flow of unconscious content, inducing, thereby, a "voluntarily initiated psychosis."[788] Jung finds support for this conception of alchemical activity in quotations regarding imagination, e.g., the *Rosarium* prescription to imagine 'by means of true imagination and not fantastical imagination,' first cited in "Dream Symbols"; as well as those regarding meditation, e.g., Ruland's definition of *meditatio* as 'an internal conversation…held by one with another who is yet not to be seen'—evidence, for Jung, that 'when the alchemists speak of *meditari*, they in no way mean a mere contemplation, but rather an inner dialogue.' One may judge, then, that though representative of disparate degrees of intentionality among the alchemists, Jung's projection and active imagination theses find commensurate confirmation in the foregoing works. If not properly reconciled, these theses are nevertheless juxtaposed in his "Redemption" study, illustrated, respectively, through the Theobaldus and *Instructio* examples from the *Theatrum Chemicum*. In the first, the author writes that the *lapis* assumed different appellations 'on account of the wonderful variety of figures that would appear in the work itself'—figures understood by Jung as 'hallucinatory or visionary perceptions…projections of unconscious contents.' The *Instructio*, by contrast, counsels that one should 'behold with the eyes of the mind this little tree of the grain of wheat…so that you can propagate the tree of the philosophers'—proof, for Jung, of 'active imagination, which quite properly sets…the process in motion.'

8.5
Considerations of alchemical visualization

One may observe, further, that although Jung extends intentionality to the alchemists to a degree by which one 'sets the process in motion'—embodying an act not dissimilar to his own *Red Book* techniques[789]—he appears to foreclose the prospect of active visualization among

[787] Ibid., 74.
[788] Ibid. (1935), 224.
[789] See, for instance, Jung (2012:2), 37.

the alchemists (as suggested through the *Instructio* example), which extends their intentionality not only to the process, but to the content of imagination as well. Such content could derive, of course, from the 'Hermetic philosophy' of which, for him, alchemical theory consists—content underwritten, as he remarks, by a 'doctrine of correspondence' between the art and the artifex. But Jung apparently invokes such a doctrine only in order to dismiss it, considering its potential role merely as a 'rationalization of the projection experience':

> The alchemist practices his art not because he believes in correspondence on theoretical grounds, but rather he has a theory of correspondences because he experiences the presence of the idea in *physis*. I am therefore inclined to suppose that the real root of alchemy is less to be sought in transmitted philosophical views than in certain projection experiences of the individual researcher.[790]

As in his handling of physical-psychical interactions, Jung offers the logical reversal of a conventional historical view: the outlook, namely, that European alchemists may be understood to acquire, accommodate, and apply tenets of a centuries-long Hermetic tradition, adopting and adapting such tradition in continually new and innovative ways. (Jung, himself, of course, may be regarded as 'adopting and adapting' such tradition in this way.) Without denying the existence of Hermetic philosophy, Jung claims that the fruits of alchemical practice, and, by extension, the patterns of alchemical philosophy, are generated chiefly through individual projection experiences, accounting for the alignment between received tradition and a researcher's specific results primarily through the mediation of an unconscious collective psyche.[791] Jung's favoring of the alchemists' spontaneous 'experience' over the possibility of an instrumentalized 'belief'—his endorsement, accordingly, of a volitional process allowing for, at most, 'active imagination,' if not extending to 'active visualization' as well—may be traced to the generation and implementation of his *Transformations* model of historical consciousness, by which the agency of the alchemists is found compromised, their consciousness impeded through unconscious projection.[792]

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[790] Jung (1937), 20. *Pace* Jung's construction, one may note the potentially non-exclusive and, indeed, synergistic relationship between such 'experience' and 'belief': informed by certain 'philosophical views,' the alchemists could have plausibly generated spontaneous imagery based on those views (see below).

[791] Jung writes that "there seems to have been very little direct tradition" among the alchemists, but admits to a literary tradition through his comment that "the manner in which they quote one another indicates an amazing accordance in principles" (Jung [1937], 58).

[792] One may note that although the alchemists are not granted full agency in Jung's model of consciousness, they are, nevertheless, thought to rationalize their 'projection experiences' through mention of a 'doctrine of correspondence.' In "Redemption," Jung alludes to this model through his identification of the 'coming-to-consciousness' or 'rising dawn' of humanity.

8.6

Characterological prescriptions and religiosity

As seen, Jung devotes considerable attention in his "Redemption" study to characterological prescriptions and instructions commending a certain orientation of mind, especially as concerning a certain religiosity. Such exegesis effectively highlights the trans-material aspects of the *opus*, implicating certain features of the artifex himself. Concerning more general characteristics, Jung cites, for example, the advice of Morienus Romanus on the attainment of the *lapis* 'through patience and humility and through a fixed and most perfect love,' as well as Geber's injunction to be 'firm in purpose and constant, patient, gentle, long-suffering and temperate.' He offers also more explicit passages detailing an especial orientation of mind, e.g., Johannes a Mehung's call for 'a free and empty mind,' and Thomas Norton's 'rule' that the alchemical aspirant 'observe if his mind accords with the work.' Such statements concerning the artifex seem in no way unbefitting considering, in a strict materialist sense, the arduous and quizzical nature of the alchemical enterprise; indeed, they could tenably have been communicated by later, more chemically-oriented thinkers as well—the German chemist and physician, Andreas Libavius (c.1540-1616), for example, or the British natural philosopher, Robert Boyle (1627-1691).

Jung draws particular attention to the religiosity of the alchemists, as exemplified in his citation of the *Aurora* that 'you cannot have this knowledge unless your mind is purified by God.' One may judge that through such quotations, Jung successfully highlights the patently Christian proclivities and habitudes of his historical subjects. The religiosity of the alchemists is, indeed, rendered manifest through passages presented in "Redemption," some of which draw expressly upon Christian scriptural and liturgical sources. The *Aquarium sapientum*, for example, cites directly the Book of John, exhorting, in accordance with that Gospel, the recognition of the Holy Word 'by means of the internal light,' kindled by God 'in nature and in our hearts from the beginning.' Additionally, in its urging to 'cleanse the horrible darknesses of our spirit,' the *Aurora* alludes to a Pentacostal hymn entitled "Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia." In the same text is referenced the Book of Ephesians, with the entreaty to 'be renewed in the spirit of your mind and assume the part of the new man.'[793] In his interpretation of such passages, Jung may be understood to psychologize not strictly alchemical principles and practices, but Christian doctrines and devotional discourse.

[793] In the Letter to the Ephesians, Paul petitions his readers to enter into a life with Christ, entreating them to "put on the new self that has been created in God's way, in the goodness and holiness of truth" (see Jones [1966], 2:334; cf. von Franz [1966], 116f.).

8.7
Psycho-alchemical equations

In authorial operations more propositional than confirmatory, Jung may be observed, over the course of his "Redemption" study, to establish a series of associations that actively equilibrate historical findings and contemporary constructs of psychological principle and practice. In the interrogation of these 'equations,' one may rightly question the degree to which the associated factors maintain an inherent affinity and the degree to which their recognized parity is achieved through Jung's own interpretative decree. Among the more persuasive comparisons drawn in the essay may be counted his suggestive coupling of active imagination with Ruland's *meditatio* definition: 'an internal conversation…held by one with another who is yet not to be seen.' For Jung, the definition discloses an 'inner dialogue' and 'living relationship' to the unconscious, as supported by the author's characterization of *imaginatio*. One may nevertheless question the intended scriptedness of Ruland's 'conversation,' as previously addressed, and the extent to which it obtains for 'the alchemists' as a whole. Jung proposes an equation also between the *prima materia* and projection of autonomous psychical content,' concluding, in view again of Ruland's text, that the first matter 'could not be named, because the projection proceeds from the individual and is hence different in each case.' Such an explanation may be cast, however, as, on the one hand, gratuitous, given the veritable ignorance and confusion concerning what could be considered alchemically 'prime,' and, on the other hand, facile, disregarding the potential variety of transformations, and thus the assortment of starting substances, that 'the alchemists' were trying to effect. Concerning the *nigredo* stage of the *opus*, Maier's employment of a material substance in description of a mental state is not to be overlooked: that 'suffering with vinegar' finds comparison, in his phrasing, with 'many adversities…many disappointments and…much sadness and tedium.' Jung suggests, however, a perhaps dubious equality between the 'suffering' of such 'disappointments' and 'tedium' and the suffering occasioned by an *Auseinandersetzung* with the unconscious. In still another parallelization, Jung discloses the 'two orders' of the alchemical art, as expressed in the *Bibliotheca*: 'seeing by the eye and understanding by the heart,' aligning the latter, without further documentary justification, with 'the projection of unconscious contents.' Similarly, he equilibrates Maier's 'meditation on the good things of heaven' with, in Jung's phrasing, 'a living dialectical relationship to certain dominants of the unconscious.' Through such equations, Jung may be seen to mold historical data in conformation with identified psychical forms, transforming alchemical passages with the use of his comparative 'stone.'

8.8

Alchemical misrepresentations

One may heed that, by the very principle and process of his archetypal history, Jung decontextualizes the symbolic content of any given historical text, in numerous cases conspicuously misrepresenting such content given its original function and frame. In his elucidation of the psychological significance of the *nigredo* stage, for example, Jung adduces propinquant quotations in the *Aurora* of a Senior passage alluding to such 'blackness' alongside the "Spiritus Sancti" hymn that reads, 'cleanse the horrible darknesses of our spirit,' concluding that pseudo-Thomas thus 'feels or experiences the opening stage of the alchemistic process as coincident or even identical with his psychological condition' (see above, 7.5.2). Jung fails to indicate, however, the number of other quotations in the passage, obscuring, more importantly, the author's intention, not to uncover the *nigredo* (or any other) stage of the *opus* as such, but to elucidate the sevenfold virtues of the Holy Spirit, whose "operation on earth" is evidenced both alchemically, as through the Senior citation ("he makes all that is black white"), and also religiously, as through the "Spiritus Sancti" hymn ("he takes away all darknesses from the body, of which the hymn sings: cleanse the horrible darknesses of our spirit, enkindle a light in our senses").[794] In another instance, Jung cites Philalethes' *Introitus apertus* as an historical corroboration of his notion of the *meditation*, claiming that the 'meditation' of a substance in a described alchemical operation entails the 'spiritualization' of the alchemical operant himself (7.4). Relying solely upon Jung's exposition, a reader may fail to appreciate, however, the strictly materialist focus of the *Introitus apertus*, which, in the author's own words, discloses "real experiments that I have seen, done, and gotten to know, which an adept will readily deduce from these lines."[795] In the section from which Jung cites, Philalethes describes the transformation of the *lapis* as it progresses under the 'regimen' of eight heavenly bodies, particularly that of Venus, in which the "compound," with the application of a "gentle heat," will "spontaneously liquefy itself and begin to swell"—in this way 'contemplating a new volatility.'[796] With evident religiosity, Philalethes remarks further that, "by God's decree," the compound "will be endowed with a spirit, which will fly up, carrying the stone with it, and will produce new colors, especially a Venus-green, which will endure for a long time."[797] Jung excludes from his exposition Philalethes' rich experimental discourse, actively altering, in fact,

