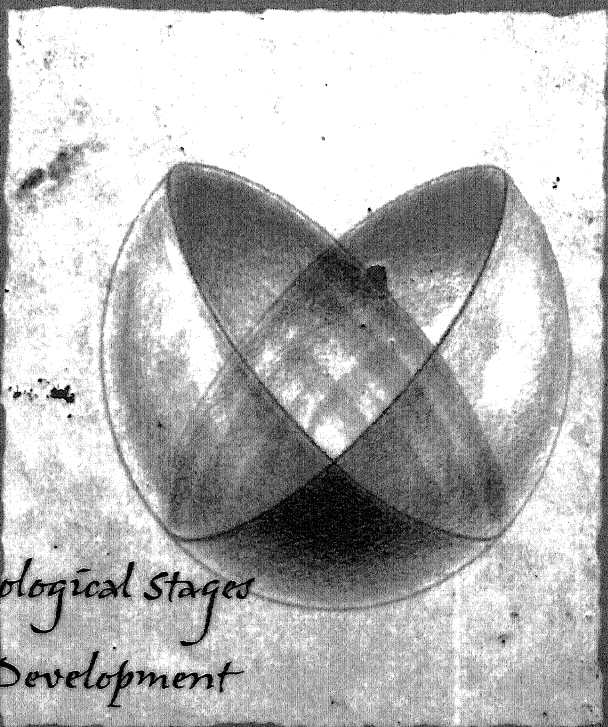


THE ORIGINS AND HISTORY OF CONSCIOUSNESS



PART II

*Psychological Stages
in the Development
of Personality*

ERICH NEUMANN

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ORIGINS AND HISTORY
OF
CONSCIOUSNESS

VOLUME II

ERICH NEUMANN

THE
ORIGINS AND HISTORY
OF
CONSCIOUSNESS

VOLUME II

WITH A FOREWORD BY C. G. JUNG
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY R. F. C. HULL

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THE
ORIGINS AND HISTORY
OF
CONSCIOUSNESS

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PART II

The Psychological Stages in the
Development of Personality

A. The Original Unity

(MYTHOLOGICAL STAGES:
UROBOROS AND GREAT MOTHER)

Centroverson and Ego Formation

THE SECOND PART of this work is an attempt to evaluate, in the light of analytical psychology, the processes whose mythological projection we described in the first part. We have now to demonstrate the significance of myth for modern Western man and to show how it has assisted the growth of his personality.

Besides summing up the psychological developments dealt with in the first part, we here put forward a piece of speculative "metapsychology" by way of supplementing and amplifying our theme. The fragmentariness and known limitations of our experience should not prevent us from trying to take temporary stock of the situation and to discover the unifying evolutionary aspect which alone will give our individual findings their proper place and value. This is merely one among many other possible and necessary aspects of analytical psychology; but we believe that the evolutionary aspect of the archetypal stages is of importance not only for the theory but also for the practice of psychotherapy. The stadial psychology we are seeking to outline offers more than a contribution to the psychology of individual personality; for the psychological approach to culture, which puts the humanistic significance of Jung's depth psychology in its proper setting, would not have been possible had not analytical psychology advanced beyond the personalistic sphere into collective psychology. Before the stadial development of the ego discussed in Part I is subjected to psychological interpretation, we must make a few introductory remarks about the concept of the ego, about the stages, and about our interpretative method.

Fundamental to analytical psychology is the theory of complexes, which recognizes the complex nature of the unconscious and defines complexes as "living units of the unconscious psyche."¹ It also recognizes the complex nature of the ego,

¹ Jung, "Allgemeines zur Komplextheorie," p. 137.

which, as the center of consciousness, forms the central complex in the psychic system.

This conception of the ego, substantiated by the psychological and psychopathological findings, is one of the distinctive features of analytical psychology:

The ego complex is a content of consciousness as well as a condition of consciousness, for a psychic element is conscious to me so far as it is related to the ego complex. But so far as the ego is only the center of my field of consciousness, it is not identical with the whole of my psyche, being merely one complex among other complexes.²

We have traced the development of this ego complex in mythology, and in so doing have familiarized ourselves with part of the history of consciousness in its mythological projection. The developmental changes in the relation between the ego and the unconscious were expressed mythologically in the different archetypal figures—uroboros, Great Mother, dragon, etc.—in which the unconscious presents itself to the ego, or which the ego constellates out of the unconscious. In taking the archetypal stages to be developmental stages of ego consciousness, we have interpreted the mythological figures of the child, the adolescent, and the hero as stages in the ego's own transformation. The ego complex, which is the central complex of the psyche, forms the theater for the events described in Part I.

Like every figure in a work of art—for instance, in a play or a novel—the mythological figure of the ego requires a dual interpretation, that is to say, a “structural” interpretation based on the nature of the figure itself, and what we might call for short a “genetic” interpretation which regards the figure as the expression and exponent of the psyche from which it springs.

Thus the structural interpretation of the Faust figure has to consider the characteristics and activities with which Faust is endowed in Goethe's drama, while the genetic interpretation has to take Faust as a part of Goethe's personality, a complex in his psyche. The two interpretations are mutually complementary. The structural—objective—interpretation seeks to em-

² Jung, *Psychological Types*, def. 16^z

brace the whole span of the structure represented by the person of Faust, and then combine it with the genetic interpretation which recognizes that the Faust figure stands for the totality of Goethe's psychic situation, both conscious and unconscious, and for the whole history of his development. The fact that the poet's conscious mind uses extraneous material for the creative process, such as the existing story of Dr. Faustus, does not disprove the inner associations presupposed by the genetic interpretation, for the selection and modification of this material are decisive and typical of the psychic situation. Just as residues from the previous day are elaborated in dreams, so the existing literary, historical, and other material is worked up by the "editor" in the unconscious in order to assist the self-representation of the psyche, and, after being processed by the conscious mind of the creative artist, is finally assimilated to the inner situation which is seeking to project itself.

As in poetry, so in mythology, the figures must submit to the same dual interpretation. Our contention that the development of ego consciousness is depicted in myth is, however, complicated by the fact that while we take the myth literally and describe the experiences of the youthful lover, for example, "as if" he were a living figure, we must simultaneously interpret him as the symbolical representative of a definite ego stage in man's development.

These myth figures are archetypal projections of the collective unconscious; in other words, humanity is putting something outside itself in its myths, something of whose meaning it is not conscious.

Just as unconscious contents like dreams and fantasies tell us something about the psychic situation of the dreamer, so myths throw light on the human stage from which they originate and typify man's unconscious situation at that stage. In neither case is there any conscious knowledge of the situation projected, either in the conscious mind of the dreamer or in that of the mythmaker.

When we speak of the stages of conscious development, we

mean—as has doubtless been made clear in Part I—the archetypal stages, though at the same time we have repeatedly stressed their evolutionary and historical character. These stages, with their fluctuating degrees of ego consciousness, can be shown to be archetypal; that is, they work as an “eternal presence” in the psyche of modern man and form elements of his psychic structure. The constitutive character of these stages unfolds in the historical sequence of individual development, but it is very probable that the individual’s psychic structure is itself built up on the historical sequence of human development as a whole. The concept of the stages can be taken as much in the “Platonic” as in the “Aristotelian” sense; as archetypal stages of the psyche’s structure they are constituents of psychic development, but they are also the result and deposit of this development all through human history. This paradox, nevertheless, has a rational foundation, for although the archetype is a condition and constituent of psychic experience, man’s experience can only become self-experience in the course of human history. He experiences the world through the archetypes, but the archetypes are themselves impressions of his unconscious experience of the world. The modifications of consciousness whose deposits are found in the mythological stages reflect an inner historical process which can be correlated with prehistoric and historical epochs. The correlation, however, is not absolute, only relative.

Flinders Petrie³ established a system of what he called “sequence-dating” (abbreviated “s.d.”) for the early history of Egypt, that is, sequences within which one can lay down a “before” and an “after” without knowing the temporal correlation. For instance, s.d. 30 comes before s.d. 77, though this does not tell us to what dated period we must assign s.d. 30 or 77, or how great an interval lies between them. Similarly, we have to make do with psychological sequence-dating in dealing with the archetypal stages. The uroboros comes “before” the stage of the Great Mother, and the Great Mother “before” the dragon fight; but an absolute correlation in time is impossible because

³ *The Making of Egypt*, p. 8.

we have to consider the historical relativity of individual nations and cultures. Thus Creto-Mycenaean culture was, for the Greeks, the prehistoric Great Mother period, since in that culture her cult was dominant. Greek mythology is largely the dragon-fight mythology of a consciousness struggling for independence, and this struggle was decisive for the spiritual importance of Greece. But whereas in Greece this development falls roughly between 1500 and 500 B.C., the corresponding process in Egypt took place probably long before 3300. The development is already complete in the myth of Osiris and Horus, and the identification of the king with Osiris is proved as far back as the First Dynasty, which is not to say that it did not occur until then.

Two important consequences follow from the relativity of these stages and their occurrence at different periods in different cultures. Firstly, it proves their archetypal structure. The universality and necessity of their occurrence shows that there is a common psychic substructure which functions identically in all men. Secondly, it justifies our method of illustrating a particular stage by collecting and comparing data derived from different cultures and epochs. For instance, Frobenius has found that the cult of the Great Mother and ritual regicide play an important part among certain African tribes.⁴ These near-contemporary examples are an illustration of, and a living commentary upon, age-old religious customs practiced in Egypt perhaps seven thousand years ago. Whether the archetypal symbolism appears spontaneously, or whether it is due to ancient Egyptian influences,⁵ is irrelevant so far as concerns the actuality of the stages and their symbolism, and our use of material from different spheres of culture. Wherever archetypal symbolism occurs, mythological material is just as valuable for us as anthropological material. Hence our repeated references to Bachofen, for although his historical evaluation of mythology

⁴ Frobenius, *Monumenta Africana*, Vol. VI, pp. 242 f.

⁵ Seligman, *Egypt and Negro Africa*.

may be out of date, his interpretation of the symbols has been largely confirmed by modern depth psychology.

Our task is now to assess the archetypal stages of conscious development—as known from mythological projection—with a view to understanding their psychological significance for the formation and development of personality. We have seen that the earliest developments of the ego and consciousness occurred in and through the symbols of the uroboros and Great Mother, and could be registered from the ego's changing relations towards them. The psychological interpretation of these two initial archetypal stages and their symbolism is our first concern—that is, we have to trace the ego's development from the germ, and its relation to the unconscious.

The Ego Germ in the Original Uroboric Situation

Psychologically speaking, the uroboros, the initial archetypal stage which forms our point of departure, is a "borderline" experience, being individually and collectively prehistoric in the sense that history only begins with a subject who is capable of experiencing—in other words, when an ego and a consciousness are already present. The initial stage symbolized by the uroboros corresponds to a pre-ego stage, and just as this antedates human history, so also in the history of individual development it belongs to the stage of earliest childhood when an ego germ is just beginning to be. But in spite of the fact that this stage can only be experienced "on the border," its symptoms and symbolisms have an important effect upon wide areas of man's collective and individual life.

The original situation which is represented mythologically as the uroboros corresponds to the psychological stage in man's prehistory when the individual and the group, ego and unconscious, man and the world, were so indissolubly bound up with one another that the law of *participation mystique*, of unconscious identity, prevailed between them.

The essential fate of man, at least of the mature modern man, is enacted on three fronts which, although interconnected, are nonetheless clearly marked off from one another. The world as the outside world of extrahuman events, the community as the sphere of interhuman relationships, the psyche as the world of interior human experience—these are the three basic factors which govern human life, and man's creative encounter with each of them is decisive for the development of the individual. In the initial stage, however, these territories have not yet become separated from one another, neither man from the world, nor individual from the group, nor ego consciousness from the unconscious. Nor is the human world which is composed of individuals and the group in any way distinguished from what we call the external world of objects. Although we know the original condition of things only as a borderline experience, we can still describe its symptomatology because, with those parts of our psyche which are not our ego consciousness, we continue to participate in this archetypal stage.

