

Chapter II

Jung's Early Work

The Pre-Freudian Notion of the Unconscious

Before becoming acquainted with Freud's work, Jung was already familiar with a concept of the unconscious derived from the Romantic philosophy of nature. It is important to keep this Romantic concept in mind if we are to closely follow the dialogue between Jung and Freud on the unconscious. What initially seems to be a most confused discussion becomes clear once we realize the different conceptual frameworks of the two thinkers. The fact that these conceptual frameworks are not made explicit explains why Freud and Jung arrived at diverging conclusions even though for a long while they shared the same clinical material and employed identical terminology.

Romanticism is principally an affirmation of the unity between man and nature. In opposition to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the accompanying separation of matter and spirit, the Romantic movement aimed at restoring harmony between nature and spirit. For this reason, it appealed to the organic model. Since spirit and matter belong to the one and the same cosmos, they must be naturally attuned to each other. This conviction, that creation formed an organic whole, was also transferred to the concept of history. History was seen as one great process within which all particular events were propelled by the synthesizing power of a higher finality. The findings of the emergent theory of evolution were readily evoked to connect the unity of body and spirit with the historical process of the cosmos. It was precisely through the unfolding process of evolution that psychic life developed from animal life in the course of time. The unconscious was shown to be a transition stage between these two lives.

Central to such a philosophy of nature is the notion of an organism that developed from the first germ cells according to a certain innate law. The whole of nature is an immense unfolding of potentialities which are present from the beginning. It is within this process that the unconscious is situated as a preliminary stage of consciousness. This preliminary stage normally develops spontaneously into the higher state of consciousness but if, for one reason or another, the transition does not take place, the psyche remains caught in the lower unconscious form.

The classic and most popular representative of this Romantic philosophy of nature and its concept of the unconscious was Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906). In his voluminous work *The Philosophy of the Unconscious* he argued that if one made a careful study of the physiological and zoopsychological phenomena of nature, one was forced to admit the existence of unconscious representations and an unconscious will. The idea of the unconscious which resulted from these data seemed to be the key which unlocked the hidden unity of the universe. For von Hartmann, the unconscious also supplied the answer to certain metaphysical questions. It allowed the finality of nature to appear and it presented itself as the core of all philosophical systems such as: the substance of Spinoza; the absolute Ego of Fichte; the absolute subject-object of Schelling; the absolute idea of Plato and Hegel; the Will of Schopenhauer etc. ...¹

Von Hartmann described the unfolding of the cosmos as resulting from the antinomy between the two different elements which constitute the unconscious: unconscious representations and unconscious will. Initially, the representation was the slave of the will. The being, still bound to instinct, could only represent whatever was at that same time desired by need.² However, the cosmic process was ultimately directed toward letting the representation triumph over the will. A psyche must arise, highly valuing representation and undermining the instinctual ground from whence representation originated. Von Hartmann considered that this would occur whenever humanity as a whole reaches such a level of spirituality that it decides to remove the absurdity of an existence which is bound to instinct by means of collective suicide. Consciousness was thus, in von Hartmann's view, that which must develop from the unconscious according to cosmic finality. With the formation of consciousness, the representation freed itself from the dominion of the will in order to have the ability to turn against the will. Nature allowed consciousness to arise from the unconscious so that the great purification (cosmic suicide) could take place.³

Jung read von Hartmann most eagerly and was, no doubt, deeply influenced by his thought (without however adopting such a pessimistic view).⁴ Indeed, a similar trend of thought can be found in all the other

1. E. VON HARTMANN, *Philosophie des Unbewussten* (1st ed.: 1869) Berlin, Duncker, 7th ed.: 1876, I, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 97.

3. *Ibid.*, II, p. 410-411.

4. C.G. JUNG, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, (1st ed.: 1961), New York, Pantheon Books, revised ed.: 1973, p. 105.

authors who influenced Jung more specifically in his early psychiatric training. The unconscious was constantly situated as a preliminary stage of spirit. In the background, there appeared the representation of an organically structured cosmos within which the transition from instinct to spirit was interpreted as an extremely important mutation.

Moreover, within the framework of a philosophy such as von Hartmann's, there was plenty of scope for an experimental and scientific approach to man and nature. With an evolutionary model in mind, nature was studied and classified. In this way, it was discovered that the cosmos, from the simplest elements of life, had brought forth first the animal kingdom and finally man with his consciousness as the culminating point of an organic development. In this perspective, the psychic as well as the somatic had developed from more elementary forms which were then laboriously traced. Attention was also directed to the unconscious as the lower form of psychic development, vestiges of which could still be perceived in man's psyche just as marks of a previous stage of evolution could be detected in the body.

The progress of the positive sciences ultimately brought about little change in this pattern of thought. The data of these positive sciences, which were used to support the first syntheses of natural philosophy such as von Hartmann's, were certainly criticized and replaced by other data, but the central idea was retained. The cosmos was still regarded as an organism which developed according to its own internal laws. However, the ultimate interpretation was no longer necessarily in the line of a transcendent spiritual finality. There was a reversal to a materialistic interpretation caused by the discovery of more elementary forms. This discovery led to a reduction of the lower forms of life to a mere accidental combination of these more elementary forms. In this way, the idea of finality was replaced by the notion of chance.

The presuppositions of the Romantic philosophy of nature were maintained in this materialistic view. Conscious man remained the finished product of a process within which the unconscious reflected a lower stage of evolution. The discussion between materialists and spiritualists can ultimately be reduced to the following: whether the conscious ego constituted the highest form which was the culmination of a purposeful evolutionary process and thus whether the psyche had a higher value or whether it was simply a matter of an accidental finished product, to which no particular value should be attributed. In the latter case, we should speak only of an epiphenomenon which, as in Bleuler's metaphor (to be discussed later) can be compared to the ticking of a clock.

Jung's development is to be placed within the context of these discussions between the materialists and the spiritualists - both of whom, as we have seen, while clearly holding different positions, were nevertheless operating within the same basic conceptual framework. It will later be seen how Jung also assimilated this pattern of thought, which explains exactly why he was unable to grasp that which was particular to Freudian thought.

A Few Biographical Notes on Jung's Youth and Studies

Although since a few years we have some more detailed biographies of Carl Gustav Jung are at our disposal, we are still to a great extent dependent upon his autobiography, much of which he dictated shortly before his death.⁵ This work is a rather meditative reflection on his inner life. There is little opportunity for reference to factual data and when such an occasion does arise, the information is often inaccurate. In *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, Ellenberger has collected most of the information which is thus far known.⁶ Gustav Steiner has recorded his memories of Jung's youth, when they had been friends.⁷

As the son of a village minister, Jung grew up in a thoroughly religious milieu which left a permanent impression on him. Although religion fascinated him, it also appeared to him as something extremely frightening. From his early youth, he recalled a whole fantasy world centred around the image of the crucified Christ, the bloody body that offered him protection but at the same time greatly disturbed him. In this way, Carl Gustav grew up with that mixture of fascination and fear which, since Rudolf Otto (1869-1937), has readily been seen as the mark of a religious sensitivity.

High expectations often lead to disillusion. Jung recalled two such experiences from this period. The first occasion was when the time arrived for the long expected chapter on Trinity to be discussed in catechism class. The minister, Jung's father, skipped this chapter because it was too difficult and of little importance to daily Christian life. Jung experienced

5. Most of the biographical works are discussed in the bibliographical notice at the end of this work. The most complete and objective work seems to be that of G. WEHR, *Jung. A Biography*, Boston & London, Shambhala, 1987. Original: *Carl Gustav Jung. Leben, Werk, Wirkung*, Munich, Kösel, 1985.

6. H. ELLENBERGER, *The Discovery of the Unconscious. The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*, London, Allen Lane, 1970, p. 657-748.

7. G. STEINER, *Erinnerungen an Carl Gustav Jung* in: FR. GRIEDER, *Basler Stadtbuch 1965. Jahrbuch für Kultur und Geschichte*, Basel, von Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 117-163.

disillusion again on the occasion of his first communion when he realized that the body and blood of the Lord tasted like dry bread and sour wine.

During his secondary school studies, he acquired an interest in philosophy. He read Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and Goethe. For Jung, Goethe's Faust constituted the religious work *par excellence*. In this work, he continued to recognize his religious feelings. It was while reading this Romantic philosophical tradition that he discovered the concept of the unconscious. This was also the period when Jung's fascination with religion took the form of the following question: what function do religious representations have within the evolutionary history of the cosmos?