[794] Von Franz [1966], 90f. (trans. alt.). The larger passage also makes use of other religious texts, including the Book of Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah, as well as a Roman Breviary.
[795] *Musæum* (1678), 651.
[796] Ibid., 693 (Ch. XXVIII).
[797] Ibid.

the idiomatic expression, 'by God's decree,' into an admission of a Self-like 'dialogue with God.' As another instance of textual misrepresentation, attention may be turned to Jung's *Rosarium* quotation concerning 'salt and its solution,' which, in a studied reading of the original Latin (verified in two additional versions of the passage), reveals, in his view, an emphasis not upon salt, but upon *mens*, *Geist*, or mind as 'the most distinguished and most concealed secret of all the ancient philosophers' (7.3). In the interest, however, of divulging the potential psychical content of the passage, Jung's exegesis obscures its more general purport, which refers not to mind, but, indeed, to salt:

> The Philosopher: The salt of metal offers release of the Mercury in pure water under dung. And that mixture being coagulated will be a perfect medicine…the whole secret is in ordinary salt [that is] prepared…Who therefore knows the salt and its solution knows the concealed secret of the ancient wise ones.[798]

In a final example of such misrepresentation, Jung writes in "Redemption" upon the "imaginative ability of the soul," attesting that, as stated in *De Sulphure*, the soul 'imagines…things…outside of nature, God's own secrets,' suggesting further an equivalence between such 'things' and the archetypes of the unconscious (7.4).[799] The *De Sulphure* author, however, writes divergently of a "rational soul," which "differentiates man from the other animals and makes him like a god."[800] He cogitates, indeed, upon knowledge concerning "heavenly things," but as comprising natural-philosophical principles of the visible world, the "philosophers," in his view, apprehending—in a Neoplatonic fashion—such principles reflected "in the light of nature as if in a mirror":

> To all philosophers [heavenly things] are manifest; indeed, the incomprehensible wisdom has instilled itself in [the philosophers] that all things are created according to the pattern of nature, and that, from those [heavenly] secret things, nature manages to bring itself to light again, and its works besides; and that nothing takes place on earth if not by the pattern of the heavenly monarchy, which is rendered from the various offices of angels…The Most High Creator wished to make known to

[798] *Artis* (1593:2), 244. One may note that the pronoun, *ipsa*, upon which Jung concentrates, may conceivably refer back not to *mens*, but to *solutio*, the other feminine noun in the passage.
[799] Jung (1937), 36.
[800] *Musæum* (1678), 615; cf. Sandivogius (1650), 100ff. This 'rational soul' is constituted of elementary fire, the discussion of which (along with discussions of the three other elements) forms the context of the passage. Such a soul is informed by "life-giving reasoning and understanding"; it is, moreover, "infused into [man's] vital spirit by God, by means of which, after the creation of all things, man is brought into being as a small world or microcosm" (*Musæum*, ibid.).

man all natural things; he therefore revealed to us that celestial things themselves were naturally made, from which his absolute and incomprehensible power and wisdom might be better known.[801]

8.9
The problem of multiple interpretations

While minding such semantic *disjunctures* between alchemical source materials and Jung's representations thereof, one may rightly judge that a more formidable challenge to his psycho-alchemical thesis lies, in fact, with the potentially limitless number of interpretative *conjunctures* that could supplement Jung's own. As addressed previously, his suggestion of two 'heterogeneous currents running side-by-side' in alchemy removes a means of invalidating his approach: a physicalist interpretation of a given alchemical passage may be achieved without impacting upon the veracity of a complementary psychodynamic claim.[802] This interpretative logic not only disallows a refutation of Jung's own thesis, as seen, but also conduces toward the introduction of additional theses, 'heterogeneous currents' running on yet further parallel tracks. Such a compounding of theses may, in fact, be observed in *Problems of Mysticism and Its Symbolism*, in which Silberer processes the "Parabola" following a doubly psychodynamic scheme: a mutually exclusive, parallel hermeneutics of (Freud-inspired) analysis and (Jung-inspired) synthesis, to which, conceivably, other psychological narratives could be added as well.[803] Silberer's parallelizing approach serves to underscore the facility with which one could accommodate disparate explanatory theories to a given historical text.

8.10
The relation between "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption"

If Jung's eventual combination, in *Psychology and Alchemy*, of his "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays may be understood as a testament to their intended complementarity, one may justifiably assess the manner in which they interrelate, surveying in the process the

[801] *Musæum* (1678), 616; cf. Sandivogius (1650), 101f.
[802] That a material operation could be deduced from the "Visio Arislei," for example, would not invalidate, for Jung, the psychical dimensions of the narrative.
[803] In addition to 'psychoanalytic' and 'anagogic' interpretations of alchemy, Silberer explicitly affirms a natural-philosophical interpretation as well (see Silberer [1917], 216). He, in fact, introduces "the problem of multiple interpretation" in alchemy (see ibid., 209ff.), attempting its resolution through interactive 'material' and 'functional' categories of symbolism (see ibid., 233ff.).

approach to alchemy in each. In “Dream Symbols,” Jung considers, chiefly, the data of an individual case study, comparing these primarily with constructs of his phenomenology and only secondarily with motifs from alchemical texts. As in “Redemption,” Jung offers through such comparisons a number of ‘equations’ that appear to actively equilibrate notions from different data types—equations that, although suggestive, present a circumstantial sort of proof.[804] In its focus upon his phenomenology, “Dream Symbols” recalls those of his previous writings contributing to the same, as, for example, “Structure,” *Psychological Types*, *Relations*, his *Golden Flower* commentary, and “On the Archetypes.” In its concentration upon a case study as related to this phenomenology, the essay recalls the clinical content of his seminars as well as his Mann study, but with an added alchemical gloss. In contrast with “Dream Symbols,” Jung gives precedence in “Redemption” to patterns identified in alchemical texts rather than to psychological theory or testimony. He notably highlights in the study not comparative counterparts of the phenomenological figures in his *drame intérieur*, e.g., the anima, shadow, and magician archetypes—as may be expected—but rather a more general psychical pattern of ‘unredemption’ (*Unerlöstheit*), which yields an ‘image of the spirit caught in the darkness of the world.’ Inferable from his description, this pattern conduces, as seen, toward expressions of the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation, either inversely through a represented liberation from unawareness (e.g., narratives of matter-bound spirit), or directly through a ‘union of contradictory principles’ (e.g., a *coniunctio* of *Sol* and *Luna*). Although addressed explicitly only in passing, the archetypes of Jung’s *drame intérieur* are, presumably, implicitly affirmed in “Redemption” through *Unerlöstheit*, this conceptualization serving as a carrier of those constituents of the Self.[805] The expositional discongruity between “Dream Symbols” and “Redemption” may be observed in Jung’s respective treatment of the quaternary symbol: in the first essay, such *Mandalsymbolik* forms the basis of his study while, in the latter work, it is scantly addressed at all. The asymmetry may at least partially be accounted for by the ostensible manner in which these essays are intended to relate: in “Redemption,” Jung affirms the quaternary as a symbol of reconciliation, but refers the reader to “Dream Symbols” for a

[804] For equations between the case study and Jung’s phenomenology, see, for example, the linkages drawn between Pauli’s ‘unknown woman’ and ‘old man’ and, respectively, the anima and magician archetypes. For equations between the case study and alchemy, see, for instance, the connections posed between Pauli’s ‘eagle,’ ‘water,’ and ‘gemstone’ symbols and, respectively, the alchemical symbols of the eagle, *aqua nostra*, and *lapis*.
[805] One may rightly judge that such a manner of substantiating the phenomenology through demonstration of an encapsulating pattern of interactive opposites allows for considerable flexibility in the interpretation and use of alchemical texts, although not without cost to the overall persuasiveness of Jung’s alchemical claims. A more particular coordination could have been ventured in “Redemption” between the archetypes of Jung’s *drame* and the stages of his alchemical outline: a strategy attempted, in fact, only with the writing of *The Psychology of the Transference* in 1946.

demonstration of this fact.[806] It may also be accounted for by considering that "Redemption" constitutes Jung's first dedicated foray into comparative alchemical research—a reason, perhaps, for his more general approach to the topic. However explaining such incongruousness, one may rightly note that, by the completion of "Redemption," a sustained analysis comparing alchemical symbols and Jung's phenomenological figurations remained, for him, still the subject of future research.[807]

[806] In view both of Jung's 1935 and 1936 essays, one may note the modest comparative evidence of the quaternary relative to its clinical proof through the Pauli case study.
[807] Concerning such analysis, see, especially, Jung (1942:4); ibid. (1946:2); ibid. (1951).

Chapter 9

The context of Hitchcock, Silberer, and Jung

9.1
Introduction

As reflected in his founding “Dream Symbols” and “Redemption” essays, Jung’s alchemical thought may be regarded historically as contributing to a larger Western tradition of spiritual alchemy that recognizes the transmutative art as encompassing a practitioner-centered method of religious, occult, or psychological transformation. Such a tradition may be traced at least to the writings of such figures as Maier, Böhme, and Khunrath, finding expression, more recently, in works by Atwood, Hitchcock, and Waite. Silberer may be counted as the first exponent of an overtly psychological processing of the art, elaborating, in particular, Hitchcock’s religious understanding in a new psychodynamic domain. With the exception of Hitchcock, Jung draws directly upon the work of all of these authors for his own examination of alchemy in “Dream Symbols” and “Redemption.” Observable in these founding alchemical essays as in later writings, Jung may be seen not only to perpetuate this tradition of alchemy, but also to enrich it: more patently, he compounds psycho-spiritual interpretations of alchemical texts with an added evidentiary component of the case study; more consequentially, however, he imbues his psycho-alchemical products with the ‘essences’ of his archetypal phenomenology. Indeed, given not only these qualitative considerations of Jung’s psycho-alchemical art, but also the quantitative dimensions of his inquiries and results, his alchemical writings may be regarded—to adapt his own phrase concerning *Faust*—as the ‘last summit’ of spiritual-alchemical research.