This indivisibility of group, individual, and external world is found wherever psychic contents—contents, that is to say, which our present-day consciousness recognizes as psychic and which it therefore relegates to the world within us—are projected upon the world at large and are experienced as though they were outside ourselves. Contents of this kind are recognized readily enough as projections when they derive from earlier epochs, from alien spheres of culture, or from other people, but it becomes increasingly difficult for us to do so the more closely they approximate to the unconscious conditions of our own time, our own culture, and our own personality. The animism which endows trees with indwelling spirits, idols with divinity, holy places with wonder-working powers, or human beings with magical gifts is easily seen through; for us it is a transparent case of "projection." We know that trees, idols, holy places, and human beings are recognizable objects of the external world, into which early man projected his inner psychic contents. By recognizing them, we withdraw such "primitive projections," we

diagnose them as autosuggestion or something of the sort, and thus the fusion effected by participation between man and the objects of the external world is nullified. But when it comes to experiencing God's intervention in world history, or the sanctity of the Fatherland symbolized by flag or king, or the devilish intentions of nations beyond the latest Iron Curtain, or even the bad character of those we dislike or the good character of those we love; when it comes to experiencing these as a projection, then our psychological powers of discernment incontinently fail us, not to mention the fact that we cannot lay our finger on the most blatant examples of all for the simple reason that they are entirely unconscious and belong to the preconceptions which we accept without question.

Man's original fusion with the world, with its landscape and its fauna, has its best-known anthropological expression in totemism, which regards a certain animal as an ancestor, a friend, or some kind of powerful and providential being. The sense of kinship felt by a human member of the totem for the totem animal and ancestor, and for all animals of that species, is carried to the point of identity. There is abundant evidence that such kinships are not just matters of belief, but matters of fact, i.e., psychological realities which sometimes result in telepathic hunting-magic, etc.⁶ There is no doubt that early man's magical view of the world rests on identity relationships of this kind.

The same phenomenon of fusion as originally existed between man and the world also obtains between the individual and the group, or rather, between man as a member of a group, and the collective. History teaches that in the beginning the individual did not exist as an independent entity, but that the group dominated and did not allow the emancipation of a separate ego. We find this state in all departments of social and cultural life; everywhere at the outset there is an anonymous collectivity.

This original group unity does not imply the existence of an objective group psyche apart from its carriers, and no doubt individual differences were present among group members from

⁶ Frobenius, *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas*, pp. 127 f.

the beginning, the individual being allowed certain limited areas of independence; ⁷ but the fact remains that in the initial state of affairs the individual was to a large extent integrated through the group. This integration was not necessarily anything mystical, as the rather nebulous term *participation mystique* might lead one to suppose. All it means is that, in the original group, the solidarity of the group members is to be conceived more on the analogy of an organ in relation to the body, or of a part in relation to the whole, than of a part in relation to the sum, and that the whole exercised a paramount effect, so that the ego could only free itself very slowly from the tyranny of the group. This late birth of the ego, consciousness, and the individual is an incontestable fact.⁸

Even though modern research has shown that the individual comes into conflict with the group very early in primitive society, it is nevertheless certain that the further back we go in human history, the rarer individuality becomes and the more undeveloped it is. Indeed, even today, psychological analysis still comes up against the dead weight of collectively unconscious, non-individual factors in the psychology of modern man. From these two facts alone it must be sufficiently evident that man was originally part of the collective psyche of his group and enjoyed

⁷ See Appendix I.

⁸ This remains true despite the modifications which the school of anthropology associated with the name of Malinowski has effected in our conception of the collective psyche among primitives (cf. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, p. 55). The discovery of the collective psyche and of the individual's submergence in it caused it to be overemphasized at first, and Malinowski's reference to the role played by the individual even in the early stages of social life is therefore important. He is right to lay stress on the dialectic between individual and group, but this does not impair the fundamental importance of the discoveries made by the Dürckheim school. What Lévy-Bruhl called *participation mystique* and prelogical thinking is identical with what Cassirer, in his attack on the Dürckheim school (Cassirer, *An Essay on Man*, pp. 79 f.), called the experience of the "oneness of life" and the "predominance of feeling." Prelogical thinking is not to be taken as an incapacity to think logically. Primitive man is quite capable of this, but, because his view of the world is determined unconsciously, it is not oriented toward the logic of conscious thinking. To the extent that modern man is unconscious, he too thinks prelogically, outside the categories prescribed by his conscious, i.e., scientific, world views (cf. Aldrich, *The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization*, p. 66).

only the narrowest range of action as an individual. All the social, religious, and historical evidence points to the late birth of the individual from the collective and from the unconscious.⁹

The Copernican revolution signaled by the application of depth psychology to the problems here under discussion consists essentially in this: that it proceeds from the collective psyche of the group as the determining factor, and not from the individual ego and consciousness.

The cardinal discovery of transpersonal psychology is that the collective psyche, the deepest layer of the unconscious, is the living ground current from which is derived everything to do with a particularized ego possessing consciousness: upon this it is based, by this it is nourished, and without this it cannot exist. The group psyche—which, as we shall see later, is not to be confused with the mass psyche—is characterized by the primary preponderance of unconscious elements and components, and by the recession of individual consciousness. In saying this we must, however, emphasize that at this deep level it is not so much a question of recession, dissolution, or regression; it is rather that consciousness is still in abeyance, being not yet developed or only partially developed. Tardes' formula that "the social, like the hypnotic, state is only a form of dreaming"¹⁰ is a neat summing up of the original group situation. Only, we must not regard our modern, waking consciousness as the obvious point of departure and then, on the analogy of hypnosis, take the *participation mystique* of the group psyche to be a limi-

⁹ We must draw attention here to the somewhat unusual system that governs the arrangement of Part II. The development of the ego, the problem of centroverson, and the formation of personality are discussed in the main sections, while in the appendices an attempt is made to outline the individual's relations to the group, and the phenomena of projection and introjection operating between them. We thus have two sequences, which, although related and complementary, are yet worked out independently of one another. It is, however, impossible to carry through this line of demarcation in our account of the initial uroboric stage. To distinguish the psychological development of the individual from that of the group is already something of a problem, since the two are in ceaseless intercommunication; and in the earliest stage, when individual and group are indissolubly fused together, such a division is quite out of the question.

¹⁰ Reiwald, *Vom Geist der Massen*, p. 133.

tation of this waking state. The reverse is true; the conscious state is the late and uncommon phenomenon, and its complete attainment is far more of a rarity than modern man so flatteringly pretends, while the unconscious state is the original, basic, psychic situation that is everywhere the rule.

Group unity in participation is still so widely prevalent, even in modern man, that it is only through the ceaseless conscious efforts of certain individuals of genius that we gradually become aware of the psychic factors which, as the unconscious "cultural pattern" we so blindly accept, regulate the life and death of each one of us. Although enjoying a higher conscious development, probably, than any previously attained by man, modern individuals, for all their conscious achievements, are still deeply embedded in the tissue of their group and its unconscious laws.

The fusion of the individual with the group can be seen in small things as in great. For instance, one investigator describes the state of possession among primitives, i.e., the seizure of the personality by certain unconscious contents¹¹ which are believed to be spirits, as follows:

Though possession may often be induced voluntarily, it can sometimes occur involuntarily. In the latter case members of the same family are frequently afflicted with similar symptoms.¹²

This emotional contagion is due to the unconscious fusion with one another of all members of the family. Their identity is the prime factor, although the very term "contagion" presupposes a state of separation which actually exists only in the smallest degree. But so far as it does exist, as in the case of individualized Western man, it applies in the main, for reasons still to be discussed, only to certain differences of conscious structure. The emotionality of the group, on the other hand, forms a layer of unconscious, psychic connective tissue which generally has a far greater energy potential than the "individualized" consciousness.

The emotional bond between members of the collective has

¹¹ Jung, "The Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits," p. 250.

¹² Thurnwald, *Die eingeborenen Australiens und der Südseeinseln*, p. 30.

nothing to do with a conscious feeling-relationship or with love. It springs from a variety of sources which cannot be discussed here. Common descent from the same tribe, the sharing of a common life, and, above all, common experiences create emotional bonds even today, as we well know. Social, religious, aesthetic, and other collective experiences of whatever coloring—from the tribal head-hunt to the modern mass meeting—activate the unconscious emotional foundations of the group psyche. The individual has not yet broken loose from the emotional undercurrent, and any excitation of one part of the group can affect the whole, as a fever seizes upon all parts of the organism. The emotional fusion then sweeps away the still feebly developed differences of conscious structure in the individuals concerned and continually restores the original group unity. This phenomenon, taking the form of mass recollectivization,¹³ still exerts a powerful influence upon the life of the individual in relation to the community.

In the early uroboric state there is a fusion both of man with the world and of the individual with the group. The basis of both phenomena is the nondifferentiation of ego consciousness from the unconscious—in other words, the incomplete separation of these two psychic systems.

When we speak of a psychic content being projected or introjected, meaning by this that it is experienced as something outside, but is then taken inside, we are postulating a clearly defined structure of personality for which an “outside” and an “inside” exist. In reality, however, the psyche began by being exteriorized to a very large extent. Projection presupposes that what is projected, i.e., actively put outside oneself, previously existed inside as something psychic. But the exteriority of a psyche content, contrasted with the idea of projection, implies the existence outside of something not originally to be found inside the personality. This exteriority of a content is its original condition; it means that the content was only recognized as belonging to the psyche at a later stage of consciousness. Only

¹³ See Appendices.

from that point of view, therefore, can the exteriorized content be diagnosed as projected. For instance, so long as God is exteriorized, he acts as the "real God outside," though a later consciousness may then diagnose him as a projection of the God-image which dwells in the psyche.¹⁴ The formation and development of human personality largely consists in "taking in"—introjecting—these exteriorized contents.

Among the basic phenomena characteristic of the uroboric existence of the group and the submersion of each part in the group psyche is the government of the group by the dominants of the collective unconscious, by the archetypes, and by instincts. The emotional tone of the group is determined by these same contents, and because their libido charge exceeds that of the individual's consciousness, their manifestation has a violent effect upon individuals and groups even today.

In connection with the submersion of the individual in the group and of ego consciousness in the unconscious, we would quote the following interesting observation from Trotter, concerning the herd:

The appropriate response by the individual is to an impulse received from the herd and not directly from the actual object of alarm. It seems to be in this way that the paralyzing emotion of fear is held back from the individual, while its effect can reach him only as the active and formidable passion of panic.¹⁵

Reiwald, from whose book we take this extract, comments:

The passivity of the individual in relation to the herd is to some extent a condition of the herd's activity.¹⁶

Though this teleological interpretation of Trotter's is somewhat questionable, since the individual can sometimes be stampeded into danger or death by collective reaction, the

¹⁴ The concept of transpersonality is not to be confused with exteriorization. A content of the personality can, as part of the collective unconscious, be "transpersonal" in our sense of the word, since it does not ultimately derive from the personal ego-sphere or from the personal unconscious. A content of the personal unconscious, on the other hand, can easily be exteriorized.

¹⁵ *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, p. 115.

¹⁶ Reiwald, *op. cit.*

phenomenon is sufficiently important in itself to merit attention. In the original situation each part is adjusted to the group rather than to the outside world, and its orientation is in reactive dependence upon the group. The relation to the outside world is in large measure actuated not directly by the individual, but by that imaginary entity the "group," whose incarnation is the leader or leading animal, and whose consciousness does duty for all parts of the group.¹⁷

Participation, as we know, also plays an important role in childhood, since the child is involved in the unconscious psychology of his parents.¹⁸ Exactly the same uroboric situation then recurs on the ontogenetic plane that we have described on the collective plane.

In these circumstances, when consciousness is insufficiently differentiated from the unconscious, and the ego from the group, the group member finds himself as much at the mercy of group reactions as of unconscious constellations. The fact that he is preconscious and preindividual leads him to experience and react to the world in a way that is more collective than individual, and more mythological than rational. A mythological apperception of the world and an archetypal, instinctive mode of reaction are accordingly characteristic of the dawn man. The collective and the group members do not experience the world objectively, but mythologically, in archetypal images and symbols; and their reaction to it is archetypal, instinctive, and unconscious, not individual and conscious.

The unconscious reactions of group members when contained in their group invariably lead to the hypostatization of a group soul, a collective consciousness, or some such thing. This is justifiable enough, if we begin with the experience of the part who perceives the whole as a totality; in fact, we still speak of the

¹⁷ That this same relationship still remains catastrophically in force in Western civilization is painfully obvious. Even today, the ruled are mostly supine members of the herd with no direct orientation of their own. The ruler, the State, etc., act as a substitute for individual consciousness and sweep us blindly into mass movements, wars, etc. See Appendices.