Not only the cosmos, but also history can be charged with religious meaning. For Jung this was experienced in a very direct way through his family tradition. There was a rumour that Jung's grandfather, Carl Gustav Jung (1794-1864), was the natural son of Goethe.⁸ Jung's grandfather was in any case a remarkable man. Having studied natural sciences and medicine in Heidelberg, he worked as an assistant surgeon at the *Charité* in Berlin. There he was converted from Catholicism to Protestantism by Friedrich Schleiermacher himself. It should be noted that there were already family ties between the Schleiermachers and the Jungs. The uncle of Jung's grandfather married the younger sister of the great theologian. Shortly afterwards, Jung's grandfather was involved in a revolutionary movement. He was forced to seek refuge in Paris. There he became acquainted with Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). Thanks to the latter, he was appointed professor at the University of Basel where he reorganized the Faculty of Medicine. He later became rector of the university. He was also the Master of the Swiss Freemasons. One can easily understand the power of such a model for the grandson.⁹

According to his autobiography, Jung's decision to study medicine was a compromise between his love for cultural history and his love for the positive sciences. In those fleeting years as a student, he was a member of *Zofingia*, a student organization which provided the opportunity for lively debates. The archives of this student club have been preserved and they give evidence to the fact that Jung was a regular speaker, especially on religious matters. Although nothing delighted him more than seeing theology students hard pressed by his sceptical manner, he nonetheless passionately defended the value of the spiritual against materialism. In

8. More information concerning this rumour, given however from the critical view of the maternal branch of Jung's family, can be found in: ST. ZUMSTEIN-PREISWERK, *C.G. Jung's Medium. Die Geschichte der Helly Preiswerk*, Munich, Kindler, 1975, p. 114-119.

9. For further information confer G. WEHR, *Jung. A Biography*, p. 13-17.

doing so, he did not renounce his faith in the positive sciences. He argued that it should be possible to prove the reality of the spiritual by experimental means, viz, by a positive scientific investigation of psychic states such as hypnosis, suggestion and spiritism. Since no physical explanation was to be found for these states, one could point to a spiritual causality. However, Jung could not tolerate the way in which theologians approached religion. He was particularly opposed to the liberal rationalist theology of Ritschl who, in his view, deprived religion of its essential mystical core.¹⁰

Besides the discussions in the *Zofingia*, there were also the spiritistic seances which Jung eagerly attended. In July 1899, his younger cousin started acting as a medium. The first experiments were only with table-turning but before long the medium passed over into a somnambulistic state.¹¹

It is not surprising that Jung immediately showed interest in this subject and faithfully participated in all the sittings, at least until April 1900 when the medium seemed to weaken. Around this period, Jung probably devoted all his time to the preparation for the state examination in medicine. This episode is, however, important. Jung took copious notes during the sittings and his doctoral dissertation later consisted of a psychological analysis of these phenomena.

10. Jung's talks have been published in a supplementary volume of the English translation of the Collected Works, but not yet in German: C.G. JUNG, *The Zofingia Lectures*, (Supplementary volume A to the *Collected Works*) London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983.

11. According to the medium's family, table-turning experiments were performed as early as the summer of 1895. See ST. ZUMSTEIN-PREISWERK, *C.G. Jung's Medium. Die Geschichte der Helly Preiswerk*, p. 53. In the part of the Jung archives deposited in the library of the Polytechnical Institute of the Swiss Confederation (ETH) in Zurich, I found three reports of 'Spiritistic experiments' (Manuscript Hs 1055: 1a). The first two reports deal with experiments performed at Jung's house in the presence of certain friends (Jung is indicated by his student nickname 'Walze') on March 19th and 22nd, 1897. These reports merely give a description of the attempt to communicate with a spirit, which finally revealed itself as 'K.G. Jung' (At that time Jung spelled his name 'Karl'). It is not clear if Jung's grandfather was meant. The third report (indicated with the roman numeral IV in the margin, so that we can infer that one report is missing), is the most important. This experiment took place on August 18th, 1897 in the 'Bottminger Mühle', Jung's uncle's home, where the Jung family had moved after the death of Jung's father. This seems to be the very impressive fourth seance described in *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, C.W. I, § 48. However the first three seances reported in the dissertation are obviously not those described in the manuscript in the Jung archives. St. Zumstein-Preiswerk seems to be correct in claiming that the seances took place in 1897 and not in 1899 as Jung mentioned in his dissertation.

In those days, there was nothing peculiar about such a topic. Somnambulistic states were then a privileged field of study and phenomena such as table-turning and spiritism were not uncommon.¹²

In 1902, Jung completed his dissertation *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*. In the meantime, he had taken the state examination. From 11 December 1900 on, he was working as an assistant at the Burghölzli, the psychiatric clinic of the University of Zurich, under the direction of the eminent psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939). As a young assistant, Jung had to reside in the clinic in splendid isolation. He told how, for six months, he was practically out of contact with the outside world and how he waded through fifty volumes of *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*.¹³ Most of his free time was devoted to writing his thesis.

Jung's dissertation was less than one hundred pages long. It has often been claimed that this work foreshadowed many of his later ideas. Perhaps it would be more true to say that the dissertation gave strong evidence of certain concepts which continued to determine Jung's later thought. These concepts were the belief in an organically constructed cosmos whereby all elements contribute to the realization of the same end according to certain inherent laws and the belief in the method of the natural sciences as being the key to discovering the aim of the whole from the observation of details.

Sources

Theodore Ziehen

Theodore Ziehen (1862-1950) is regularly referred to as having the greatest influence upon Jung. He is also said to be the author of the term 'complex' which Jung introduced into the psychoanalytic vocabulary. On closer investigation, however, it does not at all seem clear that Jung was directly influenced by Ziehen. It is true, of course, that Ziehen was an important authority in German psychiatry at the time when Jung received his training. Perhaps it is as such that he ought to be mentioned.

In the discussion between the spiritualists and the materialists, Ziehen can be placed among the ranks of the convinced materialists. He was vehemently opposed to the influential school of Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), which combined its experimental approach with a spiritualistic perspective. Wundt was of the opinion that it was simply impossible to

12. See H. ELLENBERGER, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 83-85.

13. C.G. JUNG, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p. 114.

give an exhaustive account of how the human psyche operated by starting from the reflex reaction and elementary laws of association. He also postulated the existence of an autonomous psychic causality, apperception, which was responsible for the construction of higher psychic forms. The language Wundt used in this connection was very spiritualistic. He spoke of a 'psychic causality of the will' and of 'the incomparable nature of physical and psychic causality'.¹⁴

Ziehen was opposed to such spiritualism. His whole work was intended to show that it precisely was possible to give an exhaustive account of the origin of such a complex whole as the human psyche by starting from simple psychophysiological laws.

In his attempt to give a detailed description of the manner in which psychic forms strive after complexification, he developed two concepts which have become part of the history of psychology, viz, the concepts 'transference' and 'constellation'.

Ziehen used the term 'transference' to point to the fact that the affective charge of a certain representation has the tendency to attach itself to associated representations. He gave the following example. If one has been involved in an accident, it is often not only the representation of the accident that makes one feel uneasy but also the representation of the place where the accident occurred. Transference was thus an expansion of the affect to related representations. In this sense, transference was among those processes which were constitutive of the higher forms of the psyche.¹⁵

It should be mentioned in passing that there is a difference between this concept and the Freudian notion of 'displacement'. Freud focused on the fact that the affective charge of a certain representation could be neutralized by shifting the affective charge to a related representation. This Freudian idea, with its connotation of defence, had no place in a conceptual framework such as Ziehen's, where the psyche was a mere resultant and thus could not be seen as an active agent.

The notion of 'constellation' was a second concept developed by Ziehen to explain how higher psychic forms were constituted. This concept was evoked to explain why it was not always the most frequently associated or the most affectively charged representation which dominated

14. W. WUNDT, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie* III, p. 316. Much has been written on the theory of apperception. For a short summary, see O. STAUDE, *Der Begriff der Apperzeption in der neueren Psychologie*. In: W. WUNDT (ed.), *Philosophische Studien* 1 (1883) 149-212.

15. T. ZIEHEN, *Leitfaden der physiologischen Psychologie*, Jena, Fischer, 1898, p. 147.

the thought process. A weak representation could thus be joined by another representation and, according to Ziehen, this accounted for the variability in the thought process. The constellation increased or decreased the energy of certain latent representations as a consequence of the presence of another representation.¹⁶ However, it remains unclear exactly how Ziehen saw the working of this constellation mechanism. He simply dismissed the problem with a presentation of several examples.