Of the foregoing authors in this spiritual-alchemical tradition, Jung acknowledges his debt most to Silberer, critiquing *Problems*, however, for its concentration upon late historical writings, fealty to psychoanalytic doctrine, and nescience regarding the archetypal

phenomenology of the unconscious.[808] These criticisms aside, Jung's appreciation of *Problems* proves apt, for, in light, more specifically, of "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption," the affinities between their content and that of Silberer's text appear particularly great—far greater, in fact, than Jung, himself, concedes. The nature and extent of Silberer's impact upon Jung is, however, complicated by the insight that Silberer draws, in the composition of *Problems*, upon not only Hitchcock's *Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists*, but also Jung's own *Transformations* study. In view, thus, of Jung's founding alchemical essays, a spiritual-alchemical lineage may be established extending not only from Jung to Silberer to Hitchcock, but also from Jung ("Dream Symbols" and "Redemption") to Silberer to Jung (*Transformations*).[809]

9.2
General parallels

Such a bifurcated lineage becomes apparent in the re-examination of Silberer's text, both in relation to Jung's texts as well as Hitchcock's *Remarks*. As articulated by the other two in the lineage, Silberer asseverates in *Problems* the potential natural-philosophical content of alchemical texts, proclaiming, however, the presence of psycho-spiritual content as well.[810] As previously seen, he affirms there the trans-individual nature of the unconscious, adducing Jung's *Transformations* study in his avouchment of 'elementary types' (see above, 4.2.1). Finding such types manifest in symbols of "the alchemists," Silberer communicates, in a manner similar to Hitchcock and Jung, that "the gold of which they write is not the gold of the multitude; not the venal gold that can be exchanged for money"; rather, it is "philosophical gold," the "gold of God."[811] In pursuit of such gold, he emphasizes, like the others, the characterological traits requisite for the work, noting the importance, more pivotally, of "contemplation," "meditation," and "imagination."[812] As a psychodynamic corollary of such

[808] Concerning Jung's reception of *Problems*, see *CW:9*§89; *CW:12*§332; *Memories*, 204; *Letters* [1], 22.12.1935; ibid., 24.2.1936.
[809] Silberer is not needed, of course, in the establishment of an influence of *Transformations* upon the composition of "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption," but the potential application in these essays of Silberer's alchemical formulations—including those adapting Jung's *Transformations* findings—should not be overlooked.
[810] See Silberer (1917), 150, 328ff.; Hitchcock (1857), 104. With some irony given the interpretations of Silberer and Jung, Hitchcock refers to the 'unconscious' activity of alchemists not in relation to his religious reading of their *opus*, but to their unwitting advancement of chemical knowledge (ibid., 104, 233).
[811] Silberer (1914), 94, 114, 215. Like Jung, both Hitchcock and Silberer consider 'the alchemists' as a block group. Also like Jung, they affirm that, in Silberer's words, the material for the stone "is very common and is found everywhere" (see ibid., 238; also Hitchcock [1857], 37f., 48; Jung [1936], 39).
[812] Concerning characterological traits, more generally, see Silberer (1914), 94, 98, 107; Hitchcock (1857), 34, 76f., 108f. Concerning 'contemplation,' see Silberer (ibid.), 98; Hitchcock (ibid.), 109f., 117. Concerning

activity, Silberer employs Jung's *Transformations* concept of introversion, the 'sinking into one's soul' deemed central to mysticism, and to the anagogic interpretation of alchemy as well.[813] In the course of the introversion process, he highlights, like Jung, the importance of the participant's "sacrifice": "he kills himself (i.e., a part of himself), in order, thereupon, to be able to arise renewed (reborn). This process is the…mystical death, also called by the alchemists, putrefaction or the blackness."[814] Silberer's formulation is redolent not only of *Transformations*, but also of *Remarks*, wherein Hitchcock conceives "the Black" as "a certain humility…a philosophical contrition."[815] Further correspondences in the respective alchemical analyses of the three authors may be discerned in their shared identification of a *lapis*-Christ parallel, and in their analogous decipherment of father-son symbolism as indicative of a regenerative state of mind.[816]

9.3
Analogues of the Self relation

Considering the goal of the alchemical *opus*, Silberer's *Problems*—and through it, Hitchcock's *Remarks*—suggests, still further, a number of parallels regarding Jung's conception of the Self, as reflected both in his alchemical writings as well as in earlier works. According to Silberer's synthetic interpretation, if the subject of alchemy concerns the human psyche, its goal comprises an 'intensive processing of oneself' in order to experience 'union with the godhead.'[817] He quotes Hitchcock, approvingly, on one's turning to 'God, as the eternal' as his 'object of desire': "if, then, desire be turned to one only eternal thing…the whole man is gradually converted to, or, as some think, transmuted into, that one thing…To know this one only [eternal] thing is the secret of Alchemy."[818] Such a construction may be related to Jung's understanding of the individuation process, which, as outlined in "Structure," is

'meditation,' see Silberer (ibid.), 106; Hitchcock (ibid.), 115. Silberer refers to 'imagination' through the use of various terms (see Silberer [ibid.], 73 [*Bildungskräfte*]; 142 [*Imagination*]; 149, 235 [*Phantasie*].

[813] See Silberer (1914) 155. Silberer and Jung both emphasize the potential danger of the introversion process, drawing a connection between this process and the alchemical vessel (see Silberer [ibid.]). (Hitchcock's exposition identifies the vessel, suggestively, as a "womb" or "belly," although lacks a defined introversion concept and discussion of its attendant dangers [see Hitchcock {1857}, 85f.].)

[814] Silberer (1914), 186; also ibid., 255.

[815] Hitchcock (1857), 136; see also 255f.

[816] Concerning the *lapis*-Christ parallel, see Silberer (1914), 105f., 113f., 136; Hitchcock (1857), 95. Concerning father-son symbolism, see Silberer (ibid.), 164; Hitchcock (ibid.), 94f., 138.

[817] Just as for Jung, the union between the individual and godhead is mirrored for Silberer in the alchemical transmutation process, "the base metal attain[ing]…the nature of gold, i.e., the divine nature" (Silberer [1914], 213).

[818] Hitchcock (1857), 296; cf. Silberer (1914), 218.

effectuated through a linkage of the *Ich* with an experientially transcendent *Nicht-Ich*. As seen, Jung affirms this dyad also in his alchemical writings, discerning the Self relation in oppositive pairs like the Sun and Moon or Mercury and Sulphur. Such symbolic ascriptions are, in fact, present in Hitchcock's and Silberer's writings as well, the latter describing the union of "the sun with the moon, the soul with God, the seer with the seen," quoting the former who declares: "the *Sulphur* and *Mercury* become one, or are seen to be the same, differing only in a certain relation; somewhat as the known and the unknown are but one, the unknown decreasing as the known increases, and *vice versa*."[819] Already of great accord with Jung's later conceptualization regarding the *Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*, the passage is rendered even more consonant by Silberer, who, in his German translation of the text, inserts, after 'the known and the unknown,' the parenthesis, "*und das Bewußte und das Unbewußte* [and the conscious and the unconscious]."[820] In description of this relation, Silberer, in fact, introduces the term of the Self through his discussion of the freemasonic process of self-transformation. Drawing upon the work of the Swiss artist and occultist, Oswald Wirth (1860-1943), Silberer remarks upon "the extinction of that radical egoism that occasioned the Adamic fall," whereby "the narrow, lowly I [*Ich*] melts into nothing before the high impersonal self [*Selbst*]."[821] A further demonstration of this consonance among these authors may be observed in light of Jung's introduction, in *Psychological Types*, of the *imago Dei* in connection with the Self—that 'symbolic expression of a certain psychological state' having, for him, 'the character of absolute superiority to the conscious will of the subject.' Silberer, too, articulates such a notion, restating, in fact, Hitchcock's idea that "essentially all men are of one nature, in that the image of God [*das Bild Gottes*] dwells within them all."[822] In a manner resonant with not only Jung's *circumambulatio*

[819] Silberer (1914), 225; Hitchcock (1857), 235. For Hitchcock, the practitioner induces this state through an exercise of conscience, which for him is symbolized by mercury (see, for example, ibid., 50f.). In *Problems*, Silberer upholds Hitchcock's view of mercury as conscience (see Silberer [1914], 99, 137, 211, 219). Although Jung appears not to have explicitly affirmed 'conscience' in the manner of his predecessors, the idea is, nevertheless, perpetuated through his understanding of the Self relation and of the individual's orientation therein. It accords also with his notion of mercury, which, for him, 'plays its mysterious part throughout the alchemical process' and represents 'the divine and world-creating spirit…a symbol that unites the opposites.' As another symbol uniting the opposites, the alchemical hermaphrodite or rebis is addressed in *Problems* as in Jung's later works (see ibid., 85, 203, 248). Silberer's consideration of the alchemical union or *coniunctio*, is, in fact, later credited by Jung (see *CW:14*§654; *Memories*, 213).

[820] Silberer (1914), 215; cf. ibid. (1917), 343.

[821] Silberer (1914), 255; see also Wirth (1931), 101 ("*Le Moi…le Soi supérieur*"). Such a 'self' notion is supported in *Problems* through references to the *Selbst* in various Hindu tracts (ibid., 190, 222, 224, 226). Although not referenced directly by Silberer, *Remarks* offers commentary on the 'self' that resonates with Silberer's—and with Jung's—reflections on the same. Hitchcock writes that, in the early stage of alchemical work, "the will [of the practitioner] regards chiefly the *individual self*, and its acts and doings tend to bring this self into conflict with the *not-self*, which is indeed only the other and really more noble part of the self, and the end is to turn the will to the *not-self* and adjust it to the whole, its *entire self*" (Hitchcock [1857], 255 [emphasis in original]).

[822] Silberer (1914), 102; cf. Hitchcock (1857), 75. Recognition of this image proceeds, for Hitchcock, through the practitioner's engagement of conscience. The possible impact of Silberer (and Hitchcock) upon Jung's conception of the *imago Dei* should be considered along with that of Spitteler and also, potentially, Atwood,

of individuation, but also his connection of that notion with the *Golden Flower* 'circulation of the light,' Silberer writes, moreover, of a "circulation" between the individual and divine will, an expression supported elsewhere in comments concerning circulation in the "closed vessel of the alchemists" or "philosophical egg."[823] Notwithstanding his employment of mystical language, he shares with Jung the understanding that "the coveted completeness or oneness should be a state of the soul, a state of being," sanctioning the experience of "the 'supernatural [*Übernatürliche*]'" without affirming the supernatural as such.[824] For Silberer, the union of the *Bewusste* and the *Unbewusste* results in an 'extension of the personality'—an outcome not unlike that of Jung's 'individuation' construction in "Unconscious Processes," an 'enrichment of the individual' unlocking 'new inner springs.'

9.4
Resonances concerning the *Red Book* project

Resonances with Silberer's (and Hitchcock's) findings may be discerned, in fact, not only as concerning Jung's conceptualizations of the Self, but also as concerning certain *Red Book* processes and pronouncements. One may consider, for example, Silberer's already noted discussions of opposites, their meeting, and conjuncture—a motif amply demonstrated in the *Black Books*, as pertaining, for instance, to the figures of Elijah and Salome; a snake-and-bird pair; and black and white serpents.[825] In keeping with alchemical tradition, Silberer, moreover, identifies the spiritual-alchemical project as the Great Work (*magnum opus*)—a term employed by Jung's soul in the proclamation of 'the new religion.'[826] Silberer also describes philosophical gold as "something in man and something in God that ultimately proves to be the One," writing, relatedly, of the "magical result of the Philosophers' Stone" consisting in the "accordance of the individual will with the world-will [*Weltwillen*] or with the will of God"—constructions not unlike Philemon's association of Jung's I to 'Hermetic gold,' a 'currency' that is 'no master out of its own will' and yet 'rules the whole.'[827] Of, perhaps, greater note, one may consider Hitchcock's quotation, reproduced in *Problems*, of Plotinus' *Enneads* concerning one's unification with the divine:

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who frames the concept magically as mediating the macrocosm and microcosm (see Atwood [1850], 139ff. 163, 314).