¹⁸ Jung, "Analytical Psychology and Education"; Wickes, *The Inner World of Childhood*; Fordham, *The Life of Childhood*.

nation, the people, etc., in exactly the same way. And although this "nation" is an hypostasis, it is psychologically true and necessary to make such an hypostasis. For, as an effective whole, the nation is psychologically something more and other than the sum of its parts, and is always experienced as such by each part of the group. The more unconscious the whole of a man's personality is and the more germinal his ego, the more his experience of the whole will be projected upon the group. The ego germ and the group self are directly related, just as, conversely, individualization, ego development, and finally self-experience through individuation bring about the withdrawal of this projection. The more unindividualized people are, the stronger the projection of the self upon the group, and the stronger, too, the unconscious participations of group members among themselves. But, as the group becomes more individualized and the significance of the ego and of the individual increases, the more these interhuman relations must be made conscious and the unconscious participations broken down. In the uroboric situation, however, the ego is still germinal and consciousness has not yet developed into a system.

Development of the Ego out of the Uroboros

In the beginning, consciousness rises up like an island with whatever contents it then has, but soon sinks back again into the unconscious. There is in fact no continuity of consciousness. This state has often been reported of primitives, who, if they are not actively occupied with something, drowse off and are easily tired by conscious effort. Only with the progressive systematization of consciousness is there an increase of conscious continuity, a strengthening of the will, and a capacity for voluntary action, which in modern man are the hallmarks of ego consciousness. The stronger his consciousness the more he can do with it, and the weaker it is the more things "just happen." The uroboric state is unquestionably a "borderline" state.

It is in dreams that we most readily regress to the uroboric stage of the psyche, which like all the other bygone stages continues to exist in us and can at any moment be reactivated, provided that the level of consciousness falls, as during sleep, or as the result of some debility or illness or a lowering of consciousness otherwise induced.

When we plunge back into the world of dreams, our ego and our consciousness, being late products of human development, are broken down again. In our dreams we inhabit an interior world without being aware that we do so, for all the figures in the dream are the images, symbols, and projections of interior processes. Similarly the world of the dawn man is very largely an interior world experienced outside himself, a condition in which inside and outside are not discriminated from one another. The feeling of oneness with the universe, the ability of all contents to change shape and place, in accordance with the laws of similarity and symbolic affinity, the symbolic character of the world, and the symbolic meaning of all spatial dimensions—high and low, left and right, etc.—the significance of colors, and so forth, all this the world of dreams shares with the dawn period of mankind. Here as there, spiritual things take on “material” form, becoming symbols and objects. Light stands for illumination, clothes stand for personal qualities, and so on. Dreams can only be understood in terms of the psychology of the dawn period, which, as our dreams show, is still very much alive in us today.

The phase in which the ego germ is contained in the unconscious, like the embryo in the womb, when the ego has not yet appeared as a conscious complex and there is no tension between the ego system and the unconscious, is the phase we have designated as uroboric and pleromatic. Uroboric, because it is dominated by the symbol of the circular snake, standing for total nondifferentiation, everything issuing from everything and again entering into everything, depending on everything, and connecting with everything; pleromatic, because the ego germ still dwells in the pleroma, in the “fullness” of the unformed

God, and, as consciousness unborn, slumbers in the primordial egg, in the bliss of paradise. The later ego deems this pleromatic existence to be man's first felicity, for at this stage there is no suffering; suffering only comes into the world with the advent of the ego and ego experience.

The wakening ego is easily tired during this phase of early infancy, because poor in libido, and consequently the ego germ is still for the most part passive, having no real activity of its own, as this would presuppose an ego with expendable units of libido at its disposal, e.g., volition. So, to begin with, consciousness is mainly receptive, though even this receptivity is exhausting and leads to loss of consciousness through fatigue.

The ego's tendency to dissolve back into unconsciousness has been termed by us "uroboric incest." This regression—at the stage when the ego is still feeble and quite unconscious of itself—is pleasurable, as is shown by the positive character of the symbols during the uroboric phase, of which infancy and sleep are typical. "Pleasurable" in this context means the extinction of the incipient world of the ego and consciousness with all its tensions. Ego and consciousness, however, presuppose a tension between conscious and unconscious; and without the resultant energy-potential consciousness cannot live.

During this early phase all the experiences of the ego in relation to the unconscious are simultaneously pleasurable and painful. Uroboric incest is a typical instance of this. Even self-dissolution is a pleasurable experience, for while the solute—the ego—is weak, the solvent—which finds the dissolution pleasurable—is strong. Unconscious identity with the stronger solvent, the uroboric mother, brings a pleasure which must be called masochistic in its later, perverted form. The dissolvent sadism of the uroboros and the masochism of the dissolved ego germ coalesce in an ambivalent pleasure-pain feeling. The subject of this feeling is formless, because it is the unconscious psychic unity of uroboros and ego germ. This "death in ecstasy" is symbolized by the pleroma, the "fullness" known to the ego as a borderline experience, it being a matter of indifference whether

the fullness—i.e., the collective unconscious—is interpreted as the bliss of paradise, the world of Platonic Ideas, or as the all-pervading void.

The stage of uroboric incest is the lowest and earliest phase in the ego's history. Regression to, and fixation at, this level occupy an important place in the life of the average person, and they play a decidedly negative role in the life of the neurotic and a decidedly positive one in the life of creative man. It depends on the intensity of consciousness and on the phase of development reached by the ego whether uroboric incest will be regressive and destructive or progressive and creative. Since the world of the uroboros is the world of origination and regeneration, from which life and the ego are eternally reborn like day from night, it follows that the uroboros has a creative value. For this reason many creation myths have as their emblem the uroboros: for while uroboric incest is the symbol of death, the maternal uroboros is the symbol of rebirth, of the nativity of the ego, and of the dawn of consciousness, the coming of light.

Reiwald has drawn attention in his book to a significant passage from Leonardo da Vinci:

Now you see that the hope and the desire of returning to the first state of chaos is like the moth to the light, and that the man who with constant longing awaits with joy each new springtime, each new summer, each new month and new year—deeming that the things he longs for are ever too late in coming—does not perceive that he is longing for his own destruction. But this desire is the very quintessence, the spirit of the elements, which finding itself imprisoned with the soul is ever longing to return from the human body to its giver. And you must know that this same longing is that quintessence, inseparable from nature, and that man is the image of the world.¹⁹

As the term "uroboric incest" makes clear, this longing for death is a symbolical expression for the tendency of the ego and consciousness to self-disintegration, a tendency with a profoundly erotic character. We saw in Part I how this incest reflects the activity of the maternal uroboros, of the Great Mother

¹⁹ *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. by Richter, Vol. II, p. 242, §1162 ("Morals," from his manuscripts).

archetype, mother of life and death, whose figure is transpersonal and not reducible to the personal mother. The archetypal image of uroboric incest is eternally at work, and its effects extend from Leonardo and Goethe right down to our own day, when they found valid contemporary expression in a poem by D. H. Lawrence:

. . . row, little soul, row on
on the longest journey, towards the greatest goal.

Neither straight nor crooked, neither here nor there
but shadows folded on deeper shadows
and deeper, to a core of sheer oblivion
like the convolutions of a shadow-shell
or deeper, like the foldings and involvings of a womb.

Drift on, drift on, my soul, towards the most pure
most dark oblivion.
And at the penultimate porches, the dark-red mantle
of the body's memories slips and is absorbed
into the shell-like, womb-like convoluted shadow.

And round the great final bend of unbroken dark
the skirt of the spirit's experience has melted away
the oars have gone from the boat, and the little dishes
gone, gone, and the boat dissolves like pearl
as the soul at last slips perfect into the goal, the core
of sheer oblivion and of utter peace,
the womb of silence in the living night.

Ah peace, ah lovely peace, most lovely lapsing
of this my soul into the plasm of peace.

Oh lovely last, last lapse of death, into pure oblivion
at the end of the longest journey
peace, complete peace!
But can it be that also it is procreation?

Oh build your ship of death
oh build it.

Oh, nothing matters but the longest journey.^{19a}

^{19a} "The Ship of Death," a variant from MS. B, in the appendix of his *Last Poems*.

In spite of the death aspect it comprises, uroboric incest is not to be regarded as the basis of an instinctive tendency which could legitimately be termed the "death instinct."

The unconscious state is the primary and natural one, and the conscious state the product of an effort that uses up libido. There is in the psyche a force of inertia, a kind of psychic gravitation which tends to fall back into the original unconscious condition. In spite of its unconsciousness, however, this state is a state of life and not a state of death. It is just as ridiculous to speak of the death instinct of an apple that falls to the ground as to speak of the death instinct of the ego that falls into unconsciousness. The fact that the ego experiences this state as a symbolical death is due simply to this particular archetypal stage of conscious development, and no speculative scientific theory postulating a death instinct can be derived from such a state.²⁰

The pull exerted by the great "mass" of the unconscious, i.e., by the collective unconscious with its powerful energy-charge, can only be overcome temporarily by a special performance on the part of the conscious system, though it can be modified and transformed by the building of certain mechanisms. On account of this inertia the child, particularly when he is small, tends, as investigators have shown, to persist in a given attitude and to experience any change—for instance an external stimulus or, later, a new situation, a command, etc.—as a shock, which brings fright, pain, or at least a feeling of uneasiness.

Even in its waking state our ego consciousness, which in any case forms only a segment of the total psyche, exhibits varying degrees of animation, ranging from reverie, partial attention, and a diffuse wakefulness to partial concentration upon something, intense concentration, and finally moments of general

²⁰ Uroboric incest is the sole psychological ground we have for postulating a "death instinct," and it is wrong to mix it up with aggressive and destructive tendencies. A deeper understanding of uroboric incest, which is by no means only a pathological phenomenon, would prevent us from confusing it with a psychically nonexistent instinct "to break down all particulars and reduce them to the original inorganic state" (Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*). The "death instinct" of uroboric incest is not the "adversary of Eros," but one of his primordial forms.

and extreme alertness. The conscious system even of a healthy person is charged with libido only during certain periods of his life; in sleep it is practically or completely emptied of libido, and the degree of animation varies with age. The margin of conscious alertness in modern man is relatively narrow, the intensity of his active performance is limited, and illness, strain, old age, and all psychic disturbances take their toll of this alertness. It seems that the organ of consciousness is still at an early stage of development and relatively unstable.

At all events, a marked instability of the ego characterizes the psychological and historical dawn state whose emblem is the uroboros. The fusion of areas of consciousness which for us are more or less clearly defined leads, as it were, to a perpetual game of hide-and-seek with ourselves and to a confusion of ego positions. Emotional instability, ambivalent pleasure-pain reactions, the interchangeability of inside and outside, of individual and group—all these result in an insecurity for the ego which is intensified by the powerfully emotional and affective “vectors” of the unconscious.

It is in keeping with the paradoxical nature of symbolical language, which enables us at best to “circumscribe” rather than describe the “intangible core of meaning”²¹ of an archetype, that the uroboros is, as a circle, not only the “perfect figure,” but the symbol of chaos and amorphousness. It is the symbol of the pre-ego epoch, and hence of the prehistoric world. Before the beginning of history, mankind existed in a state of nameless amorphousness of which we know, and can know, very little, because at that period “the unconscious” ruled, as we say—hoping by this vague circumlocution to disguise our manifest ignorance of the facts. So long as an apperceptive ego consciousness is lacking, there can be no history; for history requires a “reflecting” consciousness, which by reflecting constitutes it. Hence the time before history must be indeterminate chaos and nondifferentiation.

²¹ Jung, “The Psychology of the Child-Archetype,” in Jung and Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology*, p. 136.

The equivalent, on the religious plane, of this amorphous psyche is the indeterminate numen, the prime agency or substrate from whose matrix "the Divine" and the gods are subsequently crystallized out. Indeterminate agencies such as mana, orenda, or even what we call "dynamism" are typical of the pre-animistic period of universal psychization, where the psyche has not yet taken on definite shape, for in that condition it is still unassociated with the idea of an individualized soul, nor can it be derived from any such ideas. This vague, all-embracing force is the plane on which magic works, acting upon all things through the principle of correspondence and similarity. Logical contraries united in *participation mystique*—that is the law of this magical world where everything is full of holy workings. There is no hard and fast division of the holy from the unholy, the divine from the human, the human from the animal. The world is still bathed in a medium in which everything changes into everything and acts upon everything. Just as the still germinal nature of the ego causes the archetype of wholeness to be projected upon the group as the group self, so, surprisingly enough, the religious corollary of the most primitive human level is a primitive monotheism, for it is just here that we find the uroboros projected as a totality figure, i.e., as the primordial deity.