In 'transference' and 'constellation', we are repeatedly concerned with the idea that elementary forms constitute themselves into a more complex whole without the intervention of a specifically spiritual faculty such as apperception. Ziehen gave explicit consideration to the ego as the finished product of such a process. He defined it as a specific complex of memory images connected by association, the complex having arisen in the course of the individual's ontogenetic development.¹⁷

Ziehen also gave a brief description of the elements involved in this ego representation: the representation of one's own body as a unity; the sum of momentary inclinations and predominant representations; and the idea of a succession of physical and psychic events from the past.¹⁸ In Ziehen's view, "empirical psychology only knows this composite ego".¹⁹

It is clear then that Ziehen considered the ego as a mere resultant. The ego's dynamism was to be found in single impressions of representations. In physiological psychology, there was simply no question of an 'ego' which could be an active principle.

It is not at all certain whether Ziehen had a direct influence on Jung. In Jung's early work, Ziehen was seldom quoted. Although the term 'complex' appeared repeatedly in Ziehen's works, it was by no means a specifically technical term which was characteristic of his works. A complex was simply understood as a conglomeration of elementary psychic units. It is in this sense that the term was current in psychological literature. In his early works, even Freud spontaneously employed the term 'representation complex'.²⁰ There is thus little positive evidence that Ziehen had a specific influence on Jung.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

19. "Die empirische Psychologie kennt nur jenes zusammengesetztes Ich..." *Ibid.*, p. 203.

20. S. FREUD, *Studies on Hysteria*, C.W. I, p. 234, S.E. II, p. 166. In the S.E. the German 'Vorstellungscomplex' was translated with 'ideational complex'. To be consistent, 'representation complex' is used here.

In German psychiatry, Ziehen was definitely an authority. It is even possible that, during his training, Jung studied Ziehen's handbook of psychiatry.²¹ There was, nevertheless, a much more direct connection between Jung and German psychiatry. Especially concerning the theory of the 'complex', Jung was immediately influenced by Bleuler. It is remarkable that so little attention has been paid to Bleuler. Before we consider him however, we must turn our attention to French psychiatry and to someone else who deeply influenced Jung: Pierre Janet.

Pierre Janet

One of the names constantly quoted by Jung in his early writings was that of Pierre Janet (1859-1947), whose influence on Jung should not be underestimated. While German psychiatry was dominated by E. Kraepelin (1856-1926), who attempted to classify psychic disorders on the basis of an organic presupposition, Janet represented the new French style of psychiatry then emerging. This French school was especially interested in hypnosis and other sorts of phenomena of dissociation, thus opening an area of psychology largely ignored by the Germans. Jung was attracted to these phenomena and even wrote his dissertation with the express intention of making up for the lacuna in German literature which seemed to show a real aversion to the study of such matters.²²

The personalities of Jung and Janet are remarkably similar.²³ Both experienced a religious crisis in their adolescence. In his autobiography, Janet records how his interest in psychology was a compromise between his religious feelings and his love for the natural sciences. Jung had chosen to study medicine for basically the same reason. Like Jung, Janet maintained a permanent interest in religion though there is little evidence of this in his publications. Only one book, *De l'angoisse à l'extase* (1926-1928) was devoted to the subject of religion. Janet was a friend of H. Bergson (1859-1941), who was in the class ahead of him at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, while Jung met P. Häberlin (1878-1960) at university. The philosophical thought which Häberlin represented in Switzerland was analogous to that represented by Bergson in France. Janet, like Jung, was also interested in alchemy. The Latin thesis presented along with his main thesis to obtain the degree of *doctorat ès lettres* dealt

21. T. ZIEHEN, *Psychiatrie für Aertze und Studirende bearbeitet*, Berlin, Wreden, 1894..

22. C.G. JUNG, *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, C.W. I, p. 18.

23. Biographical material on Janet has been taken from H. ELLENBERGER, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 331-356.

with the influence of the earlier alchemists on Bacon. What is most important for us is the fact that Janet's first investigations were concerned with the psychology of somnambulistic states. He gave an exhaustive account of these investigations in his doctoral dissertation *L'automatisme psychologique* (1889), which had a profound influence on Jung's own dissertation, *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*.

Janet's principal thesis was that the human psyche consisted of two complementary functions: a synthesizing function and a conservative function. The synthesizing activity united the different contents of consciousness in one totality, which was constantly renewing itself. This took place in perception, the act whereby the results of earlier syntheses were assimilated with the new contents of consciousness to form a whole.²⁴ Indeed, the unity of a person depended upon this synthesizing activity. Janet quite explicitly pointed out that this activity should not be confused with the purely mechanical process whereby a unity came about which was no more than the sum of the various parts. The synthetic activity, on the other hand, was a creative act by which the individual continually connected his present perception with the contents of consciousness from his memory, thereby affirming the continuity and unity of his personal life. That which was called association was only the consequence of this activity. It was the impression on the memory of what the synthetic activity had effected. The term 'association' expressed the fact that the memory retained not only single impressions and images but also the structure which the synthetic activity had given to the contents of consciousness. While the synthetic activity constantly created a new unity and was thus the expression of the life of the individual, the conservative activity held fast to the earlier syntheses.

The synthetic and conservative activities were normally complementary, resulting in a harmonious functioning of body and spirit. It could happen, however, that there was some interference with the synthetic activity, so that all the contents of consciousness were no longer united within one, unique field. A number of 'psychological automatisms' then arose, adopting various forms.

In the first place, there may be a reduction of the field of consciousness, which meant that the psyche was completely occupied with a limited number of representations. The synthetic function apparently remained at fault here, for no new representations were introduced and a number of

24. See P. JANET, *L'automatisme psychologique. Essai de psychologie expérimentale sur les formes inférieures de l'activité humaine*, Paris, Alcan, 1889, p. 306-307.

memories also became unattainable. The most severe form of this was catalepsy, a fairly rare psycho-pathological phenomenon characterized by the fact that the patient remained motionless in a certain position as if he had suddenly become a statue. The organic life, heartbeat and breathing were normal, but all other movement, which could otherwise be considered arbitrary, suddenly seemed to have stopped. The patient, no longer reacting to outside stimuli, appeared to have died. This could reach the classical extreme condition of *flexibilitas cereae*, where the patient could be made to adopt and maintain the most impossible positions just as a wax doll.

Janet offered the following explanation for this phenomenon. Through the reduction of the field of consciousness, one particular representation continued to occupy the whole psychic field. This was accompanied by the fact that the synthetic ability could not bring this representation to a new synthesis with new contents. The psychic life therefore became fossilized in one content of consciousness.

There were also partial forms of psychological automatisms. In such cases, the psyche was, as it were, crushed into autonomous parts, operating independently of each other. This provoked all sorts of phenomena of dissociation. The highest synthesis, the unity of the person, could not be constituted and a considerable number of psychic contents associated autonomously without entering consciousness.

A clear example of this was the unconscious act, by which Janet meant the act "which has all the characteristics of a psychological fact, with one exception, viz, that the person who performs the action does not know at the time he acts that he is performing this action".²⁵ Another example was partial catalepsy. A patient's arm could appear exactly like the arm of a cataleptic, while he laughed and chatted without any concern for his arm.²⁶ We might also mention the unconscious phenomenon of imitation such as copying a coughing-fit or breathing-rhythm.²⁷ Post-hypnotic suggestion lent itself particularly well to experiments in this field as did systematic anaesthesia which, like other stigmas, was more prevalent at that time in cases of hysteria. Certain patients made no physical reaction to the light and heat of a match by one research worker yet they did react with another research worker. Others were systematically insensitive to a particular object or person, that they could neither hear, see, nor touch. Janet considered all this as pointing to the autonomous

25. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

working of a group a psychic contents independent of the total synthesis of consciousness. In the same way, he explained the psychology of the medium in the seances of occultism and spiritism.

Janet regarded hysteria as such a form of psychological disaggregation. Thus anaesthesia appeared in hysteria, not because of an actual numbness but because the sense impressions remained outside of the synthesis of consciousness. On account of this underlying disaggregation, it was not surprising that one found: subconscious acts in cases of hysteria; that the patient was easily hypnotized; that there might have been a split-personality involved; and that the same patient could often act as a medium.