[823] Silberer (1914), 254. (Silberer refers to 'circulation' both by the terms, *Zirkulation* and *Kreislauf*.) Concerning the alchemical 'egg,' see ibid., 253.

[824] Ibid., 214.

[825] See Jung (2009:2), 183, 417, 194.

[826] See Silberer (1914), 76, 123, 170.

[827] See ibid., 215, 235f.

> We must embrace God with our whole being, so that we no longer have any part in us that we do not attach to God…Who has then seen himself will, when he looks, see himself as one who has become simple [*einfach*]…He stops being himself, he no longer belongs to himself; arriving there, he has risen unto God and has become one with him, as a center [*Mittelpunkt*] which coincides with another center.[828]

The quotation may, indeed, be seen to 'coincide' with Jung's *Black Book* remarks concerning 'the self,' as well as with those concerning both the Phanes series on 'the middle' and the Liverpool dream on 'the center.' In the closing sequence of *Problems*, Silberer expounds upon the work of Wirth, who imparts, as seen, how in the freemasonic transformation process, 'the narrow, lowly I melts into nothing before the high impersonal self,' to which Silberer adds: "no longer a slave in anything, [the mason] is so much the more the master of all [*der Herr von allem*] the more his will acts in unison with the one who rules the universe"—comments comporting with *Red Book* remarks on not 'being a slave to the Gods,' and of reconciling oneself to 'the ruler of the depths of world affairs.'[829] Silberer quotes directly from Wirth's text, *Le Symbolisme Hermétique*:

> Every being bears in himself this mysterious star [*astre mystérieux*]…It is the philosophic child, the immanent Logos or the Christ incarnate…The initiation becomes the vestal of this inner fire, *Archée* or principle of all individuality [*individualité*]…It means…that the individual enters into communion with the collectivity [*Collectivité*] from which he comes.[830]

Resonant not only with the content of Jung's *Red Book* project, including motifs of the 'child,' 'Logos,' and 'star,' the passage accords with Jung's elucidation of that project as well, heeding Wirth's comments concerning 'collectivity' and an individualizing '*archée*.'[831]

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[828] See ibid., 222; Hitchcock (1857), 285; Plotinus (1988), 338-341. Jung later quotes from this same Ennead (see *CW:9.2*§342; Plotinus [1988], 330f.). As in other Enneads, the ninth includes discussion of archetypes (αρχετύπων): an unacknowledged source, perhaps, for Jung's use of this term (see, for example, Plotinus [ibid.], 130f., 342f.; also *CW:8*§275; *CW:9.1*§5).

[829] See Silberer (1914), 255; Wirth (1931), 102 ("*maître de tout…parfaite concordance avec celle qui régit l'Univers*").

[830] Silberer (1917), 425f. (trans. alt.); cf. Wirth (1931), 94f.

[831] Of the Paracelsian principle of the *archeus* (or *archée*) Pagel writes that "its main function is to hammer out an object from the diffuse mass of 'prime matter'…to perfect it by conferring specificity and ever increasing individuation" (Pagel [1982], 106; see also Paracelsus (1999), 28; Slavenburg [2012], 363).

9.5

An examination of number symbolism in *Problems*

9.5.1 The tertiary, quinary, and septenary

If parallels may be established between *Problems* and Jung's subsequent findings concerning the Self and alchemy, one may rightly consider, further, whether such affinities encompass Jung's regard for quaternary symbolism as well. In his treatment of number symbolism in *Problems*, Silberer appears to foreground, in fact, representations not of the quaternary, but of the tertiary, quinary, and septenary instead. On the topic of ternary symbolism, he characterizes the philosophers' stone as "a unity" comprising mercury, sulphur, and salt, or spirit, soul, and body.[832] He highlights also "three main steps" in the spiritual-alchemical *opus*: purgation, illumination, and union.[833] Anticipating Jung's "Structure" designations, he emphasizes, moreover, three "outcomes" of the (alchemical) introversion process: the positive resolution of "mysticism," and two negative resolutions, "the active way of magic [*Zauberei*] and the passive one of schizophrenia (introversion-psychosis)."[834] He elucidates, further, the ternary symbols of the upright triangle, forked cross (Y), and equal-armed cross conceived as two lines with a point of intersection.[835] The last, in his analysis, may also be considered as a quinary symbol, a "quinity [*Fünfheit*]" of four elements and their union.[836] Deemed by Silberer as, perhaps, the most significant numerical attribution in alchemy, the septenary is underscored in *Problems* through the exposition of, among other instances, "seven theosophical steps," "seven operations of the [alchemical] work," and seven "fundamental powers [*Gründkräfte*]" implicated in that work.[837] Not dissimilar from Jung's later seminar musings on the quaternary, Silberer wonders at the septenary as a possible 'elementary type':

[832] Silberer (1914), 98, 103.
[833] Ibid., 254f. Described in the context of Wirth's text, Silberer writes that the process "begins with the purifying turn inward and ends with the death-like *Unio mystica*" (ibid., 255).
[834] Silberer (1914), 177. Jung appears to adopt and modify these categories, while adding another of regressive reductionism. (Credit to Silberer is given in "Structure," but only as concerning his definition of symbols [see *CW:7*§492].) Silberer's introversion 'outcomes' of mysticism, magic, and schizophrenia, lead, respectively, in his view, to the 'life possibilities' of "work (morality), crime, [and] suicide" (Silberer [1914], 178).
[835] Silberer (1914), 118. In his emphasis upon ternary symbolism, Silberer appears to follow Hitchcock's emphasis of the same (see Hitchcock [1857], 39, 41, 88, 136ff., 148, 181, 228f., 282f.).
[836] Silberer, ibid. Such a union is represented alchemically as a "*quinta essentia* [fifth essence]" (ibid.).
[837] Ibid., 125; 229ff.; 169ff. Although marginalized relative to its treatment in *Problems*, the septenary is addressed, too, in both "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" (see, for instance, Jung [1936], 26, 31, 36; ibid. [1937], 48).

> It can readily be that the domination of the number 7 is to be traced back to the scientific admixture of doctrine (7 planets, 7 metals, 7 tones in the diatonic scale, etc.), but it can also finally consist in an actual accordance of the human psyche with nature—who can decide that?[838]

Interestingly, Jung appears, as it were, to answer this question through his own work upon number symbolism, centered, of course, not on the septenary, but on the quaternary instead.

9.5.2 The quaternary

Notwithstanding Silberer's accentuation of such non-quaternary numerical themes, one may note that *Problems* contains, in fact, a number of quaternary references as well. He makes mention of the four elements, and of the transmutation into gold of four metals, lead, copper, tin, and silver.[839] He also quotes verse by Ripley suggestive of three-and-fourth symbolism:

> In philosophers' books therefore who wishes may see,
> Our stone is called the less-world, one and three.[840]

Resonant with Jung's 'Chinese' design of a fortified city and subsequent mandala definition, Silberer describes the significance of four lines arranged as a rectangle, which "define the bounded space of the earthly world with the secondary meaning of the holy precinct, house, [or] temple."[841] Concordant with multiple *Red Book* themes, including quaternary motifs, Silberer cites the *Clavis philosophiae et alchymiae Fluddanae* (1633) by Robert Fludd, who envisions "spiritual alchemy" as

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[838] Ibid., 229f.

[839] Silberer (1914), 84, 135, 191. Although lacking in the special signification of such symbolism, the texts of Hitchcock and Atwood also contain basic quaternary references, chiefly as relating to the elemental tetrad (see, for instance, Hitchcock [1857], 216f.; Atwood [1850], 80, 100, 115, 140, 362, 376, 463).

[840] Ibid., 98; Hitchcock (1857), 39; Ripley (1649), 9. According to Buford, Ripley refers here to the triple nature of man, of "one nature, of body, soul, and spirit" (Buford [1907], 43).

[841] See Silberer (1914), 119, also 135. In the same section, Silberer discusses the significance of the circle as "the all and the eternal," although without further relation to the rectangle or square (ibid., 118). By contrast, both *Remarks* and *A Suggestive Inquiry* contain references to the 'circling of the square.' In his quotation of Philalethes' text, entitled *Ripley Reviv'd*, Hitchcock writes of the "last and noblest conjunction, in which all the mysteries of this microcosm have their consummation. This is by the wise called their Tetraptive conjunction, wherein the Quadrangle is reduced to the circle, in the which [*sic*] there is neither beginning nor end" (see Hitchcock [1857], 246; cf. Philalethes [1741], 314). Atwood refers to this passage as well, writing of how, in the making of a "Fifth essence," the "Ethereal Quadrangle becomes a Circle of golden light in eternity" (Atwood [1850], 361f.). Although not citing the Philalethes passage directly, Jung makes mention of *Ripley Reviv'd* after the completion of his "Redemption" study, writing separately of the *coniunctio tetraptiva* as found in the *Artis* (see *CW:9.1*§289, §516; *CW:12*§187; *CW:13*§357; *Artis* [1593:2], 138).

> that which can reproduce in me that rectangular stone, which is the cornerstone [*Grundstein*] of my life and my soul, so that the dead [*Erstorbene*] in me will be newly awakened, and rise, from the old nature that had become lapsed in Adam, as a man who is new and alive in Christ, therefore in that orthogonal stone.[842]

Relatedly, Silberer furnishes passages from *Ein Garten-Brunn* (*A Fountain of Gardens*), a spiritual diary of the Christian mystic, Jane Leade (1623-1704), who contends, according to *Problems*, that "the cubic stone lies concealed in all men," to be hewn of disordering material through a process of cleansing: a *purificatio* or *rectificatio* of the alchemical stone.[843] A final example from *Problems*, although not, itself, reflective of quaternary symbolism, is redolent of such symbolism as manifested through imagery of the *Red Book*. Silberer quotes from Ioachimus Frizius' *Summum Bonum* (1623) to "seek the cornerstone [*Eckstein*] that mediates, in yourself, all transmutations and transformations," offering, thereupon, another quotation from the same source followed by some summarizing remarks:

> "The brother shall ultimately apply himself…to the completion of his work in the form of a master-builder…Only for the better realization of our building and in order to reach through to the rose-red bloom of our cross concealed in the middle of our foundation…we must not seize the work superficially, but must dig to the middle of the earth, knock and seek"…Directly after this is the discourse concerning the three spatial dimensions, height, depth, breadth [*Höhe, Tiefe, Breite*]…Immediately following, the geometric cube is extensively discussed.[844]

Consonant with Jung's Liverpool painting of a "rose made of ruby-colored glass," the passage shows a correspondence, even more, with his painting of the *lapis philosophorum*, which, according to its legend, enlists, along with the three spatial dimensions, the fourth dimension of time: "this stone, so exquisitely conceived, is certainly the Lapis Philosophorum. It is harder

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[842] Silberer (1914), 187; cf. Fludd (1633), 59. Along with Böhme, Khunrath and others, the British philosopher and physician, Robert Fludd, may be deemed a notable member of the aforementioned spiritual-alchemical tradition. Fludd's description of spiritual alchemy (*alchymia spiritualis*) as consisting, in his expression, of the reproduction in him of the rectangular stone (*lapis angularis*), the foundation (*bafis*) of his life and soul, bears a striking resemblance to Jung's later understanding of the same (cf. the *Liber Secundus* statement on the "cornerstone" [Jung {2009:2}, 354]). Not having cited the *Clavis* directly, Jung may only have encountered the above passage through *Problems*. He makes brief mention of Fludd, however, in writings after "Redemption" (see, for example, *CW:13*§378; *CW:18*§1133; also Pauli's commentary on Fludd in Jung et al. [1955], 226ff.). Concerning Fludd, see Debus (1967).