Thus, speaking of the "supreme deity," whose cult, however, was either "nonexistent or exceedingly small" and with whom no personal relations could be established, Preuss says:

In the majority of cases it was probably the night sky or the day sky, or the combination of both with their multitudinous phenomena all simulating life, that caused him to be apprehended as a personality,

and he goes on:

These ideas of God, through which many diverse phenomena are sensuously comprehended, must have arisen before the observation of details, such as the stars, which later became endowed with the properties of heaven.²²

²² Preuss, *Die geistige Kultur der Naturvölker*, p. 60.

This formulation is open to misunderstanding because the term "comprehended" might mean the rational activity of the ego. Only if "sensuous comprehension" is understood as the "configurational vision" of primitive man, is the description of the process correct. In the uroboric state there is a totality of indeterminate forces holding everything together and uniting it in participation. It is only as the configurational powers of consciousness increase and the ego becomes more clearly shaped that individual forms can be perceived:

The corn field is more strikingly significant than the single ear of corn, the sky more so than the stars, the human community more than the individual man.²³

In the same way Preuss found that

the night sky and the day sky were apprehended in their totality earlier than the stars, because the totality could be grasped as a uniform being and the religious conceptions attaching to the stars often caused the latter to be confused with the heavens as a whole, so that man's thought was unable to break away from the total view.²⁴

Equally,

the supremacy of the sun is later than that of the moon, which in its turn follows that of the night sky as a whole.²⁵

Similarly the dark interior of the earth "which contains everything that appears on the earth's surface," and the earth itself with all its vegetation, are identified with the starry night sky, and only later is this taken to be an eagle equal to the sun.

Here the development is analogous to that of ego consciousness: it starts with an uroboric conception of wholeness and then proceeds to an increasingly powerful plastic configuration and differentiation of phenomena.

The original weakness of the individual ego—corresponding ontogenetically to the phase of childhood—makes it all the more dependent on the surrounding whole for the safety and security

²³ Ibid., p. 72.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

which it cannot create for itself. This situation naturally intensifies the emotional ties with the group and the extrahuman world. The uroboros is constantly experienced afresh as the All-Sustainer and All-Container, that is, as the Great Mother. In this uroboric situation it is the "good" Great Mother and the "blessings of the matriarchate" that occupy the foreground, and not a primal fear.

Universal participation, exteriorization of psychic contents, and the presence of highly charged emotional components combine to produce, in the pleromatic phase, an undifferentiated feeling of oneness which unites the world, the group, and man in an almost bodily way. Although this "submersion in the unconscious" causes a certain disorientation of the ego and consciousness, it by no means unbalances the personality as a whole. The latter's orientation is that of a being surely guided by instinct and by the pattern of unconscious vectors, as is the unquestioned rule throughout the whole realm of extrahuman nature.

Millions of years of ancestral experience are stored up in the instinctive reactions of organic matter, and in the functions of the body there is incorporated a living knowledge, almost universal in scope, but not accompanied by any sort of consciousness. During the last few thousand years the human mind has laboriously made itself conscious, through its scientific knowledge of physics, chemistry, biology, endocrinology, and psychology, of some meager fragments of what the cells, functional systems, and organisms "knowingly" do in their adaptations and reactions. By reason of this incorporated knowledge the pleromatic phase of the uroboros is also intuited as one of primordial wisdom. The Great Mother has a wisdom infinitely superior to the ego, because the instincts and archetypes that speak through the collective unconscious represent the "wisdom of the species" and its will.

As we have seen, the uroboric phase is ruled by an ambivalent pleasure-pain feeling which attaches to all experiences that revert to the uroboric level or are overcome by it. In the case of

creative uroboric incest this feeling expresses itself in the ambivalent experience of rebirth through death, and in masochistic or sadistic fantasies when the incest is neurotic or psychotic. But in no circumstances does the Great Mother archetype of the collective unconscious represent the "locus of pleasure." To associate the unconscious only with the pleasure principle, as opposed to the reality principle, is proof of a depreciating tendency and corresponds to a conscious defense mechanism.

Impulses and instincts, archetypes and symbols, are far more adapted to reality and to the external world than consciousness in its early stages. No instinct—one has only to think of the nesting and rearing instinct—can possibly be adapted to a mere "wish-fulfilling" pleasure principle, for the instincts command a knowledge of reality infinitely superior to our conscious knowledge even today. Animal psychology provides countless examples of an absolutely baffling and inexplicable reality orientation to the surrounding world, to other animals, plants, the seasons, etc. This adaptation of instinct to environment is unconscious, but the wisdom of these instincts is real and in no sense determined by any kind of "wish" whatsoever.²⁶

The real source of conflict between the individual and the unconscious lies in the fact that the unconscious represents the will of the species, of the collective, and not in the opposition of the pleasure and the reality principles, where the pleasure principle is supposedly associated with the unconscious and the reality principle with consciousness.

In the cosmic symbolism associated with the uroboros in creation mythology we find a symbolic self-portrayal of that early psychic phase when there is as yet no uniformly centered

²⁶ In human beings, too, the unconscious is almost always directly opposed to the "wishing" conscious mind and is seldom identical with it. Nor is it her pleasure-loving and wishful nature, but rather her collective character, that sets the Great Mother in opposition to ego consciousness. Wishful thinking is not a quality of a fantasy-spinning unconscious, but of the fantasy-spinning ego, so that a genuine fantasy may be gauged by whether it is "wish-conditioned" or not. If it is a wish-fantasy, it derives from consciousness or from the personal unconscious at most; if not, then the deeper layers of the unconscious have been activated in the imagination.

personality. The multiplicity of the world and the corresponding multiplicity of the unconscious reveal themselves in the light of evolving consciousness.

During the phase of the uroboric Great Mother, ego consciousness, so far as it is present, has not yet evolved its own system and has no independent existence. We can only imagine the earliest emergence of the elements of ego consciousness on the analogy of what happens today, when, at particular moments of emotional exaltation, or when the archetypes break through—that is, in certain extraordinary situations—there comes an illumination, a momentary uprising of consciousness, like the tip of an island breaking surface, a flash of revelation which interrupts the humdrum flow of unconscious existence. These isolated or habitual phenomena have always been regarded by primitives and by ourselves as characterizing the “Great Individual” who, as medicine man, seer, and prophet, or later as the man of genius, possesses a form of consciousness different from the average. Such men are recognized and esteemed as “godlike,” and their insights, whether they take the form of visions, maxims, dreams, or revelations vouchsafed by an “apparition,” lay the first foundations of culture.

In general, however, the course of human—and extrahuman—existence in this phase is directed by the unconscious. The unity of the psyche, which analytical psychology defines as the self, functions immediately and without reflection in the totality of a self-regulating and self-balancing psychophysical system. In other words, the tendency we call *centroversion* has a biological and organic prototype.

Centroversion in Organisms on the Uroboric Level

Centroversion is the innate tendency of a whole to create unity within its parts and to synthesize their differences in unified systems. The unity of the whole is maintained by compensatory processes controlled by *centroversion*, with whose help the

whole becomes a self-creative, expanding system. At a later stage centroversion manifests itself as a directive center, with the ego as the center of consciousness and the self as the psychic center. During the prepsychic stage it functions as the entelechy principle in biology, and at this stage it would perhaps be better to call it the integrative tendency. The specific trend of centroversion only asserts itself during the formative stage, when a visible center appears in the ego or has to be postulated in the self. It operates unconsciously, as the integrating function of wholeness, in all organisms from the amoeba to man. For simplicity's sake we shall keep to the term "centroversion" even when dealing with the early stages, because integration itself proceeds from the totality of a centered, but invisible, system.

Centroversion expresses itself in an organism through its regulation of the whole and through its compensatory striving for balance and systematization. It promotes cellular aggregation and facilitates the harmonious working of different cell tissues, organs, and so forth. The very fact that the differentiated organization of the amoeba, for instance, forms a whole which is of a higher order than the metabolic processes of nutrition and excretion is an expression of centroversion on the uroboric level.

Manifesting itself in the infinitely varied and harmonious cooperation of organs and groups of organs in all higher organisms, the force of centroversion works unconsciously. In so far as an organism subjects all causal processes to its own system of purposive relationships, teleological orientation is a superordinate principle which belongs to the very nature of that organism and expresses its wholeness and unity. But we have, to the best of our knowledge, no grounds for co-ordinating this teleological principle with any conscious center. Incorporated knowledge and unconscious purposivity must be regarded as essential marks of every organism.

The more primitive the psychic level, the more it is identical with the bodily events which rule it. Even personal complexes, i.e., semiconscious "split offs" which belong to the upper layers of the personal unconscious and are affectively charged and

"feeling-toned," can evoke physical alterations in the circulatory system, in the respiration, blood pressure, and so on. Deeper-seated complexes and archetypes have their roots far down in the body's physiology and, on irrupting into consciousness, violently affect the whole of the personality, as is painfully evident in the extreme case of psychosis.²⁷

Accordingly on the uroboric level, where the ego and consciousness are least developed, centroversion is bound up with a primitive body symbolism. The body stands for wholeness and unity in general, and its total reaction represents a genuine and creative totality. A sense of the body as a whole is the natural basis of the sense of personality. That the body and its changes are the unquestioned basis of what we call our personality can be seen from the fact that we still point to our bodies when we speak of "ourselves," and there is no doubt that the uniqueness of a man's body and the blending of hereditary factors in its constitution are the very foundation of individuality. This would explain early man's self-absorption in his body and his preoccupation with all the parts that belong to it and participate in it, e.g., hair, nails, excreta, etc., which, as much as his shadow, his breath, and his footprints are deemed to be essential and integral portions of his personality.

An instructive example of this "body-self" symbolism is furnished by the *churinga* of the Australian aborigines and the corresponding *ap* in New Guinea.

The *churinga* are pieces of wood or stone which are hidden away in special caves. The word *churinga* means "one's own hidden body."²⁸ It appears from the legends that the bodies of most of the totem ancestors changed into such *churinga*.

The *churinga* is regarded as a body common to this man and to his totemic ancestor [*iningukua*]. It associates the individual with his personal totemic ancestor, guarantees him the protection afforded by the *iningukua*.^{28a}

²⁷ The body-soul ligature and the question of causality are beside the point here. We orientate ourselves "as if" the biological and the psychic were two aspects of an essentially unknown "thing-in-itself" or "process-in-itself."

²⁸ Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

^{28a} Lévy-Bruhl, *The "Soul" of the Primitive*, p. 188, citing Strehlow, Part II, p. 76.

The *churinga* is not the seat of life or of the soul, but as Lévy-Bruhl says:

The *churinga* is therefore a "double" of the individual, i.e. the individual himself. . . . The relation between a man and his *churinga* is expressed by the saying: "*nana unta mburka nama*"—this is thy body.²⁹

In the same way the grandfather, when the young man has attained his majority, shows him the *churinga* with the words:

Here is your body, here is your second self.

The relation between self, second self, totem ancestor, and *churinga* is one of participation, of which Lévy-Bruhl rightly says that it comes very near to consubstantiality. The second self is the individual's guardian angel, but if made angry by neglect it can also be his enemy, causing illness, etc.

The *iningukua* accompanies him throughout life, warns him of the dangers threatening him and helps him to escape from them. He is a sort of tutelary deity or guardian angel. But, ought we to say perhaps, since the individual and his *iningukua* are but one, he is himself his own guardian?—Yes, for here participation does not imply that the two beings are altogether blended. No doubt in one aspect, the individual is the *iningukua*. But from another point of view, this *iningukua* is distinct from him. It lived before him, and will not die with him. Thus the individual participates in a being who is undoubtedly in him, who in certain characteristics differs from [him], and keeps him in a state of dependency.³⁰

We have quoted this passage at such length because it is a classical example not only of Lévy-Bruhl's *participation mystique*, but also of the projection of what analytical psychology calls the self. That the self is here felt to be identical with the body and with the world of the ancestors makes the connection all the more significant. The totem ancestor represents the "ancestral experience within us," which is incorporated in the body and is at the same time the basis of our individuality. Note that this passage comes from a chapter entitled "The Immanence of the Group in the Individual"; that is to say, the group's totality,

²⁹ Lévy-Bruhl, p. 189, citing Strehlow, pp. 76-7.

³⁰ Lévy-Bruhl, p. 192.

which is identical with the common totem ancestor, is simultaneously included in the body and the self.