To provisionally summarize Janet's position, one can say that he viewed the unconscious as consisting of the grouping together of contents which escaped present consciousness on account of the feeble, personal power of synthesis. The unconscious was thus seen as that which was dissociated. Janet ultimately explained this unconscious as resulting from a form of psychological inadequacy, '*la misère psychologique*', which he postulated as parallel to physical inadequacy.²⁸ And if one wonders why exactly certain contents escaped the synthesis and others did not, the only answer Janet gave was that perhaps the synthesis retained the most useful or most pleasant contents. For this reason, the left side of the body was more often paralyzed than the right side.²⁹

In connection with this, it should be pointed out that *L'automatisme psychologique* was thus a long way from Freud, with regard to the concept of the unconscious. According to Janet, there was neither a dynamic concept supported by a theory of drives nor any idea in the direction of a theory of conflict and of repression. It is certainly true that particular case studies and even several of Janet's practical conclusions seemed to approach some of Freud's views. This applies specifically to Janet's theory of subconscious *idées fixes*. This theory was still in a rather embryonic state in *L'automatisme psychologique*. However, it was especially developed later by Janet during his research at the Salpêtrière in Paris, and can be found more fully explained in *L'état mental des hystériques* (1894). Indeed, he declared that in mental disturbances, especially in cases of obsession and hysteria, one had to return to the past and trace the pathogenic moment. In *L'état mental des hystériques*, there was a paragraph devoted to the 'old and latent *idée fixe*' and another

28. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

dealing with the 'primary and secondary *idée fixe*'.³⁰ It is hardly surprising then that there was a quarrel between Freud and Janet concerning the claim of who was the first to discover the cathartic method. Nevertheless, with regard to its aetiology, Janet continued to posit a psychic inadequacy. The subconscious ideas were earlier syntheses which, on account of an inadequate power of synthesis, remained outside the synthesis of the ego and were thus adrift in a fossilized autonomous existence. When he summarized his views in the shorter work *Les névroses* (1909), he wrote the following conclusion to the chapter on hysteria:³¹

"Hysteria thus becomes a form of mental depression characterized by a reduction of the field of personal consciousness and by a tendency to the dissociation and to the emancipation of systems of ideas and functions which constitute the personality by their synthesis."

Janet thus assigned no role to the significance of the symptoms or of the situation in which these symptoms arose. Nor was there a dynamic tension between consciousness and unconsciousness. The occurrence of dissociation could best be compared to what happened in certain lower life forms which could be divided into two or more parts with the result that each part continued to live on its own without concern for the other half.

Janet's greatest merit laid in the fact that his accurate analysis of details enabled him to demonstrate that the unconscious consisted of specified concrete contents. His empirical psychological work contrasted sharply with the attitude of German psychiatry which, while certainly valuing the practice of keen observation, was nevertheless exclusively concerned with localizing what was thought to be an injury to the anatomical brain.

Janet did not get very far, however. His explanation may have been on the psychic level but his last word was 'psychic inadequacy'. The dynamism proper to psychic symptoms was barely touched upon.

It is also striking that Janet never parted from the conceptual framework of the Romantic philosophy of nature, even though he was explicitly opposed to this current of thought. Janet reproached Romanticism for its speculative and metaphysical character. He found it most ironic that von Hartmann should admire a mysterious activity which took place inside of

30. P. JANET, *L'état mental des hystériques*, (1st ed.: 1894) Paris, Alcan, 2nd ed.: 1911, p. 629.

31. P. JANET, *Les névroses*, Paris, Flammarion, 1909, p. 345.

us without our realizing it.³² Janet's intent was clear. With regard to the unconscious, he wanted to restrict himself to what was empirically establishable and he found this possible with the automatisms. The unconscious consisted of a well-defined group of contents, dissociated from the group which constituted the conscious personality. These contents were of the exact same nature whether they were conscious or unconscious.

This concept nevertheless involved viewing the ego as a product or resultant. Janet was thus not as far from von Hartmann as he thought. The reason why Janet considered the possibility of dissociation between two groups of contents of consciousness was that he presumed a certain inadequacy on the part of the psychic powers of synthesis. If this power was greater, all contents would be united in one group and there would be but one personality. The personality was the result of a number of concrete contents of consciousness and a more indistinct and impersonal power of synthesis. The ego was the finished product of this power and it remained a kind of emergence.

Théodore Flournoy

Once again there is an irresistible temptation to include a few biographical notes concerning Théodore Flournoy (1854-1920). There is a striking parallel between Flournoy and both Jung and Janet.³³ After having studied positive sciences under the strict materialist Karl Vogt (1817-1895), he enrolled in the faculty of theology but soon migrated to the study of natural sciences. He earned his degree as a medical doctor and then travelled to Leipzig to study with Wundt. After reading Kant, Flournoy regained interest in philosophy. He became a lecturer in history, philosophy of science and physiology, and he published a work on metaphysics and psychology.³⁴ In 1892, he opened a laboratory of experimental psychology, doing research on reaction times, associations, illusionary perceptions and similar subjects. He soon became interested in parapsychology and it was in this context that he wrote the work which directly inspired Jung. Under the influence of William James (1842-1910), he later devoted himself particularly to the psychology of religion.

32. See Janet's preface to J. JASTROW, *La subconscience*, Paris, Alcan, 1908.

33. For more biographical information: E. CLAPARÈDE, *Théodore Flournoy. Sa vie, son oeuvre*. In: *Archives de Psychologie* 18 (1923) 1-125. The grandchild of Flournoy, who became a psychoanalyst, wrote a book on his grandfather: O. FLOURNOY, *Théodore et Léopold. De Théodore Flournoy à la psychanalyse*, Geneva, La Baconnière, 1986.

34. T. FLOURNOY, *Métaphysique et psychologie*, Geneva, Kundig, 1919.

It need be of no surprise to us that Jung was fascinated by the work *Des Indes à la planète Mars* (1900) in which Flournoy gave a detailed description of the seances and the psychology of a medium whom he called Héléne Smith. In a somnambulistic state, Smith claimed to be under the protection of a spirit named Léopold. She recounted two of her previous incarnations: her life as an eastern princess, the beloved wife of an eastern prince who was now incarnated anew in Flournoy; and her life as Marie-Antoinette, the unfortunate wife of Louis XVI. She was also able to transpose her spirit to Mars and to reveal the secrets of this planet. All this was narrated by her, either directly in a state of trance or through the usual spiritistic means such as table-turning, automatic writing and the sort. The similarity with Jung's study of S.W. comes immediately to mind here.

What was particularly characteristic of Héléne Smith's case was that she developed two new languages, Martian and Indian. For the Martian language, she even made up her own alphabet. Flournoy succeeded in composing an elementary dictionary from which it appeared that Smith knew how to use the language with a certain consistency. In the Indian language, she employed words that were unmistakably Sanskrit. It should be mentioned in passing that Ferdinand de Saussure, Flournoy's colleague in Geneva, attended several sessions with Héléne Smith and concentrated on the interpretation of these language productions. However, little was achieved in this first application of linguistics to the study of the unconscious.

We need not repeat the entire contents of *Des Indes à la planète Mars* here. It is sufficient to indicate a few theoretical passages where Flournoy interrupted his description in order to situate things more clearly.

Like Janet, Flournoy regarded the various spirits involved as subconscious personalities, groups of contents of consciousness with an autonomous existence. Flournoy went even further than this and spoke not only of contents of consciousness but also of inclinations and impulses. Thus he described the spirit Léopold, the protector of Héléne Smith, as consisting in a group of pre-existent inclinations with a most intimate character, which set themselves up independently of consciousness.³⁵

Thus the subconscious personalities did not involve accidentally separated contents of consciousness; rather, they involved conflicting inclinations. This was an extremely important element which was later

35. T. FLOURNOY, *Des Indes à la planète Mars. Etudes d'un cas de somnambulisme avec glossolalie*, Geneva, Atar, 1900. Reprint: Paris, Seuil, 1983 and Genève, Slatkine Reprints, 1983, p. 132.

employed in Jung's study of S.W. What was also important was that Flournoy connected the various subconscious personalities with remnants of certain phases which the individual had passed through in the process of development. Consciousness was suddenly penetrated by remnants from infancy.³⁶ A third important element in Flournoy which deeply interested Jung was the idea that ontogenesis was a repetition of phylogenesis in psychology as well. This was not Flournoy's discovery. Stanley Hall (1844-1924) had previously explained the frequent occurrence of anxieties, phobias and obsessions in children as a transitory repetition of psychic experiences which reverted back to the childhood of humanity and even to the animal mode of existence. Flournoy applied this view to Hélène Smith's creation of the Martian and the Indian language. It was a sudden flickering of the innate possibility to create a language. At the same time, he pointed out that Hélène Smith could only construct the Martian and the Indian language on the basis of her knowledge of French.