[843] See Silberer (1914), 246; also Leade (1697:2), 43f.; ibid. (1697:1), 40, 95, 322. For Jung's commentary on Leade, see *CW:16*§506-517.

[844] Silberer (1914), 114; Katsch (1897), 420, 430f.; Frizius (1629), 49f.

than diamond. But it extends into the regions of four qualities, namely breadth [*breite*], height [*höhe*], depth [*tiefe*], and time [*zeit*]."[845]

[845] See Jung (2009:1), 121. Jung's exposure to both Katsch and Frizius may have been limited to his reading of Silberer's text, for neither is noted in Jung's published works.

Chapter 10

The double face of Jung's alchemy

10.1
Retracing Jung's alchemical path

Jung's 1919 painting of the philosophers' stone, even if aesthetic and private, may be regarded as his first creative alchemical work, and thus a principal point of orientation in mapping his path to alchemical research. In the retracing of that path, one may count, too, Jung's reading of *Problems* around 1914 as another critical juncture—one indicated by his citations of the text throughout the teens and twenties and perhaps demonstrated through at least some of the parallels hitherto explored. The *Memories* account, as seen, minimizes Silberer's potential role in the formation of Jung's alchemical conceptions. Along with other *Red Book* allusions to alchemy, it also omits mention of the 1919 painting, which may have dynamized Jung's interest in alchemy, conducing, perhaps, to certain alchemical dreams. In the chronicling of Jung's approach to alchemy, the *Memories* account emphasizes these dreams, underlining even more the importance of Jung's *Golden Flower* episode. In light of the evidence presented here, however, the dreams may, indeed, have contributed to Jung's growing alchemical interest in the 1920s, but as reflective of an interest otherwise expressed.[846] If lessening the importance of these dreams, one should likely moderate even further the significance of the Wilhelm affair. Notable, first, in this consideration, is Jung's 1938 admission that, at the time of his commentary, his regard for the *Golden Flower* text as an 'alchemical treatise' appeared to him as relatively 'unimportant.' One may note, too, that Jung was already beginning to comment upon alchemy in 1928 prior to this episode, both in *Relations* and "On the Energetics of the Soul." In the same year, moreover, perhaps just in advance of receiving the *Golden Flower* text, Jung encountered, as he later remarked, 'the case that led me to the study of alchemy.' Referring

[846] One may note, in this context, Bair's (regrettably, unsourced) comment that, soon after meeting von Franz in 1933, Jung had remarked to her that "he had been collecting information about alchemy for the previous decade" (Bair [2003], 370).

to his treatment of Mann, he drew attention, more particularly, to the importance of her third, 'quicksilver' painting, reportedly rendered in October, 1928: "the third painting…conveys a theme that points unequivocally to alchemy, and actually gave me the definitive incentive to engage thoroughly with the classical works of the old adepts."[847] In the midst of this case, and of his composition of the *Golden Flower* commentary, Jung began discussion of alchemy in his "Dream Analysis" seminar, relating the 'four chickens' dream, in February, 1929, to the *lapis philosophorum*. Thus spurred by the Mann case and likely, to a lesser extent, the Wilhelm affair, Jung may have received the final impetus to study Western alchemy through his encounters with Reichstein, who attended the "Visions" seminar from 1930 onward, and who delivered a presentation on alchemy in the fall, 1931. In the same period, Jung acquired and, after some delay, began his study of the *Artis auriferae* (particularly, the *Rosarium*), the fruits of which became apparent in his founding alchemical essays of 1935 and 1936.

10.2
Retracing Jung's path to the Self

10.2.1 The Self as a union of opposites

As an even greater omission in the *Memories* account with regard to the generation of Jung's alchemical thought may be counted the role of the Self, the history of which may now be retraced. As seen, Jung inextricably binds his interpretation of alchemy with his understanding of the Self, either through its more fundamental form of reconciled opposites, as demonstrated in "Redemption," or as a portmanteau concept encasing the components of his phenomenology, including the quaternary, as demonstrated in "Dream Symbols." One may judge rightly, then, that an understanding of Jung's alchemical interpretation and its inception cannot be achieved without comprehension of his ideas concerning the Self. As a meeting of opposites between the I and Not-I, the Self concept appears first in Jung's essays from the teens, manifesting by name in *Psychological Types*. The conceptualization of such a meeting appears to emerge from his own *Red Book* project, the very term of the 'self' perhaps arising from particular passages yielded through this 'experiment.' More profound influences include, apparently, his own *Transformations* work and its theory of introversion and the ideas of 'self' proffered in Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, which Jung revisited in 1914-1915. Postulates from Silberer's

[847] *GW:9.1*§544. In the face of such testimonial conflict, the earlier records may, more judiciously, be afforded greater historical weight than the mediated and more removed *Memories* account.

Problems, which Jung encountered in the same period, may have impacted as well upon the construct of the Self. In *Relations*, Jung manifestly affirmed Silberer's conception of alchemy as consisting chiefly in a *coniunctio* of opposites, a 'mixture…of the conscious and the unconscious,' which the former associates with the transcendent function and distinguishes as the Self. As seen, Jung returned to this basic notion of the Self in his "Redemption" study, exploring the *Ich–Nicht-Ich* relation in connection with alchemy through the narrative of 'unredemption.'

10.2.2 The Self as a composite of Jung's phenomenology

As a meeting of opposites between the I and Not-I, the Self may be judged to encompass the experiential whole of the *Red Book*, the findings of the text arising in this relational domain. The Self assumes a more particular definition, however, with Jung's development of a phenomenology from these experiences: abstractions distilled from the *Black Books* and commixed with analogues both clinically and historically derived. Like his more basic definition, Jung's characterization of the Self as a multiform composite finds its origin in his essays from the teens, specifically in "Structure" and "Unconscious Processes," and in the revisions of these essays approximately a decade later. Through the revision of the former, in particular, Jung advanced a much more nuanced portrait of, as he later called it, that *drame intérieur*—providing archetypes, like the anima and magician figures, later found lacking in Silberer's alchemical approach. In the 1934 essay, "On the Archetypes," Jung refined his phenomenological model still further, notably adding a shadow figure to that *drame*. He also offered, in the wake of *Relations*, clinical applications of this model, both through his "Dream Analysis" and "Visions" seminars, as well as through published case studies, first of Mann in 1933, and then of Pauli in 1935. In the latter, "Dream Symbols" essay, Jung interwove a clinical case study not only with his phenomenology, but with alchemy as well, equilibrating findings from these different data types.

10.2.3 The quaternary Self

"Dream Symbols," of course, draws together theoretical, comparative, and clinical data mostly in the instance of the quaternary, observed, respectively, in the combination of Jung's formula of *Mandalasymbolik*, historical allusions to the *lapis philosophorum*, and the many tetradic motifs of Pauli's impressions and dreams. The quaternary is considered by Jung the central archetype of his phenomenology and, as a representation of the philosophers' stone, the central

symbol of alchemy as well. It became an acknowledged symbol of the Self, and thus part of Jung's phenomenology, through publication of his *Golden Flower* commentary (which he considered an added chapter of *Relations*), its pivotal role in alchemical symbolism being identified publicly only in "Dream Symbols." As seen, however, this sketch presents only a fraction of a larger chronology—one apparent neither in Jung's published writings nor in *Memories*. As previously indicated, although an outline of this chronology has been attempted here, the combination and sequence of different data inputs may suggest, historically, a degree of irreducible mystery in how, precisely, Jung's quaternary Self arose. One may recall, first, the potential impact of quaternaries from Jung's pre-professional life, including instances of Greek and Biblical tetrads encountered in readings of philosophical, religious, and literary import. Quaternaries encompassed in Jung's *Transformations* research may also have been influential, including the 'quadriga' vision of Dio Chrysostom, Daniel's narrative of the 'mysterious fourth,' and exemplars of tetradic symbolism traced by authors like Creuzer and Inman. Subsequent to the Miller study, Jung's reading of *Problems* may also have also have proved meaningful, introducing to him quaternaries through an explicitly alchemical frame.

The significance of the quaternary appears especially to have grown through the personal generation of such symbolism within the context of Jung's *Red Book* project. Surveying the first five years of this 'experiment,' one may consider the importance, especially, of the *Systema* diagram and Phanes series, both of which depict the quaternary as a representation of psychical totality and equilibrium. Already at this juncture, Jung may have coupled such personal quaternaries not only with aforementioned comparative tetrads, but also with tetrads clinically adduced: Preiswerk's diagram, for example, and the fourfold image of an unidentified patient in 1916 (both of which were called 'mandalas' in his *Golden Flower* text). In his 1919 painting of a diamond-like stone, Jung expressed, for the first time, his quaternary Self-*lapis* concept—notably, through a visual rather than verbal technique. The fourfold theoretical model of *Psychological Types* appears immediately to have contributed to the signification of the quaternary for Jung, as evinced through his incorporation of function-types into the 'sacrifice' painting of 1921. Public evidence of Jung's increasing valuation of the quaternary in this period is scarce though extant, observable in its comparative application in 1923 concerning the four sons of Horus. Through the Liverpool dream and painting of 1927, Jung affirmed the Self as an 'archetype of orientation and meaning,' linking their quaternary imagery with a botanical motif. In *Relations*, the following year, Jung tendered, through the 'four-gods' vision, his first published clinical demonstration of quaternary symbolism, offering, without explicit association, a triple conceptual juxtaposition of the quaternary, *lapis*, and Self.