In New Guinea the name for the analogue of the Australian *churinga* is *ap*, "man";⁸¹ here too the individual is united with the collective and with the body, in the ancestral body common to both.

This original tie with the body as with something "peculiarly one's own" is the basis of all individual development. Later the ego relates to the body, to its superior powers, and to the unconscious—with which its processes are largely identified—in a different and even contrary way. As the higher principle working through the head and consciousness, the ego comes into conflict with the body, and this conflict sometimes leads to a neurotic, partial dissociation which, however, is only the product of a later overdifferentiation. But even then the body totality seems to stand in a relationship of identity and equality with the totality of the psyche, namely, the self. These two totality formations, or images of wholeness, are superordinate to the ego consciousness and regulate the individual systems—including ego consciousness—from a total standpoint of which the ego can become only partially conscious.

All this is in keeping with the uroboric state of perfection where body and psyche are identical. Psychologically, there are two sides to this basic situation, both of which we have summed up under the symbol of the "alimentary uroboros." There is, firstly, the unconscious "psychization" of the body and the consequent symbolic significance of its various parts and regions; secondly, a preponderance of metabolic symbolism. Whereas in its later developments centroverson promotes the formation of ego consciousness as its specific organ, in the uro-

⁸¹ Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 16. [Sanskrit terminology also provides interesting parallels. The *atman*, as well as meaning the universal self of which the individual self partakes, could also mean "oneself" in the bodily sense, as is made quite clear in the amusing story of Indra's instruction by Prajapati, in Chhandogya Upanishad 8. 7-12. The same concrete bodily significance also attached to *purusha*, which, although later it denoted the "person" or "spirit" and ultimately came to have a philosophical value equal to that of the *atman*, originally meant "man," in the sense of his "ghost-soul," his shadow or double.—TRANS.]

boric phase, when ego consciousness has not yet been differentiated into a separate system, centroverson is still identified with the functioning of the body as a whole and with the unity of its organs. The metabolic symbolism of mutual exchange between body and world is paramount. The object of hunger, the food to be "taken in," is the world itself; while the other, productive side of the process is symbolized by "output," that is, evacuation. The dominant symbol is not the semen; in creation mythology, urine, dung, spit, sweat, and breath (and later, words) are all elementary symbols of the creative principle.

When we are informed that the most important foodstuffs on the Solomon Islands, taro and yams, arose from "Tantanu's excrement,"³² or that in the initiation ceremonies in New Guinea the neophytes are treated as newborn infants and may only eat food mixed with sperm,³³ and that the uninitiate, being ignorant of the creation myths, get no sperm to eat because they do not "appreciate and properly esteem the nourishing plants and animals," the explanation may be assumed to lie in the symbolic accentuation of the body, and the sanctification of everything pertaining to it, which are characteristic of the uroboric phase.

This dynamic process of exchange between body and world, symbolized by the alimentary uroboros, is in harmony with the animal world of instinct, where eating and being eaten are the sole expressions of life and of man's efforts to dominate nature. It remains the basis even of the highest stages of development, and is the precondition of the sexual stage. Sexuality and the prior differentiation into two sexes are late products in the scheme of evolution. The primary thing is reproduction by cell division, which causes organisms to proliferate into myriad-celled structures. But cell division as the primary means of propagation only takes place when the nutritional conditions are favorable, and is dependent upon them.

To have and to exercise power, to be strong and to gain in strength, all these tendencies pertain to the primordial sphere

³² Thurnwald, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

of the alimentary uroboros. They express themselves in the feeling of bodily well-being, in a physical performance which is primarily identical with a balanced metabolism, where the intake and output of matter—the biological prototypes of the introversion and extraversion of libido—are in equilibrium. The feeling of health, not when reflected in consciousness, but when unconsciously taken for granted, is fundamental to that *joie de vivre* which is a condition of ego formation. But even when unconscious, with no center in the ego, the psychic system represents a psychic assimilation of the world, traces of which have been deposited in the instincts.

The instincts of the collective unconscious form the substrate of this assimilative system. They are repositories of ancestral experience, of all the experience which man, as a species, has had of the world. Their "field" is Nature, the external world of objects, including the human collective and man himself as an assimilative-reactive, psychophysical unit. That is to say, there is in the collective psyche of man, as in all animals, but modified according to species, a layer built up of man's specifically human, instinctive reactions to his *natural* environment. A further layer contains group instincts, namely experiences of the specifically *human* environment, of the collective, race, tribe, group, etc. This layer covers herd instincts, specific group reactions which distinguish a particular race or people from others, and all differentiated relationships to the nonego. A final layer is formed by instinctive reactions to the psychophysical organism and its modifications. For example hunger, hormone constellations, etc., are answered by instinctive reactions. All these layers intercommunicate. Their common factor is that the reactions are purely instinctive, the psychophysical unit reacting as a whole by means of meaningful acts which are not the outcome of individual experience, but of ancestral experience, and which are performed without the participation of consciousness.

This ancestral experience is rooted in the body and expresses itself organically, through the body's reactions. The lowest and by far the largest layer of "incorporated" experience is physio-

chemical, and has no psychic representation whatever. Instincts and impulses, as vectors of action, are psychic, though they need not be centrally represented. The body-psyche totality regulated by the nervous system responds to them by acting. To take an example, hunger is the psychic representation of a deficiency in the cells, and, with the help of instinctive reactions and their combination, it sets the organism in motion, impels it to act. But only when hunger is centrally represented and is perceived by an ego center do we get the beginning of consciousness, not when instinct merely sets the body-whole in motion by reflex action.

Centroversion, Ego, and Consciousness

We must now consider the significance of the ego and consciousness for the totality of the psychophysical organism, and their relation to centroversion. Needless to say, we are not concerned to frame a theory of consciousness, but are only attempting to outline certain points of view which have proved their importance for the psychological development of the individual and the collective.

The excitability of organic matter is one of those elementary properties which facilitate its orientation to the world. Owing to this excitability the nerve tissue becomes differentiated and the sense organs are developed. Co-ordinated with them is consciousness, the control system of centroversion. The registration and combination of stimuli from outside and inside, balanced reaction to them, the storing of stimuli and reaction-patterns are among the essential functions of an ego-centered system of consciousness. In the course of millions of years of differentiation, ever more complicated relationships are created within the structure of the organism, but also an increasing need for registration, control, and balance. The majority of these innumerable points of balance are unconscious and incorporated; that is to say, they are built into the structure of the body system. But

with increasing differentiation the zones under control come to be increasingly represented in the control organ of consciousness. This representation takes the form of images, which are psychic equivalents of the physical processes going on in the organs.

Ego consciousness is a sense organ which perceives the world and the unconscious by means of images, but this image-forming capacity is itself a psychic product, not a quality of the world. Image formation alone makes perception and assimilation possible. A world that cannot be imagined, a nonplastic world like that of the lower animals, is of course a living world; there are instincts in it and the organism as a whole responds to it by unconscious action. But such a world never gets represented in a psychic system that reflects and shapes it. The psyche is here built up through a series of reflexes; it responds to stimuli with unconscious reactions, but with no central organ in which stimulus and reaction are represented. Only as centroverson develops and gives rise to systems of ever higher scope and caliber do we get the world represented in images, and an organ—consciousness—which perceives this plastic world of representations. The psychic world of images is a synthesis of experiences of the inner and outer world, as any symbol will show.

Thus the psychic image-symbol "fire," as something "red," "hot," "burning," contains as many elements of inner experience as of outer experience. "Red" possesses not only the perceptible quality of redness, but also the emotional component of heat as an inner process of excitation. "Fiery," "hot," "burning," "glowing," etc., are more emotional than perceptual images. We contend, therefore, that the physical process of oxidation, fire, is experienced with the aid of images which derive from the interior world of the psyche and are projected upon the external world, rather than that experiences of the external world are superimposed on the inner. The subjective reaction to the object always takes precedence historically, while the objective qualities of the object remain in the background. In human development the object becomes disentangled only very

gradually and with extreme slowness from the mass of projections in which it is wrapped and which originate in the interior world of the psyche.

Centroversion is already at work as the primary function of the psyche, causing unconscious contents to present themselves to consciousness in the form of images. It leads firstly to the formation of symbolic images, secondly to the ego's reaction to them. We call the formation of images and the reactions of consciousness an expression of centroversion, because the interests of the psychophysical unit as a whole are more effectively conserved with the help of these processes than without them. The central representation of the image in consciousness gives the individual a more comprehensive and more total experience of the inner and outer world, and at the same time a better orientation in every department of life. Inner reaction, that is, adjustment of ego consciousness to the world of instinct, seems to have originated quite as early as reaction to externals.

When instincts are centrally represented, i.e., when they appear as images, Jung calls them archetypes. Archetypes take the form of images only where consciousness is present; in other words, the plastic self-portrayal of instincts is a psychic process of a higher order. It presupposes an organ capable of perceiving these primordial images. This organ is consciousness, which on that account is associated with eye, light, and sun symbols, so that in mythological cosmogony the origin of consciousness and the coming of light are one and the same.

In the dawn period the perception of images resulted in an immediate reflex action, because consciousness only took passive precedence over the executive organ of the body, but was not superordinate to it. The fact that its organic substrate derives embryologically from the ectoderm shows that consciousness was a kind of sense organ; yet it was already differentiated in two directions and could perceive images coming from outside as well as from inside. Originally it was impossible for the ego to distinguish the source of these images, for at the stage of *participation mystique* an outside could not be perceived as

distinct from an inside; the two sets of images overlapped, so that experience of the world coincided with inner experience.

This original phase, when consciousness was a sense organ, is marked by the functions of sensation and intuition, i.e., the perceptive functions³⁴ which are the first to appear both in the development of primitives and in that of the child.

Thus, evolving consciousness is at least as much open to internal as to external stimuli. But it is significant that the registering organ which receives these stimuli from inside and outside feels, and necessarily feels, itself remote from them, different and, as it were, extrinsic. It stands like a registration system halfway between the external world and the body as the field of inner excitations. This position of detachment is a primary condition of consciousness, and it is the essence of its functioning to intensify and differentiate this attitude still further. In other words, it is an historical necessity for the organ of registration and control which we call consciousness to be differentiated in two directions at once.

The nervous system, particularly the cerebrospinal system whose final exponent is consciousness, is an organic product of the unconscious, designed to hold the balance between the outer world and the inner. The inner world ranges in extent from physical reactions and their modifications to the most intricate psychic reactions. It is not reactive only to external stimuli, not just a stimulus-machine as the materialists imagine, but the source of spontaneous movements of the most varied kinds, which man-

³⁴ This is not the place to enter more specifically into function-psychology; we need only note that feeling and thinking, being rational functions, are the products of a later development. (Cf. Jung, *Psychological Types*, def. 44.) The rational functions are correlated with the laws of reasoning, which have only become accessible to consciousness as the deposits of ancestral experience. Jung gives the following definition: "Human reason, therefore, is nothing other than the expression of man's adaptedness to the average run of events, which have gradually become deposited in solidly organized complexes of ideas that constitute our objective values. Thus the laws of reason are those laws which characterize and regulate the average 'correct' or adapted attitude." So it is understandable that the rational functions are historically late products. Adaptation to average events and the formation of solidly organized complexes of ideas are the "work of human history," and into their organization has gone the "labor of countless generations."

ifest themselves as drives and complexes, physical and psychic tendencies. All these inner tendencies must be recognized by the conscious system and the ego, balanced, and adjusted to the external world; that is to say, consciousness has to protect one's person against wild animals and outbreaks of fire, and at the same time control all instinctual constellations and bring them to fulfillment. Its responsibility and its competence lie as much in modifying the environment for the production of food as in inner modifications which adapt the egocentric tendencies of the individual to the collective. So long as the system of ego consciousness is functioning soundly, it remains an organ affiliated to the whole, combining in itself the executive and the directive functions.

Pain and discomfort are among the earliest factors that build consciousness. They are "alarm-signals" sent out by centroversion to indicate that the unconscious equilibrium is disturbed. These signals were originally defense measures developed by the organism, though the manner of their development is as mysterious as that of all other organs and systems. The function of ego consciousness, however, is not merely to perceive, but to assimilate these alarm signals, for which purpose the ego, even when it suffers, has to hold aloof from them if it is to react appropriately. The ego, keeping its detachment as the center of the registering consciousness, is a differentiated organ exercising its controlling function in the interests of the whole, but is not identical with it.