In conclusion, we shall briefly consider the theory of 'teleological hallucination' which is said to have derived from Flournoy's thought. However, that Flournoy really introduced this term cannot be definitively proven. In *Des Indes à la planète Mars*, he explicitly refused to discuss this phenomenon. Two examples were mentioned in passing. Whenever Miss Smith was walking through a disreputable district, thereby exposing herself to danger, the figure of Léopold suddenly appeared in order to stand in her way. On another occasion, in the shop where she worked when she was once asked for a piece of material that could not be found, she suddenly saw a column of figures in the air from which she was able to conclude when and to which client the material had been sent.

Bleuler also gave examples of 'teleological hallucination', but of a different sort. In one case, a hebephrenic man wanted to throw himself out of the window.³⁷ As he approached the window, he was blinded by a beam of light and he felt as if he had stumbled upon an insuperable obstacle. In another instance, a hysterical woman became speechless every time she entered a shop where the rather officious assistant regularly persuaded her to buy all sorts of things she did not require. These and similar examples were also given by Jung in *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*.³⁸

36. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

37. E. BLEULER, *Bewusstsein und Assoziation*, In: C.G. JUNG (ed.), *Diagnostische Assoziationsstudien*, vol. I, Leipzig, Barth, 1906, p. 241.

38. C.G. JUNG, *The Psychology of Dementia Praecox*, C.W. III, § 304-307.

What was involved in those teleological hallucinations can clearly be established. The patient hallucinated something that was ultimately to his advantage. This did not imply, however, that the patient saw his future or formed an ideal image of himself in order to direct his life. What Jung will say on this point will be thus a considerable advancement upon what was then understood by the term 'teleological hallucination'.

After the publication of *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, Jung received some very positive criticism from Flournoy. He visited Flournoy in Geneva and a personal relationship developed between them. Jung wrote that he found in Flournoy the 'father friend' whom he needed to counterbalance his relationship with Freud.³⁹ At Jung's request, Flournoy was present at the Fourth International Psychoanalytic Congress in Munich in 1913, which led to the eventual break with Freud. Indeed, the fantasies of Miss Miller which were the guide for Jung's *Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido* were also appropriated from Flournoy.

Paul Eugen Bleuler

It is surprising how little attention has been given until now to Bleuler's influence on Jung. Paul Eugen Bleuler (1857-1939) was, after all, professor of psychiatry at the University of Zurich and director of the 'Burghölzli' clinic when Jung came as an assistant in 1900.

Bleuler is mostly remembered in the history of psychiatry as the author of the renowned handbook *Dementia Praecox or the Group of Schizophrenias* which was first published in 1911 and which was the combined result of years of collaboration and differences of opinion between Jung and Bleuler on the question of psychosis. What has been overlooked however is that, prior to engaging Jung in the study of psychosis, Bleuler had devoted much time to constructing a model which would enable to understand the human psyche and psychiatric disturbances. The result of this can be found in an article written in 1894 entitled *Versuch einer naturwissenschaftlichen Betrachtung der psychologischen Grundbegriffe*. In this article, Bleuler was particularly concerned with introducing the notion of the 'ego complex', a term central to Jung's work from the very beginning. When reading this rather neglected article, it becomes clear that it was precisely here that Jung derived his initial categories.

39. The passage dealing with Flournoy belongs to the part of the autobiography Jung did not allow to have it translated into English: C.G. JUNG, *Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken*, p. 378-379.

Bleuler himself admitted that the article was written from a monistic, materialistic and deterministic viewpoint.⁴⁰ His aim was to demonstrate that what we call the ego, viz. a personality with consciousness and self-consciousness, could be explained as the mere product of physiological processes. In this way, he endeavoured to strip the ego of every meta-physical quality, claiming that the known psycho-physiological mechanisms sufficed to account for those phenomena designated as spiritual. Furthermore, he affirmed that this view was the most fruitful in psychopathology.⁴¹

In the spirit of classical associationism, Bleuler described how human action could be seen as an extremely complex mechanism which did not essentially differ from the simple model of the reflex action. As he himself noted, nothing new was offered here and the whole approach was completely in keeping with what had already been seen in the work of Ziehen. What was new, however, was Bleuler's view of the 'ego complex'. He considered the ego not simply as the sum or resultant of all association processes but as one distinct group of associations (a complex) which were related to the most permanent elements in the personal life of the individual.

In the first place, perceptions concerning our own personality belong to this group. Each letter we receive bears our name and address. Some of us may be addressed as doctor, director or some other title and we must then assume the responsibility corresponding to that title. In this way, we arrive at a complex of contents relating to our social position. There was also a complex of contents concerning our private life. Thus, one could distinguish a complete range of complexes which unite to form a greater whole: the personality. Then there were the stimuli constantly originating from our organs and metabolism, the presence of our body with its constant functions and various sensations with their inherent continuity: all of which had a share in the complex of our personality. The result of all this was that an extremely permanent complex came into being: the ego complex.⁴²

Bleuler thus remained within the realm of associationism yet he aimed at a more pronounced underscoring of the ego as the true core and permanent basis of the personality. His view on the difference between

40. E. BLEULER, *Versuch einer naturwissenschaftlichen Betrachtung der psychologischen Grundbegriffe*. In: *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und psychisch-gerichtliche Medizin* 50 (1894), p. 166.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 140-141.

conscious and unconscious processes was also connected to this concept. One could speak of consciousness as a certain centripetal stimulus which was associated with the ego complex or as a motor stimulus originating from this ego complex. It could also happen, however, that a stimulus was associated with the content of another complex without any association to the ego complex. In such cases, one was dealing with an unconscious process.

Bleuler provided a striking illustration of the monistic, materialistic and deterministic view which resulted from this concept.⁴³

"In our view, consciousness is not a necessary condition of thought; resolution and thought appear to be just as much unconscious as conscious. This is no to say that consciousness is an epiphenomenon, without any direct connection to the other psychic events. It should not be compared with a clock's (incidental) striking of the hour, but with the ticking of a clock. Consciousness is the necessary consequence of the organization of the brain. Since the latter is linked to the senses in a specific manner, since all processes taking place here are maintained under the form of dynamic vestiges which can be experienced once again and can connect themselves according to specific rules, for these reasons then, consciousness also exists. It is conceivable that there might be a clock which does not tick. Until now, this has not happened. Practically speaking, it is true that until now the ticking is a necessary by-product of a clock which is in working order. In the same manner, it is perhaps possible, theoretically speaking, to construct an active being without consciousness. In actual fact, however, our brain is so arranged that a part of the activity which takes place here is connected with the phenomenon that we call consciousness."

For Bleuler, just as for Ziehen and Janet, the ego was a product or result. However, Bleuler attached more meaning to it. Due to the fact that the ego included certain permanent elements, viz. the sensations of a

43. "Das Bewusstsein ist nach unsere Auffassung nicht notwendige Bedingung des Denkens; unbewusstes Schliessen und Denken überhaupt kommt so gut vor wie bewusstes. Ebenso wenig ist es ein Epiphänomenon, das keinen directen Zusammenhang mit dem übrigen psychischen Geschehen hat. Es ist nicht zu vergleichen mit dem (unwesentlichen) Ton der Uhr, welche schlägt, sondern etwa dem Tick-Tack des Uhrwerkes. Es ist notwendige Folge der Organisation des Gehirns: weil dieses in der gegebenen Weise mit den Sinnesorganen verbunden ist, weil in ihm durch alle sich darin abspielenden Vorgänge dynamische Spuren ausgebildet werden, die wieder belebt werden und sich nach den bestimmten Gesetzen verbinden können, so besteht in ihm auch ein Bewusstsein. Es ist denkbar, dass einmal eine Uhr ohne Tick-Tack construiert werde. Bis jetzt ist aber in Wahrheit keine solche hergestellt worden. Praktisch ist also zur Zeit das Tick-Tack ein notwendiges Nebenprodukt des funktionierenden Uhrwerkes. Ebenso liesse sich vielleicht theoretisch ein handelndes Wesen construieren, das kein Bewusstsein hätte. Faktisch ist aber unser Gehirn so eingerichtet, dass ein Teil der in ihm ablaufenden Tätigkeit mit den Erscheinungen verbunden sein muss, die wir als Bewusstsein bezeichnen." *Ibid.*, p. 166, footnote.

constantly functioning organism, the ego complex became unique. With Janet, who commonly spoke of dissociation between two groups of contents of consciousness, one could simply think of two separate personalities on an equal level within one subject. The relation between the two personalities posed a number of problems. There was not a symmetrical relationship between the split personalities. The subconscious personality was aware of what was occurring in the conscious personality though not vice versa. Moreover, the split between the two personalities could be removed in hypnosis. In spite of this, Janet sought the ultimate explanation in the disaggregation of the psychic contents which, once again, was due to a psychic inadequacy. In the same way, in Bleuler's model, the unconscious still remained that which was dissociated, viz which was not associated with the ego complex. But, owing to the fact that the ego complex was proposed as the very core of the personality, the unconscious on the other hand was placed on a somewhat unequal level. There was thus more room to raise the question of the relation between the two.