The quaternary aspect of the Self was finally articulated in the *Golden Flower* commentary of 1929. At the time of the original publication, Jung's emphasis upon the quaternary may, perhaps, have appeared puzzling given a close examination of the source text, which lacks mention of such numerical motifs. Despite its absence in the manuscript, Jung underlined the importance of the tetradic 'mandala' in the interpretation of its narrative, offering as an accompaniment to his gloss a series of illustrated quaternaries claimed as originating from a clinical source. Although without proper identification or contextualization, a critical link in accounting for Jung's tetradic reading of the text was, of course, included in this series: his 'Chinese' design of 1928. Prompted, perhaps, by previous associations between symbols of the tetrad and both the gemstone and the tree, Jung connected the painting with the symbol of the Golden Flower, considering both of these 'mandala' representations of the quaternary Self. Through the Taoist tradition reflected in the text, he linked the quaternary Self, further, to Eastern alchemy, even offering a link, through the Böhme diagram, to Western alchemical themes. Near the completion of his *Golden Flower* commentary, Jung posed the following question of the quaternary in his "Dream Analysis" seminar: 'when we dream of the mystic four of Pythagoras and the Greek philosophers, we naturally ask, what is the four anyway?' Silberer, as seen, had probed the septenary in a similar way, hypothesizing, without endorsement, 'an actual accordance of the human psyche with nature.' Jung, by contrast, exhibited more resolve: upholding Silberer's hypothesis with respect to the quaternary, he attested to instantiations of the tetradic 'mandala' as expressions of 'unconscious facts.' 'They are not objects of the mind but categories of the imagination,' he stated, 'inexhaustible because they are *before* the mind.' Jung sought to prove as much in his Mann study of 1933, emphasizing the archetypal tetrads he found evident in the case. The following year, he presented a theoretical examination of the quaternary, along with other, figural archetypes of his phenomenology. In his "Visions" seminar that same year—some fifteen years after his 1919 painting—he articulated the relation between the quaternary Self and the *lapis philosophorum*. In "Dream Symbols," finally, he offered a clinical demonstration of this relation, integrating alchemy in his narrative of the Self.

10.3
Jung's alchemy as an *ars hermetica nova*

At the end of his "Redemption" study, Jung identified alchemy as an "art [*Kunst*], in the true sense that it concerns [mysterious] processes of formation [*Gestaltungsvorgänge*] that can only

really be grasped in experience."[848] Although unriddling to a certain degree such symbolized *Gestaltungsvorgänge* in its study of alchemy, the psychology of individuation, for Jung, necessarily grapples with the same 'mystery' of such processes, and so may also be considered, as previously suggested, a kind of art, *Kunst*, or *ars* (<L. science, art, craft). In its approach to these processes of formation, Jung's system of alchemical thought, as encompassing its clinical, theoretical, and comparative components, and as reflected in both "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption," may be understood, in light of its sustained recollection and revitalization of a Western Hermetic tradition as, more specifically, an *ars hermetica*. Jung finds in Hermetic doctrine—which may be considered as a body of alchemical writings demarcated chiefly by his 'classical period,' though including (like *Faust*) outlying works as well—an elaborated system of symbols determined by him as generated through numinous experience, whether as manifested through experimental operations or more unalloyed instances of fantasy, vision, and dream. As reflected in "Redemption," Jung's psychologized revivification effort consists in, not a perpetuation of Hermetic philosophy *per se*, but an exploration and elucidation of its underlying symbolic forms, its apperception of archetypes betokening, in that *Zwischenreich* of his description, a phenomenological reality both stable and collective in kind. In its apprehension and divulgement of archetypes, the historical corpus upon which Jung draws may be judged, from his perspective, as engaging an *ars hermetica* in its own right, one which precedes and prefigures the *ars* of modern numinous experience and its analysis. As documented through extensive case material—including that of Morgan, Mann, and Pauli—moderns, Jung claims, recapitulate the symbols of alchemy from centuries before. This clinical body of data and Jung's analysis thereof, together with his complementary treatment of the comparative alchemical corpus, i.e., the historical works of the *ars hermetica*, may be considered, in light of that older body of evidence, as a *new* Hermetic art or *ars hermetica nova*. For its revelation of the individuation process, Jung considered alchemy as consisting in an unwitting form of psychical research: a proto-psychology that, through his *ars hermetica nova*, he seeks to retrieve, restore, and enlarge, offering, in the process, a modern face to Hermetic doctrines of old. Just as, for Jung, alchemists could be seen as instituting a kind of proto-psychology, so too could his own works be judged as disclosing an advanced kind of alchemy—one dispensing of chemical accoutrements in its pursuit of psychical forms. Given Jung's perspective at the writing of his founding alchemical essays, the *Red Book* may be regarded in this way as an advanced alchemical book. It may stand also as a primary instance of the recapitulation he later describes, serving, thereby, as a fundamental element of his *ars hermetica nova*.

[848] Jung (1937), 110f.

10.4

Jung's alchemical corpus as a *Liber Altus*

The *Red Book*, indeed, may be judged as of cardinal importance to Jung's later alchemical thought, its themes comprising the *Rote Faden* (idiomatically, the primary motive) of the Self concept that, in its various guises, emerges in his founding essays of 1935 and 1936. Given the significance of this text, one may rightly envision Jung's alchemical corpus as constituting a figurative *Liber Altus*, only extrinsically for its recollection of centuries-old alchemical writings: crucially, for its referral to and utilization of *Liber Novus* motifs.[849] As Jung reports in the Protocols, 'all my work, all of what I have accomplished intellectually, comes out of these initial…fantasies and dreams.' In *Memories*, as seen, he identifies his *Red Book* years as

> the most important in my life—in them everything essential was decided…The later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious…It was the *prima materia* for a lifetime's work.[850]

10.5

Revisiting the 'two programs' of Jung's approach

In surveying Jung's path from *Liber Novus* to *Liber Altus*, one may justly affirm his continual execution of the two 'programs' outlined in Chapter 2: a personal project, initiated through his 'experiment,' entailing individuation and enabling 'a new relationship to world and spirit'; and the *wissenschaftlich* investigation of the products of that 'experiment' through the analysis and elaboration of collective psychical 'types.' As seen, Jung continually revisits the material recorded in his *Black Books*, generating, in the process, a series of commentaries, both textual and aesthetic, which may be designated as 'interior' to his project. In the execution of the first 'program,' he learns to 'take seriously every unknown wanderer who inhabits the inner world,' enacting with such fantasies or *Imaginationen* his public instruction from the teens: namely, to amplify them according to the 'language and mental range of the subject' into something 'higher and more complicated,' as oriented 'toward an unknown goal.' Through such a

[849] One may argue soundly for the identification of Jung's alchemical corpus as, alternatively, a *liber antiquus* (<L. old, aged, early, ancient, antiquated), although the connotations of *altus* (<L. high, deep, remote in time, ancient, underlying, profound) may prove more fitting, recalling at once the elevated language of the *Red Book* as well as Jung's stratified model of the psyche, the 'depth' of which he associates with alchemical symbolism.
[850] *Memories*, 199.

‘constructive method,’ he repeatedly brings the ‘conscious and unconscious together’ in the ‘transcendent function,’ achieving thereby a ‘new attitude,’ a ‘new level of being.’ Jung’s execution of the second ‘program’ arises in the very way in which he defines the constructive method and the transcendent function: respectively, the discernment and settlement of *Imaginationen* by the I as concerning their ‘typical components,’ ‘mythological formations,’ or ‘activated residues of our phylogeny.’ Jung’s traversing of the ‘path of development in a given individual’ thus leads to the documentation and analysis of such ‘residues’ as beheld through the structures and kinetics of the *Red Book* processes themselves. The execution of these ‘programs’ constitutes, as found, a kind of psycho-mythic ‘devotion’ for Jung, a *religiō* oriented toward *Imaginationen* and their symbolic ‘precipitants.’

He may be judged as implementing these ‘programs’ not only through the manufacture of several ‘interior’ commentaries, but through several ‘exterior’ commentaries as well. Building upon the insights of his *Red Book*, he introduces, through “Structure” and other writings, a descriptive, archetypal phenomenology, effectuating through such studies both a *wissenschaftliche* documentation of phylogenetic ‘residues’ and a personal ‘externalization’ of psychical forms and events. His theoretical deliberations, however, may be considered as constituting but one of his ‘exterior’ *Red Book* ‘psychologies,’ another of which may be found in his clinical case studies—as seen in the anamneses of Morgan, Mann, and Pauli—which, conceivably, facilitate as well this ‘externalization’ process while advancing his *wissenschaftliche* aims. Akin to his graphic explorations of the psyche as contained in *Liber Novus*, a further ‘psychology’ may be located in Jung’s sculptural and architectural undertakings, as conducted on his Bollingen estate.[851] Jung’s post-*Transformations* historical-comparative analyses may count as embodying a final instance of such *Red Book* ‘psychologies’—one incorporating investigations both of Eastern symbolism, here illustrated through his examination of the *Golden Flower* text, and Western symbolism, seen, of course, in the treated analyses of alchemy and, to a lesser degree, of Christianity as well.

Concerning this last ‘psychology,’ one may note the sizable delay in Jung’s arriving, at least in a significant and sustained way, at an historical-comparative understanding of his *Red Book* findings, despite his ‘exteriorization,’ through the teens and twenties, via other types of commentaries. In the Protocols, Jung recalls his initial stance that, through the mere ‘interior’ documentation of his project, the ‘experiment’ could be brought sufficiently to a close:

[851] Concerning Jung’s Bollingen retreat, see, for instance, *Memories*, 223ff.; Jaffé (1983), 188ff. As an example of his work there, see epigraph image.

> The *Red Book* is the attempt of an elaboration in the interest of revelation. It was my hypothesis that, if I faithfully meet the challenge, doing with it the best that I could, that I would then be set free. But then I saw, initially, that it didn't produce freedom at all. It became clear to me that I still had to come back again to the human side. I understood that I must return again to solid ground, and that is science [*Wissenschaft*]. From the insights [of *Liber Novus*], I had to draw concrete conclusions…The elaboration in the *Red Book* was necessary, but with that came the insight into [one's] ethical duty. I have paid with my life, and I have paid with my science.[852]

Despite the wish to return to his *Transformations* method of mythic investigation, Jung recalls, further, the necessity of resolving the 'interior' aspects of his project first:

> Certainly, I wanted to carry on with the scientific processing [*Durcharbeitung*] of myth. That was my goal. But no talk of that! I must go through this process of the unconscious. I must first let myself be carried away by this current without knowing where it will lead me.[853]

In the period from 1916 to 1928, this 'current' leads him, as seen, to the apperception and amplification of 'mandala' designs, which, indeed, appears to facilitate such resolution through attendant insights regarding the Self.[854]

10.6
'History-hunting' (and finding)

10.6.1 An 'historical passage'

Roughly in the same period, Jung is reported, in *Memories*, to have probed the potential history of the psychology of the unconscious. The importance of establishing such a history was underscored in his 1945 foreword to *The Psychology of the Transference*:

> The right understanding and appraisal of a problem of contemporary psychology is only possible when we succeed in finding a point beyond our time from which we can consider it. This time

[852] Protocols.
[853] Ibid.; cf. *Memories*, 196.
[854] Jung highlights the late teens, in particular, as marking the pivotal period of his 'mandala' exploration (Protocols).