The ego was originally only an organ of the unconscious and, impelled and directed by it, pursued the latter's aims, whether these were personal and vital aims such as the satisfaction of hunger and thirst, or those of the species, such as dominate the ego in sexuality. The discoveries of depth psychology have adduced a wealth of evidence to show that the conscious system is a product of the unconscious. Indeed, the profound and far-reaching dependence of this system upon its interior unconscious foundations is one of the crucial discoveries of modern times. It corresponds in importance to the equally profound and

far-reaching external dependence of the individual upon the collective.

Although consciousness is a product of the unconscious, it is a product of a very special sort. All unconscious contents have, as complexes, a specific tendency, a striving to assert themselves. Like living organisms, they devour other complexes and enrich themselves with their libido. We can see in pathological cases, in fixed or compulsive ideas, manias, and states of possession, and again in every creative process where "the work" absorbs and drains dry all extraneous contents, how an unconscious content attracts all others to itself, consumes them, subordinates and co-ordinates them, and forms with them a system of relationships dominated by itself. We find the same process in normal life, too, when an idea—love, work, patriotism, or whatever else—comes to the top and asserts itself at the cost of others. One-sidedness, fixation, exclusiveness, etc., are the consequences of this tendency of all complexes to make themselves the center.

The peculiarity of the ego complex, however, is twofold; unlike all other complexes it tends to aggregate as the center of consciousness and to group the other conscious contents about itself; and secondly, it is oriented towards wholeness far more than any other complex.

Centroversion persistently strives to ensure that the ego shall not remain an organ of the unconscious, but shall become more and more the representative of wholeness. That is to say, the ego fights against the unconscious tendency that seeks to master it, and instead of allowing itself to be possessed, learns to keep its independence in relation to both inside and outside.

Although in the realm of nature, individuals are sacrificed in their myriads in order to subserve the will of the species for propagation and variation, this will of the Great Mother comes increasingly into conflict with ego consciousness, which does not see itself merely as the executor of the collective will, but more and more as a unique individuality opposed to the collective will of the Great Mother.

All instincts and impulses, all atavisms, and all collective tend-

encies can ally themselves with the image of the Great Mother and oppose the ego. Since there is such a variety of contents, and the number of symbols associated with the Great Mother is extraordinarily large, the Great Mother image acquires such a bewildering assortment of features that it coincides with the unconscious as symbolized by "The Mothers" in *Faust*.

Ego consciousness has, as the last-born, to fight for its position and secure it against the assaults of the Great Mother within and the World Mother without. Finally it has to extend its own territory in a long and bitter struggle.

With the emancipation of consciousness and the increasing tension between it and the unconscious, ego development leads to a stage in which the Great Mother no longer appears as friendly and good, but becomes the ego's enemy, the Terrible Mother. The devouring side of the uroboros is experienced as the tendency of the unconscious to destroy consciousness. This is identical with the basic fact that ego consciousness has to wrest libido from the unconscious for its own existence, for, unless it does so, its specific achievement falls back into the unconscious, in other words is "devoured."

Thus, the unconscious is not in itself destructive and is not experienced as such by the whole, but only by the ego. That is very important so far as the ego's further development is concerned. Only during the early stages does it feel threatened and fugitive, protesting that the unconscious is destructive. Later, when the personality feels itself allied not only to the ego but to the whole, consciousness no longer sees itself threatened to the degree that the adolescent ego was, and the unconscious now presents other aspects than those of danger and destruction.

What the ego experiences as destructiveness is firstly the overwhelming energy-charge of the unconscious itself, and secondly the feebleness, liability to fatigue, and inertia of its own conscious structure. The two elements appear projected in the archetype of the Antagonist.

The emergence of this image induces fear as a defensive reaction on the part of the conscious system. But the very fact

that it can become visible as an image shows that consciousness is growing stronger and more alert. The nebulous power of attraction hitherto exerted by the unconscious crystallizes into a negative quality, recognized as being inimical to consciousness and the ego, and a defensive mechanism is thereby set in motion. Fear of the unconscious leads to resistance and thus to a strengthening of the ego; indeed we shall always find that fear of the unconscious, and fear in general, is a symptom of centroverson, seeking to protect the ego.

The ego's resistance to the unconscious then passes from fear and flight to the defiant attitude of the "strugglers"—who are the mythological exponents of this intermediate phase—and finally to the aggressive attitude of the hero, who actively champions the position of consciousness against the dragon of the unconscious.

In the myths of the strugglers we have a clear instance of the aggressive intentions of the unconscious, of the Great Mother who constitutes the prime threat to the ego position of adolescent consciousness. The ego, as the center of a consciousness systematizing itself in the service of centroverson, is exposed to the disintegrative forces of the unconscious. It is to be noted that sexuality is only one of these forces, and by no means the most important. The tendency of unconscious contents to swamp consciousness corresponds to the danger of being "possessed"; it is one of the greatest "perils of the soul" even today. A man whose consciousness is possessed by a particular content has an enormous dynamism in him, namely that of the unconscious content; but this counteracts the centroverson tendency of the ego to work for the whole rather than for the individual content. Consequently the danger of disintegration and collapse becomes all the greater. Possession by an unconscious content entails loss of consciousness and has an intoxicating effect, so that one smitten by it is always under the sway of the Great Mother and is threatened with the fate of all her youthful lovers: either with effeminacy and castration, by being transformed into her, or with madness and death, by being dismembered.

The growing tension between the conscious ego system and the unconscious body system is the source of a psychic energy which distinguishes human beings from animals. The centroverson that makes possible this differentiation and individualization is an expression of the creative principle, and in the human species this principle performs its experiments upon the individual, who is the carrier of the ego.

Ego and consciousness are the organ of the unconscious force of centroverson which creates unity and balance within this unity. Not that its task is regulative only; it is also productive. It is in the nature of the organism not only to maintain the status of the whole with fine adjustments, but to develop in itself larger and more complicated unities by extending the empirical field with which it comes into contact.

What we called the alimentary uroboros has to be brought to fruition by the creative principle at work in it from the very beginning. Not only does this principle direct the metabolism of the life forces, not only does it balance and compensate; it also leads to the development of new unities, giving rise to new organs and systems of organs, and trying its hand at creative experiments. Just how these innovations are tested as to their performance and capacity for adaptation is a second problem, to the solution of which Darwinism has made a vital contribution. But it is another thing to explain the creative experiments themselves. Never yet have we succeeded in making it appear even remotely probable that an organ arises from an accumulation of infinitesimal chance variations. It is easy enough to explain the differentiation of organs in this manner, but not how they arise through gradual association.

Mythology represents the creative principle as the self-generative nature of the uroboros, which is associated with the symbol of creative masturbation. This symbolic masturbation has nothing to do with the later, markedly genital phase, but merely expresses the autonomy and autarchy of the creative uroboros, which begets in itself, impregnates itself, and gives birth to itself. The "closed circuit" stage changes into one of creative

balance, and, in place of the former static passivity, a dynamic constellation now assumes autarchic control. The appropriate symbol here is not the quiescent sphere, but the "self-rolling wheel."

Man's historical and psychological development shows that the role of the individual is just as important for humanity as is that of the ego and consciousness for the unconscious. In both cases, what originally came into being as the organ and instrument of the whole is seen to possess a specific activity which, in spite of the conflicts it produces, has proved extremely fruitful over the wide field of evolution.

Centroverson is an irreducible, unitive function innate in the psychophysical structure. Aiming at unity, it is at the same time the expression of unity and assists ego formation; i.e., it produces the ego as center of a conscious system built up of contents and functions grouped round this ego nucleus.

Side by side, then, with the integrating process that welds a mass of individual cells and cell systems into the body-psyche unit, the process of differentiation produces an autonomous conscious system separate from the unconscious. Both processes are the expression and effect of centroverson. The conscious system is not just a central switchboard for establishing relations between inside and outside; it is at the same time an expression of the organism's creative urge for innovation. But whereas in the biological and animal realm this urge has to operate with infinities of time, in human consciousness it has evolved a time-saving organ by means of which innovations can be tested in far shorter periods. Human culture is a product of this creative urge for experimentation. In view of the shortness of human culture nothing final can yet be said about its success. But the fact remains that in the course of this—compared with biological evolution—tiny span of time during which human consciousness has shaped human culture, the most extraordinary changes have taken place. Technology and science, the tools of consciousness, have created a wealth of artificial organs, and the rapid growth and variety of creative inventions are proof of their supe-

riority when compared with the slow formation and development of organs in biology. Life's experiment in enlisting the aid of consciousness for its creative work would seem to have been a lucky fluke.

In making these remarks we are fully aware of our anthropomorphic and teleological manner of speaking. But the very fact that consciousness necessarily experiences itself as the exponent of the creative experiments of the whole as soon as it begins to examine itself and its history gives new weight and new justification to our anthropocentric outlook. It is after all scientifically justifiable to regard consciousness as one of life's experimental organs, more justifiable at any rate than to gloss over the fundamental fact of man's spiritual existence and explain it away with reflexes or behaviorism. By postulating a creative principle at the beginning of his creation myths and placing these at the beginning of the world, man experienced his own—and by projection, God's—creativity long before the idea of creative evolution was discovered.

As the vehicle of tradition, human consciousness collectively takes over the role formerly played by the biological factor. Organs are now no longer inherited but are transmitted. Thus there arises a spiritual world of consciousness which, as human culture, asserts its independence of life and nature. In this spiritual world, the individual, as carrier of the ego and of the conscious principle associated with it, is all-important. The prototype of the mature ego struggling to free itself from the grip of unconscious forces is the hero. He is the exemplar, the Great Individual, and all individual developments are modeled on him.

Before we examine the factors that make it possible to undermine the authority of the unconscious, we must briefly outline the stages leading from the germinal ego's containment in the uroboros to the ego of the hero fight. In tracing this mythological and symbolic sequence we can only tentatively suggest an interpretation in terms of psychic energy.

The transition from uroboros to Great Mother is character-

ized by a further development of the ego and a strengthening of the conscious system, as well as by the transition from the nonplastic to the plastic epoch.

The plastic epoch is the mythological age of cosmic ritual, re-enacting the sequence of cosmic and mythical events. The archetypes, as cosmic forces, appear above all in the astral, solar, and lunar mythologies and in the rites over which they preside. This is the age of the great mythologies, when the cosmic figures of the primordial deities—Great Mother and Great Father—crystallize out from the fluid mass of indeterminate powers, from the “vast, brooding God of prehistory,”³⁵ and begin to take shape as creator-gods. The uroboric total divinity, envisaged in formless perfection as the “supreme God,” is succeeded by the archetypal gods. They, too, are pure projections of the collective unconscious upon the remotest possible object—the heavens. Since there is as yet no developed ego consciousness, nor any effective individuality, there can be no relation between man and the cosmic events proceeding in “some heavenly place.” It is as though in the beginning the figures were still autonomous, reflecting themselves as gods in the mirror of the heavens, without having passed through the medium of man and his personality, or without being altered in the passage.

The mythologies dealing with the creation of the world, and the first great sequences of gods and their battles, have often come down to us from later periods when they had already been worked over by speculative philosophy. But there is always an early mythological foundation. Local myths and rituals then spring up in countless places, all helping to shape the great gods. The unification of many separate cults into the more celebrated god-figures is of secondary importance. The salient feature is that the Mother and Father deities, the gods and goddesses of heaven and earth, are worshiped as figures, as operative factors with an ego center, to whom definite qualities are ascribed, and no longer as vague, magical daemonisms lurking in the background with manalike attributes.

³⁵ Rohde, *Psyche*.

A glance at the historical development shows over and over again how visible form springs from the formless, the definite from the indefinite, and how from the daemonic-animal level there arise centers of force, beings endowed with specifically human features. The clearest instance of this is the development of Greek religion. The gods of Olympus are the best example of this progressive configuration which goes beyond the archaic stage of vague numinosity,³⁶ though the same development can be seen everywhere, if not with the same degree of clarity.

The myths of the plastic epoch indicate a growing humanization in the life of the gods and in man's experience of them. Whereas the primitive numina were cosmic, charged with a symbolism whose power-content obscured their form, there is now a gradual approximation of the divine to the human. The battles and events that were formerly conceived as cosmic phenomena or as conflicts between the gods themselves now come down to the human level.

The first phases in the relation between ego consciousness and the unconscious were marked by dependence and resistance. In the uroboros the stage of nondifferentiation from the unconscious could still be experienced positively, but at the stage symbolized by the Great Mother, the son's dependence, though positive at first, soon takes on a negative form.