If psychic life was the result of a mechanically terminable association process, then the question which posed itself to Bleuler, just as it had to Ziehen, was the following: what was there in the association process which determined that such a process should select one particular deed out of the manifold possibilities which were present? In order to solve this problem, Ziehen, who never considered the ego complex as a separate entity, introduced the concept 'constellation'. Without employing the term 'constellation', which was later adopted by Jung, Bleuler assigned a decisive influence to the ego complex in order to direct the association process. He did this in such a way that the sum of experiences accumulated in the ego complex favoured a specific direction in the association process. What we call the 'will' was nothing other than the inclination of the ego complex to become centrifugal in a certain sense with the actual content of consciousness.⁴⁴ This happened of course whenever the ego complex was involved in the association process (i.e. whenever it is a matter of a conscious process). Bleuler wrote explicitly:⁴⁵

44. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

45. "Wenn nun die bewusste Wahrnehmungen, Ueberlegungen, Handlungen alle mit dem Ich-Komplex in Verbindung treten, so folgt daraus, dass der Ich-Komplex, die Persönlichkeit, gerade bei den bewussten Handlungen die grösste Bedeutung bekommt, und dass nur bei bewussten Handlungen die Person als solche ihr volles Gewicht in die Waagschale wirft. Bei unbewussten, oder weniger bewussten Handlungen hat der Ich-Komplex keine, oder nur geringe Verbindung mit der, der Handlung vorausgehenden Ueberlegung oder mit der Handlung selbst und kann deshalb dieselbe auch nur wenig beeinflussen." *Ibid.*, p. 146.

"Since conscious perception, reasoning and acts are all connected with the ego complex, it follows that the ego complex, the personality, derives most significance from these conscious acts. Only in conscious acts does the person as such show his full import. In unconscious or less conscious acts, the ego complex has very little or no connection at all with those considerations which precede the act or with the act itself and can thus be of little influence on the act."

When the ego complex was involved in the association process, one was dealing with a conscious process. The influence of the ego complex upon this association process could be called voluntary. Thus, Bleuler encountered the problem which was also recognized by Ziehen, viz. the possibility of there being two representations which with equal force influence the ego complex in two different directions. What then occurred was that the influence of one of the two association complexes was suppressed. It was established that our human consciousness was able to restrict itself - while not absolutely, at least in a very pronounced manner - to one complex of ideas.⁴⁶ The guidance which the ego complex could give to the association process consisted therefore in its ability to eliminate certain associations. Bleuler used the technical term 'attention' to designate this phenomenon.

In conclusion then, we see that the fundamental difference between Bleuler and Ziehen was that Bleuler considered the ego complex as a specific complex in the human psyche, capable of asserting its influence in a privileged manner. Bleuler also affirmed that it was precisely the link between the association complex and the ego complex which decided whether the process would be conscious or unconscious.

Bleuler was well aware of the fact that this view left many questions unanswered. The central questions were: how could the ego complex effect this restriction of the association process and why did the association process occur independently of the ego complex in one case and not in the other case. Although Bleuler indicated the role which affect could play here, he ultimately concluded that we knew as little about this as about the precise mechanism which explained why the heart beats more quickly in response to pain.⁴⁷

Bleuler remained rather evasive when it came to attributing the psyche with a certain autonomy. His view on consciousness did not change. He explicitly labelled it as something which was 'deduced,

46. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

changeable and relative'.⁴⁸ The influence of the ego complex on the association process did not differ essentially from the tendency of every complex to discharge itself according to a fixed pattern. The ego complex merely did this in a more complicated manner.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Bleuler assigned a separate place to consciousness by allotting a prominent position to the ego complex alongside the other complexes. In this way, he was compelled to at least raise the question of how the ego complex could check certain associations. Once this idea was proposed, one could no longer simply continue to affirm that consciousness was nothing more than the mere incidental ticking of a clock.

Sigmund Freud

The relation between Jung and Freud will be discussed in more depth in the following chapters. In comparison to Janet, Flournoy, Ziehen and Bleuler, Freud's influence on Jung was initially only slight. Although Freud's name appeared four times in *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, the nucleus of his thought was still very remote from the core of Jung's argumentation here. Jung probably became acquainted with Freud when he had to review the latter's *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900) in the presence of his colleagues at the Burg-hölzli. In his autobiography, Jung related that the first time he read the book he did not understand it properly and attached little importance to it. It was not until some years later when he was engaged in his association experiments that he was able to more fully appreciate the significance of the book. For the sake of historical truth, the question should be asked if Jung really read the larger *The Interpretation of Dreams* at that time, or only the shorter booklet *On Dreams*.⁵⁰ This fact could explain why Jung in the beginning was so scarcely aware of Freud's theory concerning the psychological apparatus.⁵¹

By way of anticipation, a few points relevant to our later argumentation may be noted. There is no need to offer still another presentation of

48. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

50. S. FREUD, *On Dreams*, S.E. V, 633-686, G.W. II/III, 643-700.

51. In the part of the Jungarchives deposited in library of the Polytechnical Institute of the Swiss Confederation (ETH) in Zurich, there are extensive notes made by Jung on this shorter work of Freud, dated January 25th, 1901 (Manuscript Hs 1055: 1c). The text has been published, with an strange interpolation (§ 863 originally stood between § 867 and 868) in the C.W. XVIII: Sigmund Freud: 'On Dreams', § 841-870.

Freud's view here, especially since *Studies on Hysteria* (1895) and the case of Anna O. are sufficiently covered in various other handbooks. It is known that Freud and Breuer were the first to give serious consideration to the content of the symptoms of hysteria, demonstrating that "hysterics suffer mainly from reminiscences".⁵² Only one central point will be emphasized here.

At the time when Jung read Freud, the latter's thought was characterized by an emphasis upon the notion of defence. In this way, Freud had clearly moved away from Janet's position. It is true that prior to the publication of *Studies on Hysteria*, Freud and Breuer had suggested that a hypnoid disposition was at the origin of hysteria. By this, they understood a tendency toward dissociation preceding any indication of the illness. The pathogenic memory with its somatic consequences was grafted onto this tendency to dissociation. From the beginning then, the pathogenic representation remained outside of the ego due to the hypnotic psychic state in which it was received. In such a case, therapy would not encounter any resistance. Here Janet's outline was faithfully followed. Besides this 'dispositional hysteria', Freud and Breuer also recognized another form, viz, 'psychically acquired hysteria'. In this case, a tiresome repression or a severe trauma could cause a splintering of groups of representations in otherwise normal people.⁵³

In the last chapter of *Studies on Hysteria*, which was written by Freud alone, consideration was once again given to the distinction between the two forms of hysteria. Freud remarked that personally he had never come across a case of real hysteria based on a hypnotic constitution. There was always some indication of resistance. Although he wanted to respect Breuer's view on dispositional hysteria, Freud nevertheless put forward the opinion that the defence was primary. In *Further Remarks of the Neuro-Psychoses of Defence* (1896), Freud said that he had increasingly come to see defence and repression as central to the concept of neurosis.⁵⁴

Here, there is evidence of the typical Freudian view which is very different from that of all the authors we have discussed thus far. The idea of resistance implied the activity of something like an ego which could no longer be conceived of as a mere product. For Freud, at least in his early works, the unconscious was a consequence of repression. The idea of conflict was central here. The ego was present first and the unconscious

52. S. FREUD, *Studies on Hysteria*, S.E. II, p. 7, G.W. I, p. 86.

53. *Ibid.*, S.E. II, p. 12-13, G.W. I, p. 92.