> beyond can only be a past epoch that engaged with the same set of problems but under different conditions and in different forms.[855]

In his search for such an epoch, Jung is—after the title of his first alchemical notebook—effectually 'history-hunting,' reasoning that, if patterns of *Liber Novus* veritably express archetypes, a corresponding *Liber Altus* could conceivably be found. He, in fact, established the importance of uncovering the historical basis for psychodynamic psychology already in *Transformations*, reckoning there that 'just as the psychoanalytic insights promote understanding of the historical-psychological structures, so conversely historical materials can shed new light on individual psychological problems.' As seen, Jung first associated psychodynamic psychology with Gnosticism, a coupling originating in his *Transformations* period and explored further in the interval from 1918 to 1926.[856] But, as acknowledged in the Protocols, he found "the Gnostics…still far away," disclosing on another occasion that "it occupied me greatly that I found no historical passage [*Übergang*] from Gnosticism—or Neoplatonism—to the present."[857] Only with alchemy was he presented with such a 'passage,' prompted, in his account, by the 'manor house' dream:

> Then the dream came to me…that I was caught in the seventeenth century…In alchemy I found the missing link between the present and Gnosticism, and with this it first became possible for me…to understand the process of the unconscious, the symbol-change [*Symbolwandel*]. And that enabled me to understand the unconscious in its primitive form, and to work out what I had experienced in the years, 1914-1917.[858]

Only when Jung finds this history, identifying alchemy, as it were, as a complementary *Liber Altus*, is he able to 'close the book' on his long 'experiment.'

10.6.2 *Annus duplex*

The year, 1928, may be framed, in this context, as Jung's *annus duplex* or double-faced year—one marking, sequentially, his founding thesis on alchemy in *Relations*, alchemical insights regarding the Mann case, and the 'Chinese' episode with Wilhelm. Before this year, Jung was enwrapped in an internal 'confrontation' (*Auseinandersetzung*) with respect to his *Red Book*

[855] Jung (1946:2), x-xi. Jung's logic here appears sound considering, for him, the constancy and universalism of certain psychical patterns.
[856] *Memories*, 200.
[857] Protocols.
[858] Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 201. On the relation of Gnosticism and alchemy, see Sheppard (1957).

experiences; after this year, however, his 'confrontations with the world began.' In its clear reflection of both kinds of *Auseinandersetzungen*, the *annus duplex* may find representation through an image of this period, namely, Böhme's 'mirror of wisdom' or 'philosophical eye,' which depicts, fittingly, two adjacent but inverted hemispheres—the left one darkened and the right one light (Figure 17).[859]

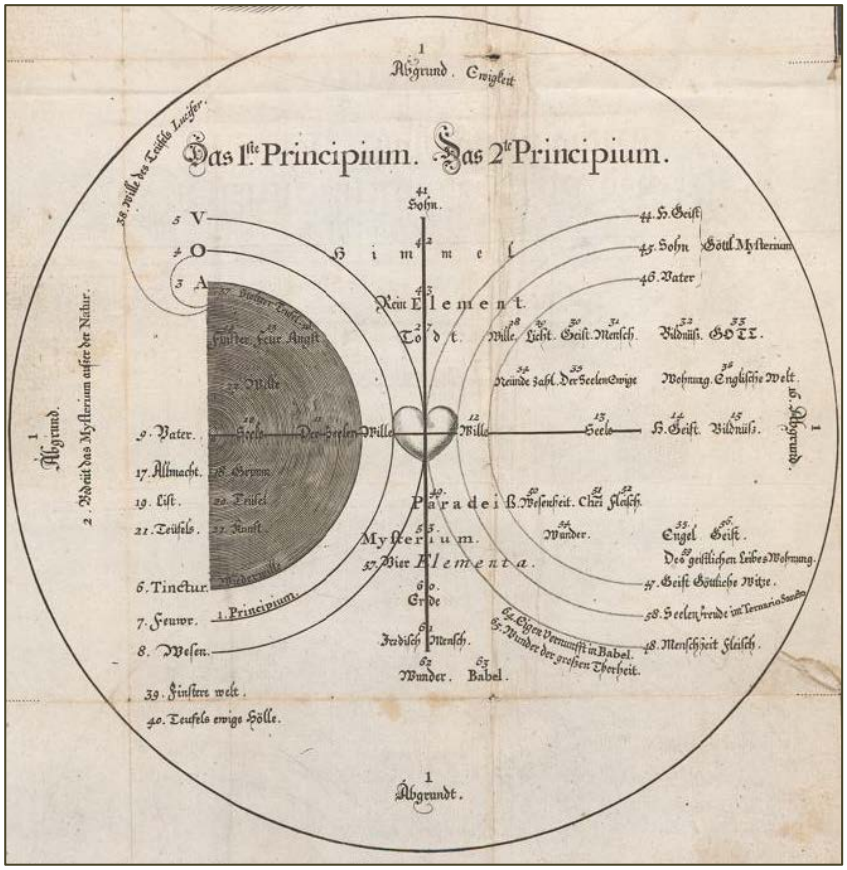

Figure 17

10.6.3 'Processing the stone'

With attention to the above 'programs,' Jung's *Liber Altus*, in the form of his founding alchemical writings, may be attributed with both a personal and professional aim: respectively, the settlement or 'integration' of *Liber Novus* themes through the constructive method; and the generalization of his *Liber Novus* findings, through the objectifying language of archetypes, to a greater human whole. With respect to the first goal, Jung reports, specifically, that alchemy

[859] Notably, the hemispheres of the *Systema* diagram reflect the same assignment of dark and light. In *The Psychology of the Transference*, Jung identifies the left-handed or "sinister" side with the "dark" unconscious (*CW:16*§410).

aided in his integration of the magician archetype that manifested to him through the *Red Book* personage of Philemon.[860] Given their address, like the magician archetype, both in "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption," one may presume Jung's settlement through *Liber Altus* of additional archetypes as well, including the anima, shadow, and quaternary Self. Such 'integration' may also have extended to other *Red Book* topics that resurface in his alchemical corpus, including those relating to the depontentiation and relativization of the I, the dynamization of the Christ symbol, and symbolic oppositive pairs. As resonant with the first 'program,' Jung remarked, as seen, that the *Red Book* project could have developed into madness had he 'not been able to absorb the overpowering force of the original experiences,' a task he accomplished 'with the help of alchemy,' through which the contents of *Liber Novus* 'found their way into actuality.' As resonant with the second 'program,' he reported in the Protocols that

> there were things [in *Liber Novus*] that not only concerned me. I already had the feeling back then that it was a message to the world…I knew that, as yet, it was not the right language in which I wrote it down. I still had to translate it. It is out of that then, that my scientific [*wissenschaftlich*] work emerged. The initial form—that was a kind of elevated 'common sense.' It was, indeed, not only for me to listen to it, but also for everyone else.[861]

In support of this comment, Jung declared, in the *Memories* prologue, that his dreams and fantasies "together form the primary matter [*Urstoff*] of my scientific work. They were like liquid-fire basalt, out of which the stone-to-be-processed was crystallized."[862] The execution upon both of these 'programs,' together, may offer a means of fathoming Jung's allegiance to alchemy, of unriddling that *mysterium coniungtionis* originally posed.

10.7 Jung's alchemy as an *ars hermeneutica*

If granting that alchemical texts aided in Jung's 'integration' of *Red Book* components, one may also affirm that the *Red Book* aided in his decipherment of alchemical texts. As a product of his *ars hermetica nova*, Jung's alchemical writings—his *Liber Altus*—may, indeed, be seen as an 'arte-fact' of his *Red Book* project, as something accomplished (*factum*) by means of his

[860] *Memories*, 184.
[861] See Protocols; cf. *Memories*, 188, 192.
[862] Jung (2011), 11; cf. *Memories*, 4. This striking metaphor may suggest, from Jung's perspective, a more particular comparison between *Liber-Altus* and -*Novus* motifs: the 'crystallized' *lapis philosophorum* of historical-alchemical representations and the 'fiery' *Urstoff* of his 'diamond-like' stone (Figure 13).

ars. As articulated in "Redemption," Jung employs, in his method of alchemical research, the adage, *liber librum aperit* ('one book opens another'), but, critically, as guided by 'the gift of understanding': the 'gift,' in his own case, conferred by virtue of his *Red Book* findings. Accordingly, just as Jung's psycho-alchemical praxis may be termed an *ars hermetica nova* on account of its recollection and revitalization of a Western Hermetic tradition, it may also fittingly be designated an *ars hermeneutica* (<Gk. ἑρμηνεύς, interpreter, translator).[863] Jung understands hermeneutics as a means of negotiating, through a set of overarching precepts, disparate bodies of 'psychological' data—e.g., clinical and historical corpora—toward the realization of a certain psychical end, identifying hermeneutics, explicitly, as of central importance to his psycho-historical enterprise.[864] In "Redemption," he recognizes this interpretative art as operative within the history of alchemy itself, maintaining that personal psychical processes are negotiated by alchemical practitioners through the 'analogies' and 'dicta' of their predecessors. Such 'original' alchemists engage, successively, for Jung, in the alchemical stages of the *imaginatio* and *amplificatio*: divisions that may be aligned, respectively, with the 'hermetic' and 'hermeneutic' facets of Jung's 'craft.' Indeed, his two-step formulation may be understood as an historicization of his own aforementioned *Auseinandersetzungen*, these stages mirroring his own *Liber-Novus* and *-Altus* pursuits. Permitting the substitution of the German word, *neu* (new) in place of its Latin analogue (*nova*), the different aspects of Jung's 'art' may be telescoped in the expression, *ars herme(neu)tica*, the composite standing as a succinct description of both the 'alchemy' of Jung's subjects (as judged from his own perspective), and (as judged here) the 'alchemy' of Jung himself.

10.8
The basis for *Liber Altus* in the *Red Book*

One may, of course, question the manner in which Jung conducts his *ars herme(neu)tica*: the method by which he negotiates, by means of his *Liber Novus* findings, his later *Liber Altus* claims. Jung's alchemical works are rightly seen, at least in part, as elaborations of his active imagination efforts. Whether such works communicate a more generalizable body of psychological data depends, critically, however, on one's evaluation of not only his *Transformations* theory of collective psychical forms (see below), but also his application of

[863] The two arts likely share an etymological reference to the messenger god, Hermes (Ερμης) (see, for instance, Plato's *Cratylus*, where the god is identified as an ἑρμηνεύς [Cooper {1997}, 126]).
[864] *N.B.* interpreter <L. *interpres*, mediator, negotiator.

Liber Novus in service of this theory. Through the *Red Book* project, Jung seeks to investigate the substructures of the collective psyche, aspiring, paradoxically, toward a kind of psychological objectivity through greater subjectivity. He desires, figuratively, to traverse through fantasy the 'lower levels' of his house dream, transgressing his own subjective spaces in the reconnaissance of shared domains. In the aftermath of his *Black Book* entries—the records of such reconnaissance—Jung learns to distance himself from the *Imaginationen* through both interior and exterior commentaries, hence avoiding the *Teufelspakt*, the personal identification with *Red Book* motives and claims. By Jung's own admission, the identified patterns of *Liber Altus* aid particularly in this regard. In his avoidance of the *Teufelspakt*, Jung eschews, ostensibly, the station of a *Red Book* prophet, forgoing the proclamation, in his expression, of *Philemon sprach*. The question may be posed, however, of whether Jung perpetuates *Liber Novus* patterns, not through a *Zarathustra*-like fictitious narrative, but through accounts of psycho-historical research. Could *Liber Altus* be designated justly as a kind of *Red Book* confession transmitted through alchemical discourse? Could it, in other words, be characterized as Jung's *Hermes sprach*?