The uroboric unconscious symbolized by the Great Mother is a system which has to relax its hold upon the ego and consciousness—or rather, would have to relax its hold if the development were to proceed without friction.

But one of the facts we are always coming up against in our psychic experience is that growth takes place by fits and starts. There are retentions and blockages of libido which have to be breached by a new phase of development. Always the "old system" hangs on until the opposing forces are strong enough to overcome it. Here, too, "war is the father of all things." Psychic systems possess an inner stability which Jung has designated as the inertia of libido. Every system—and every archetype

³⁶ Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 39 f.

corresponds to a definite group of contents organized into a system—has an urge for self-preservation which shows itself in the possessive and retentive hold this system has over the ego. Liberation and free activity only become possible when the ego system has more libido at its disposal than the retentive system, i.e., when the ego's will is strong enough to break away from the corresponding archetype.

Further Phases of Ego Development

The increasing independence of consciousness only reaches a turning point in the hero myth; until then it is overshadowed by its unconscious origins. In its progress from uroboric self-destruction to adolescent resistance, we can discern a steady increase of ego activity and its polarization in respect of the unconscious, which it originally experienced as paradise, then as dangerous and fascinating, and finally as its enemy. And as the ego's activity and the intensity of its libido increase, so the symbolism varies. At first, plant symbols are the most prominent, with their passivity and earthiness. The youth is a vegetation deity—flower, corn, tree. His harvesting, death, and resurrection in the coming up of the seed belong to the natural rhythm of the matriarchate. Here sexuality is the instrument of the earth's fertility, follows the periodicity of the rutting seasons, and is unrelated to the world of ego consciousness.³⁷

³⁷ Briffault (*The Mothers*, Vol. I, p. 141) discriminates between the primary, aggressive sex instinct and the social mating instinct. In the animal world the sex instinct is frequently accompanied by biting, and sometimes the partner is actually devoured. We discern in this situation the predominance of the alimentary uroboros in the presexual stage, i.e., of the alimentary over the sexual instinct.

We cannot, however, go all the way with Briffault in his interpretation of the material. Only in isolated and exceptional cases is the sexual instinct carried so far towards absurdity that the male eats the female he has fertilized. But the reverse situation, where the fertilized female eats the male, is by no means *contra naturam*: it corresponds to the archetype of the Terrible Mother. Moreover it is prefigured in the "eating" of the male spermatozoon by the fertilized ovum. Once the access of sexual instinct has subsided and fertilization is accomplished, the dominance of the alimentary uroboros reasserts itself in the mother. For her, the supreme principle is to develop the mother-child totality through the intake of food, i.e., to promote growth; and the male who is eaten is just an unattached object of alimentation like anything else. The short-lived onrush of sexual instinct evoked by the male produces and can produce no emotional attachment whatever.

The predominance of vegetation symbolism means not only the physiological predominance of the vegetative (sympathetic) nervous system; it also denotes, psychologically, the predominance of those processes of growth which go forward without the assistance of the ego. But for all their seeming independence, ego and consciousness are nevertheless characterized at this stage by their reliance upon the determining substrate of the unconscious in which they are rooted, and also upon the sustenance provided by this substrate.

As the activity of ego consciousness increases, the vegetation symbolism is followed by the animal phase, when the male experiences himself as a living, active, and savage animal, though still subordinate to the "mistress of wild beasts." This sounds paradoxical at first, for the animal phase would seem to correspond more to a strengthening of unconscious forces than to a strengthening of the ego.

In the animal phase the ego is indeed largely identical with its instinctive components, the vectors of the unconscious. The "mistress" is the directing force "behind" this activity, but the masculine ego is now no longer vegetative and passive: it is active and desirous. The ego's intentionality has gained in momentum, so that it is no longer a case of my "being driven" or of my "having the urge," but of "I want." The ego, hitherto quiescent, becomes actuated by animal instinct—in other words, the instinctive impetus communicates itself to the ego and to consciousness, is taken over by them, and extends their radius of activity.

Centroversion, during its first conscious phase, manifests itself as narcissism, a generalized body feeling in which the unity of the body is the first expression of individuality. This magical relation to the body is an essential characteristic of centroversion, and love of one's own body, its adornment and sacralization, constitute the most primitive stage of self-formation. This is evident from the widespread practice of tattooing among primitives and the fact that individual tattooing which does

not conform to the stereotyped collective pattern is one of the earliest ways of expressing one's individuality. The individual is known and distinguished by the specific form he gives himself in his tattooing. The individual mode of tattooing shows his name, also the name of the more intimate circle with which he is identified—the clan, caste, sect, or professional guild. The magical correspondence between world and body scheme also belongs to this early narcissistic phase. In this connection the tendency to "embody" individual qualities and to display them on one's person is still alive today; it ranges from the world of costume and fashion to the military decoration, from the crown to the regimental button.

Leaving the narcissistic body stage, the ego then advances to the phallic stage, where consciousness of one's body and of oneself coincides with an aroused and actively desiring masculinity. The transition is marked by numerous phenomena in which the "intermediate stages" are accentuated.³⁸ Androgynous and hermaphroditic figures of gods and priests, and cults emphasizing the original bisexuality of the uroboric Great Mother, characterize the transition from the feminine to the masculine.³⁹

Sexual perversion is only a morbid expression of dominance by this archetypal phase, but is not identical with it, for besides this morbid expression there are other, positive, and productive ones which operate over the wider field of culture.⁴⁰

Phallicism⁴¹ is symbolic of a primitive stage in man's con-

³⁸ Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*.

³⁹ No doubt biological intermediate types also play a part here, but the archetypal—i.e., psychological—situation is more important than the biological.

⁴⁰ Many contents which, in "perversion," come to be dominants of sexual life have their prototypes in this mythological intermediate stage of dominance by the Great Mother. As mythological facts they are transpersonal, i.e., beyond and outside personality, and are therefore events *sub specie aeternitatis* because they are symbolical and as such magically effective. Only when they intrude into the narrow personalistic sphere do they become "perverted," i.e., pathogenic factors, because these "erratic blocks" of mythology and transpersonality then act as foreign bodies which hamper individual development.

⁴¹ We disregard here the special conditions that apply to the female.

sciousness of his masculinity. Only gradually does he come to realize his own value and his own world. The male begins by being the copulator, not the begetter; even when the phallus is worshiped by the female as the instrument of fertility, it is far more the opener of the womb—as in the case of certain primitives⁴²—than the giver of seed, the bringer of joy rather than of fruitfulness.

Phallus worship may originally appear side by side with worship of the fertilizing god. Sexual pleasure and the phallus are experienced orgiastically without a direct connection necessarily being felt with propagation. The virgin-mother who conceives the god, and the phallus-worshipping maenads, correspond to two different forms of possession, where phallus and procreative god are not yet identical.

Mythologically, the phallic-chthonic deities are companions of the Great Mother, not representatives of the specifically masculine. Psychologically this means that phallic masculinity is still conditioned by the body and thus is under the rule of the Great Mother, whose instrument it remains.

Although in the phallic phase the masculine ego consciously and actively pursues its special goal, namely the satisfaction of instinct, it is still so much the organ of the unconscious that it cannot grasp that sexual satisfaction in mating has anything to do with propagation; in fact the dependence of instinct upon the will of the species for self-propagation remains quite unconscious.

As the male-chthonic element in phallicism becomes more conscious, masculinity gains in strength and self-realization, and the active, aggressive power components in it develop. At the same time, the males—even when they have the social leadership—may still submit to the great chthonic fertility goddess and worship her in a feminine representative, because of the Great Mother's dominance in the masculine unconscious.

The growing ascendancy of phallicism then unites the family under its rule, and finally we come to the psychological struggle

⁴² Malinowski, *The Father in Primitive Psychology*, p. 331.

between matriarchate and patriarchate, and a modification of masculinity itself.

Ego-accentuation leads from the uroboric to the hermaphroditic, and so to the narcissistic stage, which is autoerotic at first and represents a primitive form of centroverson. The next stage is that of phallic-chthonic masculinity, dominated by the body sphere, and this in turn is succeeded by a masculinity in which the activity of consciousness has become the specific activity of an autonomous ego. In other words, consciousness, as the "higher masculinity of the head," attains knowledge of its own reality as self-consciousness. This higher masculinity is the masculinity of the "higher phallus," with the head as the seat of creative realization.

The development of ego consciousness is paralleled by a tendency to make itself independent of the body. This tendency finds its most obvious expression in masculine asceticism, world negation, mortification of the body, and hatred of women, and is ritually practiced in the initiation ceremonies of adolescents. The point of all such endurance tests is to strengthen the ego's stability, the will, and the higher masculinity, and to establish a conscious sense of superiority over the body. In rising above it and triumphing over its pains, fears, and lusts the ego gains an elementary experience of its own manly spirituality. To these tribulations is added an illumination by the higher spiritual principle, whether this be vouchsafed by spiritual beings in individual or collective visions, or by the communication of secret doctrines.

The goal of all initiation, however, from the rites of puberty to the religious mysteries, is transformation. In all of them the higher spiritual man is begotten. But this higher man is the man possessed of consciousness or, as liturgical language expresses it, of the higher consciousness. In him, man experiences his fellowship with a spiritual and heavenly world. Whether this fellowship takes the form of an apotheosis, or the initiate becomes one of God's children, or a *sol invictus*, or the hero becomes a star or an angel among the heavenly host, or whether he iden-

tifies himself with the totem ancestors, is all one. Always he enters into an alliance with heaven, with light and wind, cosmic symbols of the spirit that is not of this earth, bodiless and the enemy of the body.

Heaven is the dwelling place of gods and genii, symbolizing the world of light and consciousness as contrasted with the earthy, body-bound world of the unconscious. Seeing and knowing are the distinctive functions of consciousness, light and sun the transpersonal heavenly factors that are its higher condition, and eye and head the physical organs that are correlated with conscious discrimination. Hence in the psychology of symbols the spiritual soul descends from heaven and in the psychic body scheme is apportioned to the head, just as the loss of this soul is mythologically represented as a blinding, as the death of the sun-horse, or as a plunge into the sea—in other words, the overthrow of masculinity always follows the path of regression. It entails dissolution of the higher masculinity in its lower phallic form and therefore loss of consciousness, of the light of knowledge, of the eye, and a relapse into the body-bound chthonic world of animality.

The fact that fear is a symptom of centroverson, an alarm signal sent out to warn the ego, can be seen most clearly from the fear of regressing to an older ego form which would destroy the new, and with it the new system of ego consciousness. The “self-preservative tendency” of a system determines its pleasure-pain reaction.⁴³

The pleasurable qualities associated with the previous ego phase, once that system is outgrown, become painful for the ego of the next phase. Thus uroboric incest is pleasurable only for the feeble ego nucleus still embedded in the uroboros. But as the ego grows stronger, uroboric pleasure becomes uroboric fear of the Great Mother, since this pleasure harbors the danger

⁴³ Dissolution threatens from two sides: from regression to a lower level as well as from progression to a higher one. Hence the typical oscillation from pleasure to fear and fear to pleasure is most marked during the transitional phases of ego development, e.g., in childhood and puberty.

of regression and matriarchal castration which would mean its extinction.

The conquest of fear is therefore the essential characteristic of the ego-hero who dares the evolutionary leap to the next stage and does not, like the average man who clings to the conservatism of the existing system, remain the inveterate enemy of the new. Herein lies the real revolutionary quality of the hero. He alone, by overcoming the old phase, succeeds in casting out fear and changing it into joy.

B. The Separation of the Systems

(MYTHOLOGICAL STAGES:
SEPARATION OF THE WORLD PARENTS
AND DRAGON FIGHT)

Centroverson and Differentiation

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT of personality is determined by the splitting into two systems of the conscious and the unconscious, or rather by their separation, for it is only in the later development of Western consciousness that the separation takes the more dangerous form of a split. This development is mythologically depicted in the stages of the separation of the World Parents and the Hero Myth, the latter stage being partially contained in the former.

Through the separation of the World Parents heaven and earth are distinguished from one another, polarity is created, and the light set free. It is a mythological representation of the ego, poised between the lower, feminine world of earth and body, and the higher, masculine world of heaven and spirit. But since consciousness and the ego always experience themselves as masculine, this lower earth-world is taken to be the world of the Great Mother, and consequently hostile to the ego, while heaven is sensed as the ego-friendly world of the spirit, later personified as the All-Father.