54. S. FREUD, *Further Remarks of the Neuro-Psychoses of Defence*, S.E. III, p. 162, G.W. I, p. 379-380.

came about as a consequence of the ego. It was precisely this model, diametrically opposed to that of the authors previously discussed (for whom the unconscious was rather the natural preliminary stage of consciousness), that would present the greatest difficulty for Jung.

The Psychopathology of the Occult

As has already been mentioned, Jung's dissertation was a psychological study of the activities of a young medium at spiritistic seances. Jung refers to her as 'Miss S.W.'. We know however that she was in fact Helene Preiswerk, Jung's cousin from his mother's side of the family.⁵⁵

According to Jung's presentation of the case, S.W. was fifteen when she first heard spiritism and table turning being discussed among members of her family and also among her friends. This interested her to such an extent that she decided to experiment a little and soon it became clear that she had a remarkable talent as a medium. S.W. began by employing the classical technique of media. The letters of the alphabet were placed in a circle on a smooth table. In the centre of the table, a tumbler was turned upside down and held by two fingers so that even the slightest vibration would cause it to slide from one letter to another. The 'spirit's' message was then read from the sequence of the letters.

These seances were held regularly and, from early on, Jung attended them. Very soon, in the beginning of August 1899, the medium began to pass over into a somnambulistic state during such seances. She sank slowly to the ground or into a chair, closed her eyes and, after a moment of catalepsy, began to speak. She had visions of the spirits who otherwise only made themselves known through the tumbler, and she was able to speak in the name of these spirits.

Two categories of spirits who announced themselves could be distinguished. In the first place, there were spirits of the serious religious type, with her own grandfather and Jung's grandfather being the prototype. At one point, she saw both grandfathers walking arm in arm.⁵⁶ The other type of spirits were most cheerful, gay and carefree, even to the point of vulgarity. The representative of this group was a certain Ulrich von Gerbenstein. After a few sittings, he appeared next to the grandfather, was pushed aside by the latter for a while, but then gradually came to demand

55. H. ELLENBERGER, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 690-691. ST. ZUMSTEIN-Preiswerk, *C.G. Jung's Medium. Die Geschichte der Helly Preiswerk*, Munich, Kindler, 1975.

56. C.G. JUNG, *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena*, C.W. I, § 46.

the seances entirely for himself, so that the figure of the grandfather finally disappeared completely. During a particular seance, the medium herself claimed to be the reincarnation of the spirit 'Ivenes'. She fabricated a whole story about her previous incarnations. At the beginning of the 14th century, she was the clairvoyant of Prevost (she had read *The Seeress of Prevost* by Justinus Kerner). In the 18th century, she was the wife of a clergyman in the middle of Germany. She had been seduced by Goethe and had borne a son by him. In her ecstasy, she constructed very complicated family trees of the progeny resulting from these various incarnations. She claimed that, in the 8th century, she was the mother of the incarnation of her own father, then of her grandfather and Jung's grandfather. In the 13th century, she was the mother of Jung himself. Besides these family romances, she also developed a whole cosmological system of forces. According to Jung, this marked the end of the interesting seances. Somnambulism became less frequent and it seemed more and more as if the participants were being deceived. Jung therefore stopped attending the sessions.

In his interpretation of the facts, Jung relied heavily on Janet. The fact that dual personalities arose, expressing themselves in automatisms, was the consequence of the disaggregation of psychic complexes. The unconscious personality was a 'synthesis', an 'automatic splitting of the personality'.⁵⁷ Jung quoted Janet on this point and, just as the latter, he sought to account for this dissociation by looking at the subject's disposition.⁵⁸ In S.W.'s normal state outside of the seances, Jung found this disposition in the fact that she was an absent-minded, dreamy sort of girl. This he regarded as a typical feature of hysteria. Once again, Jung quoted Janet as stating that "the basis of hysterical anaesthesia is disturbance of attention."⁵⁹ Jung illustrated this with the fact that S.W. often misread certain words: instead of the word 'Ziege' (goat) she would read the corresponding word in her dialect, viz, 'Geiss'. The explanation for this was that there had been a restriction of the field of consciousness by which the word 'Geiss', closely associated with the word 'Ziege', automatically replaced the latter, without the subject being aware of the substitution.⁶⁰

The same was true, on a larger scale, of the dissociation of the psyche in subconscious personalities and the automatisms resulting from

57. *Ibid.*, § 87.

58. *Ibid.*, § 93.

59. *Ibid.*, § 73.

60. *Ibid.*, § 38 and 73.

this. Janet's model could thus be recognized completely. The patient suffered from a restriction of the field of consciousness, seeing that she could consciously grasp only a minimum of elementary perceptions at the same time and that the other contents continued automatically outside of consciousness in a kind of dream which suddenly broke off. In his diagnosis, Jung also spoke of hysterical phenomena.⁶¹

What was new as compared to Janet's model was the importance which Jung now attached to the content of the subconscious personalities. These personalities fell into three types: the grandfather, Ulrich von Gerbenstein and Ivenes.

The spirit of the grandfather - representing the clergyman Samuel Preiswerk and Jung's grandfather - were distinguished by 'a dry and tedious solemnity, rigorous conventionality and sanctimonious piety'. They were the medium's guide and protector.⁶² Ulrich von Gerbenstein, on the other hand, was 'a gossip, a wag and an idler, a great admirer of the ladies, frivolous and extremely superficial'.⁶³ Ivenes, however, was neither 'boringly unctuous' like her grandfather nor 'irrepressibly silly' like Ulrich von Gerbenstein but 'a serious, mature person, devout and right-minded, full of womanly tenderness and very modest'.⁶⁴ The image of Ivenes embodied what S.W. wished to become as a young woman: 'an assured, influential, wise, gracious, pious lady'. In this image, we find the prototype of Kerner's clairvoyant of Prevost. What was important to Jung was that:⁶⁵

"the patient (poured) her own soul into the role of the clairvoyant, seeking to create out of it an ideal of virtue and perfection; she anticipated her own future ..."

It was in this connection that Jung quoted Freud. Both the grandfather and Ulrich von Gerbenstein represented those aspects which S.W. wanted to exclude from her personality. They personified the main features of her past: her pietistic, strict education and her tendency toward excessive boisterousness. The medium experienced this opposition most acutely, seeking a middle course between these two extremes which she attempted to repress in order to strive after a more ideal state. Here Jung

61. *Ibid.*, § 74.

62. *Ibid.*, § 55.

63. *Ibid.*, § 57.

64. *Ibid.*, § 62.

65. *Ibid.*, § 116.

employed Freud's concept of repression which at the same time, he linked to a concept of finality. S.W. projected an ideal image of herself.⁶⁶

"These strivings lead to the adolescent dream of the young Ivenes, beside whom the unrefined aspects of her character fade into the background. They are not lost, but as repressed thoughts, analogous to the idea of Ivenes, they begin to lead an independent existence as autonomous personalities. This behaviour calls to mind Freud's dream investigations, which disclose the independent growth of repressed thoughts."

In other words, Jung explained the case as follows: S.W. felt an intolerable tension between her strict, pietistic education and the tendency toward a more boisterous life, which emerged with puberty. She desired to repress both of these extremes. This led to the origin of two unconscious personalities. There was no complete split however, because the ego complex created for itself an ideal image in which the two opposite tendencies were synthesized. Ivenes and the two split personalities were recuperated in the sense that a whole story developed concerning the relation between Ivenes and these personages.⁶⁷

With regard to Ivenes, Jung spoke of "a dream of sexual wish-fulfilment, which differs from the dream of a night only in that it is spread over months and years".⁶⁸ Ivenes expressed the wishes of S.W., who allowed herself to be carried away by this image of herself in the manner of hysterical identification. Here Jung referred once again to Freud.⁶⁹

Certain fundamental points thus become clear. Jung considered hysteria principally according to Janet's model. In the analysis of the phenomenon's content, we discern a double line. On the one hand, in connection with Freud, Jung spoke of the repression of unpleasant contents. This led to the construction of the grandfather and Ulrich von Gerbenstein. On the other hand, Jung pointed out the fact that an ideal image had been formed which united the opposite tendencies: Ivenes. This was certainly Jung's own contribution to the subject. It is ultimately unclear exactly how these two lines fit together. Although Jung said that in the first moment the repression and the creation of the grandfather and Ulrich von Gerbenstein took place as a split and that in the second moment, the ego complex constructed Ivenes as a model that permitted a

66. *Ibid.*, § 132-133.