In approaching such a question, one may consider that, via the *Teufelspakt*, an individual mediates and personally identifies with the collective 'energy' of trans-individual 'types.' Through the exercise and application of his *Red Book* project, Jung affirms such mediation, but without such personal identification. Although not a Faustian 'possessor of the great truth,' Jung still stands, by this measure, as its veritable envoy: a Hermetic messenger who, beyond 'self-willing,' conveys his 'message to the world.' He chooses, as seen, the 'symbolic way,' maintaining that the *Red Book* texts express a certain ecumenical gospel (<O.E. *godspel*, good tidings), an epitomized collective 'good news.'[865] Such an understanding need not necessitate, however, the framing of *Liber Altus* as an indiscriminate or wholesale historicization of *Red Book* themes, at least by the 'empirical' reasoning of Jung's psychological *Wissenschaft*. Pertinent in this regard, of course, is his putative corroboration and cultivation of *Red Book* motifs through non-alchemical evidentiary sources: the individuation processes of Morgan and Mann, for instance; or the 'case' of the *Golden Flower* as validation of the quaternary Self. Although such demonstrations are intended to stand as independent attestations of Jung's archetypal phenomenology, the question may remain, as in the 'case' of *Liber Altus*, of how much these proofs, too, have been cast 'in the shadow' of the *Red Book*, patterned on the 'archetype' of a Philemonic 'good word.'

[865] *Liber Novus* may be judged as triply 'ecumenical' in its communication of (revised) Christian doctrine, enterprise of (symbolic) unification, and claim to a kind of (archetypal) universalism.

10.9

“Dream Symbols” and “Redemption” as Jung’s *Transformations II*

In the practice of an *ars herme(neu)tica*, Jung relies for his understanding of Hermetic texts upon conceptualizations of *Liber Novus* themes, the *Red Book*, in this way, providing the content upon which his hermeneutics is based. Like such content, one may question, too, the very method by which this hermeneutics is plied, namely, the *Transformations* theory of collective psychical forms. If, as Jung suggested, the *Red Book* material supplies the *prima materia* for his later comparative claims, then *Transformations* may be fittingly characterized as the vessel in which he shapes this material. Indeed, as previously advanced, without the ‘apparatus’ of this pivotal study, *Liber Novus* and *Altus* would likely never have been generated at all. As noted, Jung seeks to develop through *Transformations* a new ‘archaeology of mind.’ In collaboration with Freud and other colleagues, he introduces thereby not only a new kind of historical psychology, but also a novel sort of psychological history, in the process attempting the reorientation of such nineteenth-century disciplines as *Völkerpsychologie*, Haeckelian biology, anthropology, and philology. Apropos of the last, Jung exercises in his text a recognized ‘philological method’ that admits the apposition and admixture of findings across disparate evidentiary types. Considered more generally, Jung’s *Transformations* psychology may be understood as an endeavored science of unification between then-constituted *Natur-* and *Geisteswissenschaften*, a holistic project of human innateness intended to situate individuals and collectives in phylogenetic patterns of mind. If more narrowly considering Jung as a creative contributor to the alchemical tradition, the *Transformations* methodology may be distinguished as his philosophers’ stone, a *lapis comparationis* by which his ‘alchemy’ is processed, with which his *Liber Altus* is inscribed. Jung first exercises this ‘stone,’ of course, via the ‘case’ of Frank Miller, which he amalgamates with further clinical, historical, and ethnographic accounts. Through such discursive syntheses, he demonstrates her ‘ontogenetic repetition’ of ‘phylogenetic psychology,’ in the process transmuting a narrative ‘lump of clay’ into a nugget of comparative gold. As seen, the Miller ‘treatment’ fosters the generation and psycho-mythic elaboration of his own *Liber Novus* ‘case’—the ‘embroidery’ and ‘amplification,’ as it were, of his own ‘novelistic’ report. If establishing a conceptual model upon which later ‘experiments’ could be framed, *Transformations* also yields, for Jung, an enduring expositional template, its collocation of clinical and historical data later repeated in his “Dream Symbols” and “Redemption” essays: the Miller study may thus be deemed a prototype of this later *Liber Altus* pair. In a complementary fashion, the 1935 and 1936 texts may, together, be regarded as a figurative *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido: Part II*,

a comprehensive sequel to his original 1911-1912 composition—one based upon not merely a principle of introversion, but also a *Liber-Novus*-derived phenomenology. In "Dream Symbols," Jung enlists the Pauli case as he did Miller's, but in explication of the Self relation that—Pauli's experiences aside—Jung encountered through the *Red Book* project. Although paralleled to some degree in his 1935 essay, the comparative elements of *Transformations* are replicated much more in "Redemption"—not, of course, as trained upon such historical topics as Gnosticism, Mithraism, and "The Song of Hiawatha," but in elucidation of Western alchemical texts.[866] In view of its content and design, *Transformations II* may aptly be judged as a summation of Jung's previous work: a clinical-historical demonstration of his *Red Book* phenomenology as realized through an expositional reconstruction of his Miller-study discourse.[867]

10.10

Jung's *ars herme(neu)tica* as an *ars librapyrica*

In final consideration of Jung's *Liber Altus* 'art,' one may profitably heed his own dual characterization of the alchemical *opus*—that twofold schema of the *imaginatio* and *amplificatio*. In illustration of this enterprise, he reproduces, in "Redemption," an image from the *Tripus Aureus* (see cover illustration), of which he writes:

> The title-vignette of the *Tripus Aureus* of 1677 vividly illustrates the double-face [*Doppelgesicht*] of alchemy. The picture is divided into two parts: on the right is a laboratory, in which a man clad only in shorts is busy at the fire; on the left is a library, in which a bishop, a philosopher, and a man of the world, presumably a doctor, confer with one another. In the middle, though, on the furnace, ascends the tripod with the flask, in which the winged dragon appears. The dragon symbolizes the experience, the vision of the labouring and 'theorizing' alchemist.[868]

[866] Even if shifting its historical focus, *Liber Altus*, as represented by the 1935 and 1936 essays, perpetuates a number of motifs found both in *Liber Novus* and in *Transformations*, including, as mentioned, conceptions of sacrifice, the Christ form, and the animal nature of man.
[867] The complementary nature of the 1935 and 1936 essays are, of course, underscored through their eventual combination by Jung in 1944.
[868] Jung (1937), 42; *Musæum* (1678), 373; see also *CW:12*§404. Maier's *Tripus Aureus* (*Golden Tripod*) contains three alchemical texts, *The Twelve Keys of Basil Valentine*, Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy*, and the *Testament of Cremer*. The unattributed image is likely the work of the Swiss-born engraver, Matthäus Merian the Elder (1593-1650), who provided the images for Maier's *Atalanta fugiens* (Maier [1989], 15).

Given that alchemy, for Jung, entails his own psychology of individuation, these designations of the *imaginatio* and *amplificatio*, of the 'laboratory' and the 'library,' of imaginal 'labouring' and comparative 'theorizing,' may be used to describe what Jung, himself, enacts in the practice of his 'art.'[869] The *imaginatio* and *amplificatio* of the image may represent, further, a number of dualities found constitutive in the chronicling of Jung's alchemical approach, respectively: the founding "Dream Symbols" and "Redemption" essays; the *ars hermetica* and *ars hermeneutica*; the *Auseinandersetzungen* of *Liber Novus* and *Liber Altus*; and the *annus duplex*, his 'double-faced' year.[870] As reflected in the 'library' and 'laboratory' of the vignette, one may envision Jung's 'alchemy' as consisting, figuratively, of both 'books' and 'fire': respectively, of relatively indirect and direct encounters with ostensibly 'numinous' psychical forms. Jung's *ars herme(neu)tica* could thus be denominated an *ars librapyrica* (<L. *liber*, book + *pyra*, pyre), a *librapyric* art.[871]

In his writing of *Liber Altus*, specifically those texts of *Transformations II*, Jung undertook the reorientation of historical alchemical research. Some four centuries before, Paracelsus had striven for the same, writing of alchemy not as an enterprise centered on the production of gold, an *ars aurifera*, but as one engaged, properly, with the development of a healing elixir, an *ars spagyrica*.[872] Through his *ars librapyrica*, Jung wages, in the interest of an archetypal science, such a repositioning again. His alchemical thought, introduced here in its reasoning and roots, marks a new era in the history of alchemy, a new chapter in the annals of an enigmatic art. Therein, one may read how alchemy was illumined by psyche. Therein, one may see how alchemy was brought, for a new age, to mind.

[869] With such knowledge of Jung's conceptions of the *amplificatio* and *imaginatio*, one may look newly upon his 'binary' alchemical view as summarized by Dobbs (see Introduction, 0.4.2).
[870] As an emblem of Jung's art, the image may be elucidated further with respect, for example, to its quartet of figures, arranged, notably, in a trinity-and-fourth configuration; as well as to the tripod as suggesting a similar kind of configuration, the dragon-filled flask serving as a (Faustian) visionary 'key' (see note, 3.4.3).
[871] As suggested by the neologism, Jung engages through his 'alchemy' in a special kind of 'book-burning,' allowing the 'fire' of *Imaginationen* to guide his reading of alchemical texts. He, in other words, 'rends the books,' subordinating—indeed, 'sacrificing'—his 'intellect' to experiences of unconscious processes, apprehending that the application of such 'intellect,' without sufficient (numinous) experience, will ring hollow, not unlike an empty alchemical flask. With an eye to the aforementioned shortcomings of Jung's alchemical scholarship, one may, of course, employ the 'book-burning' metaphor in a more critical sense, highlighting the historical distortions of, as it were, Jung's 'empyrical' approach.
[872] Concerning Paracelsus' *ars spagyrica* (<Gk. σπάω, to extract, + αγείρω, to collect), see his *Paragranum* and *Paramirum* (e.g., Paracelsus [2008], 220f., 340f.).

Appendix

Timeline of selected texts and events

1909	House dream
1911	“New Paths in Psychology”
1911-1912	*Transformations and Symbols of the Libido* (two parts)
1913	Schaffhausen vision and start of Red Book activity
1913-1916	Generation of primary textual data for the *Red Book* project
1914	“On Psychological Understanding”
1915-1930	Creation of the *Red Book* calligraphic volume
1916	“The Structure of the Unconscious”
1916	“The Transcendent Function”
1916	*Systema munditotius* diagram
1917	“The Psychology of Unconscious Processes” (revision of “New Paths” essay)
1917	Phanes series of sketches
1919	*Lapis philosophorum* painting
1921	*Psychological Types*
1925	“Analytical Psychology” seminar
c. 1925	Annex series of dreams
c. 1926	Manor house dream
1927	Liverpool dream
1928	*Relations Between the I and the Unconscious* (revision of “Structure” essay)
1928	Mann’s quicksilver painting
1928	Receipt of the *Golden Flower* text
1928-1930	“Dream Analysis” seminar
1929	*Golden Flower* commentary
1930-1934	“Visions” seminar
1933	“On the Empirical Evidence of the Individuation Process”
1934	“On the Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious”
1935	“Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process”
1936	“Notions of Redemption in Alchemy”

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