67. *Ibid.*, § 131.

68. *Ibid.*, § 120.

69. *Ibid.*, § 117.

new synthesis of the two split personalities, the precise relation between these two moments remained unclear.⁷⁰ What was clear, however, was that this view differed from that of Freud in that Freud would have regarded the one personality as the result of repression and the other as belonging to the repressive agency.

With regard to other details in Jung's view, more could be said concerning his relation to those authors who influenced him. It has already been mentioned, for example, that Jung's own contribution was to interpret the figure of Ivenes as an ideal image that S.W. had unconsciously formed of herself. There is clearly a certain connection here with Flournoy and more particularly with his concept of 'teleological hallucinations', a term quoted by Jung himself in this context.⁷¹ It is a fact that Flournoy indicated that unconscious personalities were expressions of the desires and passions to be found in the subject and by 'teleological hallucination', he understood that automatism or hallucinations also appeared, preventing the conscious subject from doing anything harmful to himself as in the case of the patron spirit, Léopold, who stood in the way of Hélène Smith. What was new in Jung's thought - even though he mentioned the term 'teleological hallucinations' in passing - was the fact that an unconscious personality could represent an ideal image of the individual. In other words, the image had a mediating function in the individual's development. For the rest, Flournoy's work must certainly have been a source of inspiration for Jung.

As for Freud, it has already been pointed out that Jung adopted his term 'repression'. It is too soon to give serious consideration here to Jung's understanding of the theory of repression. At this point, he seemed to have read only *The Interpretation of Dreams*, and *Studies on Hysteria* and according to his autobiography, this had not been a careful study. Freud was quoted four times in all: twice concerning the fact that repressed ideas automatically go on working in the unconscious, and a third time concerning hysterical identification.⁷² The fourth passage, though longer than the others, is of less importance for an understanding of Jung's thought. This passage dealt with the interpretation of the fact that in the first seance, the communications of the spirit of S.W.'s grandfather was brusquely interrupted by the communication of Jung's grandfather - and here it was remarked that the two spirits did not get along well together. The communication took place through the glass on the table. In

70. *Ibid.*, § 127-131.

71. *Ibid.*, § 136.

72. *Ibid.*, § 97, 117, 119 and 133.

the next sitting, S.W. had a vision of her grandfather arm in arm with Jung's grandfather and then they both drove past sitting side by side in an open carriage.⁷³ Jung offered the following interpretation. The idea of S.W.'s grandfather which was previously present, combined with the fact that S.W. entertained certain expectations concerning Jung himself, led to the association 'Jung's grandfather'.⁷⁴

"Whether this offers a parallel to the result of Freud's dream investigations must remain unanswered, for we have no means of judging how far the emotion in question may be considered 'repressed'."

In passing, Jung also mentioned that one of the romances produced by S.W. in her somnambulistic state was an attack aimed at a woman who was an acquaintance of Jung.⁷⁵ He did not go very deeply into all of this however, since he was mainly interested in the creation of Ivenes and the significance which this had for S.W.

As for the influence of Ziehen, there is little that can be noticed. Jung certainly employed the term 'complex'. The first mention of the term in Jung's writings followed a rather lengthy quotation from *L'automatisme psychologique*, where Janet described the origin of the subconscious personality 'Adrienne' in his patient Lucie. To this Jung remarked:⁷⁶

"One can see from these extracts how the unconscious personality builds itself up. It owes its existence simply to suggestive questions which strike an answering chord in the medium's own disposition. This disposition can be explained by the disaggregation of psychic complexes...."

It would seem then that Jung employed the term 'complex' simply to denote Janet's concept of 'synthesis'. There was no explicit reference to Ziehen and, as has already been seen, the term 'complex' did not have a technical meaning for Ziehen himself.

Finally, we come to the influence of Bleuler. This was to be found of course in the use of the concept 'ego complex', that 'firmly knit basis that cannot be touched by hysterical disturbances'.⁷⁷ Bleuler's model was also clearly evident in Jung's interpretation of cryptomnesia. This phenomenon, discussed only as a marginal note in Jung's dissertation⁷⁸, signified the coming into consciousness of a memory, which was not recog-

73. *Ibid.*, § 45-46.

74. *Ibid.*, § 97.

75. *Ibid.*, § 64.

76. *Ibid.*, § 93.

77. *Ibid.*, § 130.

78. *Ibid.*, § 137-149.

nized as such but rather was experienced as a creation of the present thought process. By way of example, Jung quoted a passage from Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, where a whole episode from a ship's log is quoted almost verbatim. Nietzsche had read this text when he was between twelve and fifteen years of age. Jung explained this unconscious plagiarism as follows. Matters of little importance, such as this text was for Nietzsche, were linked to the ego complex by a minimum of associative connections. For this reason, they readily lost their connection with the ego complex and became autonomous and unconscious. Should it happen that they accidentally entered the consciousness, they were often no longer recognized as memory images. In the same way, Jung explained glossolalia as a cryptomnesic phenomenon of foreign words picked up accidentally, which were then altered and combined into a sort of language.

There is thus little doubt concerning Bleuler's influence. At the same time, we see here that Jung had not yet considered the consequences of the concept 'repression'. He wrote:⁷⁹

"We have, however, a criterion by which we can always recognize intrapsychic cryptomnesia objectively. The cryptomnesic idea is linked to the ego complex by a minimum of associations."

According to Jung, there was a minimum of associative connections especially when dealing with unimportant matters. In other words, matters which were important to the individual had stronger associative ties with the ego complex and thus did not disappear entirely from consciousness. Clearly it was difficult to reconcile this view with the theory of repression.

On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena was given an enthusiastic welcome by Flournoy in a review in *Archives de Psychologie*.⁸⁰ It seems that Bleuler was elated with the work of his assistant. In an article entitled *Bewusstsein und Assoziation*, where he dealt with the fact that the autonomous operation of the unconscious could not be denied, he referred to the following works: *Des Indes à la planète Mars* (Flournoy), *On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena* (Jung), *Studies on Hysteria* (Breuer and Freud).⁸¹

79. *Ibid.*, § 139.

80. *Archives de Psychologie*, 2 (1903) 85-86.

81. E. BLEULER, *Bewusstsein und Assoziation*, p. 231.

Conclusion

From the very beginning, Jung's thought can be situated within a tradition where the unconscious was understood as the result of a creative force which propelled nature in a process of unfolding consciousness. The unconscious was regarded as the preliminary stage of the conscious spirit; a preliminary stage which had to be overcome but nevertheless contained within itself the power of self transcendence.

This view contrasted with Freud's initial approach to the unconscious as the product of repression. The unconscious, as seen by Freud, initially had a much more morbid character than it had for Jung. The implication of the unconscious resulting from repression was that there was an opposition between a repressed content and a repressive situation. In this way, the idea of conflict assumed a central position. This was completely alien to the Romantic tradition, where the whole cosmos was regarded as an organic growth and harmonious development.

This fundamental difference in perspective between Jung and Freud should be kept in mind, even though Jung's view regarding 'Ivenes' seemed so close to Freud's later theory of the ego ideal. Jung considered the ideal image 'Ivenes' as originating from the power inherent in the unconscious self which endeavoured to reconcile oppositions. With the introduction of narcissism, Freud will emphasize that the ego ideal could only arise by means of external reality and its intersubjective structure. His key concept will become that of identification.

In his dissertation, Jung certainly already gave some consideration to identification. Indeed, he was acutely aware of how significant the model of 'the clairvoyant of Prevost' was for the creation of 'Ivenes'. As a work of observation, Jung's dissertation was a remarkable preview of whole areas of later psychoanalytical problems. In the formation of his theory however, this theme was not further developed. Jung's attention was principally directed to the inherent creative power of the unconscious.

Thus, we already see what became more evident in Jung's later work, viz, that the meaning of the term 'repression' became rather ambiguous. Repression was understood as a process within the unconscious self for the purpose of harmonizing oppositions. This might be seen, of course, as another preview of Freud's later views where repression was no longer situated as something proceeding from the higher conscious systems of the ego but rather as something that was partly determined by the unconscious self. Nevertheless, it will be shown that Freud's view also remained irreconcilable with the idea of a 'natural' maturation of the psyche according to innate laws - an idea which Jung certainly advocated.