The separation of the World Parents is the cosmic form of the hero fight, portraying the emancipation of the individual in mythological terms. Its first stage consists in overcoming the Great Mother dragon, in liberating the individual and the system of ego consciousness from her dominance.

The formation of the personality can now proceed further along the course of centroverson, which, by combining, systematizing, and organizing, accentuates ego formation and at the same time knits the originally diffuse contents of consciousness into a single system.

The prime task of consciousness with respect to the overmastering tendencies of the unconscious consists mainly in keeping its distance, in consolidating and defending its position, i.e., in strengthening the stability of the ego. All this time the ego is

becoming conscious of its differences and peculiarities; the libido available to the conscious system is increased—by processes still to be described—and from passive self-defense the ego launches forth into activity and a campaign of conquest. In the myths this stage comes under the motif of the Twin Brothers.

We showed in the section dealing with the Terrible Male how the destructive masculine power aspect of the uroboros and Great Mother is assimilated by the ego and co-ordinated with personality and consciousness. Part of the archetype of the antagonist—a figure of the collective unconscious—is incorporated into the personal system.

This antagonist represents the power of darkness as a transpersonal quantity, symbolized for instance by the ancient Egyptian Set, the Apopis serpent, or the man-killing boar. At first, the passive or only feebly resistant ego consciousness of the adolescent falls victim to him: the energy-charge of the archetype is stronger and ego consciousness is snuffed out. During the stage of the twins, however, the adolescent experiences part of this destructive force as belonging to him personally. He is no longer merely the victim of the Great Mother, but, through his own self-mutilation and suicide, he negatively assimilates the destructive tendency which has turned against him. The ego center gains possession of this aggressive tendency of the unconscious and makes it an ego tendency and a content of consciousness; but although the Great Mother's destructive intentions toward the ego have now become conscious, she still continues to keep her old object in sight. The ego's resistance to the Great Mother and the conscious realization of her destructive policy go together. At first the ego is overpowered by the content newly emerging into consciousness—namely, the archetype of the antagonist—and goes under. Only gradually, and to the degree that the ego recognizes this destructive tendency as being not just a hostile content of the unconscious, but as part of itself, does consciousness begin to incorporate it, to digest and assimilate it, in other words, to make it conscious. The destruction is now separable from its old object, the ego,

and has become an ego function. The ego can now use at least a portion of this tendency in its own interests. In fact, what has happened is that the ego, as we have said, "turns the tables" upon the unconscious.

The assimilation of the destructive tendencies of the unconscious is closely connected with the "negative" qualities of consciousness. This is expressed not only in its capacity to distinguish itself from the unconscious and keep its distance but also in utilizing this capacity in its ever-renewed attempts to break down the world continuum into objects, thus making it assimilable for the ego. The assimilative powers of consciousness which enable it to grasp objects first as images and symbols, then as contents, and finally as concepts, and to absorb and arrange them in a new order, presuppose this analytical function. By its means the destructive tendency of the unconscious becomes a positive function of consciousness.

In the analytical-reductive function of consciousness there is always an active element of defense against the unconscious and against the danger of being overpowered by it. This negative activity is apparent wherever we meet with the symbolism of knives, swords, weapons, etc. In numerous world creation myths, the cutting up of the dragon precedes the building of a new world from its dismembered parts. Just as food must be cut up small before it can be digested and built into the structure of the organism, so the vast world continuum of the uroboros must be broken up and divided into objects for assimilation by consciousness.

The uroboric tendency of the unconscious to reabsorb all its products by destroying them so as to give them back in new, changed form is repeated on the higher plane of ego consciousness. Here, too, the analytical process precedes the synthesis, and differentiation is the prime requisite for a later integration.¹

In this sense all knowledge rests on an aggressive act of incorporation. The psychic system, and to an even greater extent consciousness itself, is an organ for breaking up, digesting, and

¹ S. Spielrein, "Die Destruktion als Ursache des Werdens."

then rebuilding the objects of the world and the unconscious, in exactly the same way as our bodily digestive system decomposes matter physiochemically and uses it for the creation of new structures.

The activity of the hero in his fight with the dragon is that of the acting, willing, and discriminating ego which, no longer fascinated and overpowered, and abandoning its youthful attitude of passive defense, seeks out the danger, performs new and extraordinary deeds, and battles its way to victory. The supremacy of the Great Mother, the control she exercised through the instinctual power of the body, is superseded by the relative autonomy of the ego, of the higher spiritual man who has a will of his own and obeys his reason. Faust's wresting of the land from the sea symbolizes the primal deed of heroic consciousness, which snatches new territory from the unconscious and places it under the rule of the ego. Just as on the adolescent level the dominant features were passivity, fear, and defense against the unconscious, so on the heroic level the ego plucks up courage and goes over to the offensive. It is immaterial whether the direction of this offensive be introverted or extraverted, since both flanks are occupied by the Great Mother dragon, whether we call her nature, the world, or the unconscious psyche.

We now come to the active incest of the hero, the fight with the Great Mother and her defeat. The awe-inspiring character of this dragon consists essentially in her power to seduce the ego and then to castrate and destroy it in matriarchal incest. Fear of dissolution held the ego back from regressing to the Great Mother and to the uroboros; it was the protective reaction of the ego system against regression. But when the ego is no longer prepared to remain at the stage of the "strugglers," who are dominated by their fear of the Great Mother, it must conquer the fear that once protected it and do the very thing of which it was most afraid. It must expose itself to the annihilating force of the uroboric Mother Dragon without letting itself be destroyed.

By overcoming its fear, and by actually entering into the uroboric Great Mother, the ego experiences its higher masculinity as a lasting quality, deathless and indestructible, and its fear is changed into joy. This connection between fear and pleasure plays a decisive part in normal psychology, but is particularly important in the psychology of neurosis. At this stage of development, and only at this stage, sexuality becomes the symbol for a struggle to "get on top," and here the Adlerian terminology of the power drive is altogether appropriate.² But perseveration in such symbolism, as found—consciously or unconsciously—in many neurotics, means that the archetypal stage of the dragon fight has still not been surmounted, and that the ego is arrested in it. In most cases the failure is not expressed by the symbol of castration and dismemberment, as at the stage of the Great Mother, but by the symbolism of defeat and captivity, and occasionally by blinding.

Like the blinding of Samson and of Oedipus, captivity, which in many myths and fairy tales takes the form of being eaten, is a higher form of failure than dismemberment or phallic castration. Higher, because defeat at this stage affects a more highly developed and more stable ego consciousness. Hence this defeat need not be final, as castration and death are bound to be, and in a certain sense blinding too. The vanquished may, for instance, subsequently be rescued by a hero, and defeat may yet end in victory. Consciousness, though sorely tried, may be able to hang on in captivity until rescue arrives. The different forms which the rescue takes correspond to different forms of progression. For instance, Oedipus remains a hero even though he regresses tragically to the mother, Samson transcends his defeat and dies victorious, Theseus and Prometheus are freed from bondage by Herakles, and so on.

Equally, the ego-hero who falls in battle is not destroyed as an individual personality, in the sense that the ego is blotted out in uroboric or matriarchal incest. By passing through the archetypal stages of mythology, the ego advances toward the

² Alfred Adler, *The Neurotic Constitution*.

goal of the dragon fight, which, as we have seen, means immortality and everlastingness. The gaining of something suprapersonal and indestructible through this fight is the ultimate and deepest meaning of the treasure, so far as the development of personality is concerned.

It is not our intention to repeat here what has been said in Part I about the separation of the World Parents, the creation of light, and the hero myth in relation to the development and differentiation of consciousness. Our psychological task is rather to indicate some of the methods by which the ego detaches itself from the unconscious and forms itself into a relatively independent system; in other words, how the individual's personality is built up. We have to examine how the personal and individual emancipates itself from the transpersonal and collective.

The Fragmentation of Archetypes

The separation of the conscious from the unconscious may be effected by any of the following means: (1) the fragmentation—splitting up or splitting off—of archetypes and complexes; (2) the devaluation or deflation of the unconscious; (3) the secondary personalization of contents which were originally transpersonal; (4) the exhaustion of emotional components liable to overwhelm the ego; (5) abstractive processes whereby the unconscious is represented first as an image, then as an idea, and is finally rationalized as a concept. All these differentiations assist the formation, from a diffuse transpersonal unconscious which has no knowledge of individuals and is purely collective, of a system of personality whose highest representative is to be found in ego consciousness.

In order to trace the development of consciousness we have to make a necessary distinction between two components of the unconscious. This involves dividing the material content of the collective unconscious from its emotional or dynamic content.

Not only does the archetype represent, as an image, some content more or less accessible to consciousness, but it also has, independently of its contents or in association with them, an emotional and dynamic effect upon the personality. What we have called the "fragmentation of archetypes" is a process whereby consciousness seeks to wrest from the unconscious the material content of the archetypes in order to supply the needs of its own system.

Rudolf Otto, in his description of the numinous, names it the awe-inspiring mystery, fascinating and beatific, the "wholly Other," the Holy.³ This *numinosum* is the central experience of the ego in respect of any and every archetype; it is the ego's basic experience of the collective unconscious and of the world upon which the archetypes are projected. It is as though the world of the unconscious were, in effect, an extension of the numinous, as though the inconceivable multiplicity of its aspects had been divided up into the separate figures of the collective unconscious, in order to become experienceable for the ego, either successively or in the aggregate. In the course of development, i.e., during the transition from the nonplastic to the plastic phase, the collective unconscious is split up into the pictorial world of archetypal images, and the same line of development leads to the fragmentation of the archetypes themselves.

Exhaustion of Emotional Components: Rationalization

Fragmentation occurs in the sense that, for consciousness, the primordial archetype breaks down into a sizable group of related archetypes and symbols. Or rather, this group may be thought of as the periphery enclosing an unknown and intangible center. The split-off archetypes and symbols are now easier to grasp and assimilate, so that they no longer overpower ego consciousness. This discursive experience of the archetypes,

³ *The Idea of the Holy*.

one after another and from different sides, is the result of a development in the course of which consciousness learns to protect itself against the effect of the primordial archetype. The numinous grandeur of the archetype, as originally experienced by primitive man, is the unity of the archetypal group of symbols in which it now manifests itself, plus an unknown quantity which disappears in the fragmentation process.

Let us take as an example the archetype of the Great Mother. It combines a bewildering variety of contradictory aspects. If we regard these aspects as qualities of the Great Mother and list them as qualities of the archetype, that is itself the result of the process we are describing. A developed consciousness can recognize these qualities, but originally the archetype acted upon the ego en masse, in all the undifferentiated profusion of its paradoxical nature. This is the chief reason why the ego is overwhelmed, and consciousness disoriented, by the archetype, whose emergence from the depths is always new, different, unexpected, and terrifyingly vivid.

Thus the Great Mother is uroboric: terrible and devouring, beneficent and creative; a helper, but also alluring and destructive; a maddening enchantress, yet a bringer of wisdom; bestial and divine, voluptuous harlot and inviolable virgin, immemorally old and eternally young.⁴

This original bivalence of the archetype with its juxtaposed opposites is torn asunder when consciousness separates the World Parents. To the left, there is ranged a negative series of symbols—Deadly Mother, Great Whore of Babylon, Witch, Dragon, Moloch; to the right, a positive series in which we find the Good Mother who, as Sophia or Virgin, brings forth and nourishes, and leads the way to rebirth and salvation. Here Lilith, there Mary; here the toad, there the goddess; here a morass of blood, there the Eternal Feminine.

The fragmentation of the archetype is represented in myths as the deed of the hero; only when he has separated the World Parents can consciousness be born. We can follow the details

⁴ Jung, "Die psychologischen Aspekte des Mutterarchetypus."

of this fragmentation process in the hero myth. At first the dragon fight is against the primordial archetype of the uroboros, but once it has been split up, the fight must be directed against the father and mother, and finally a constellation is reached where the dichotomy becomes absolute. Against the hero are ranged the Terrible Mother and Terrible Father; with him, the creative Father-God and Virgin Goddess. Thus the inchoate world of the uroboros becomes the human world, molded into shape by the life of the hero. Man, modeling himself on the hero, has now found his rightful place between the upper realm and the lower.

The power of the primordial Great Mother archetype rests on the original state where everything is intermingled and undifferentiated, not to be grasped because ever in flux. Only later do images emerge from this basal unity, forming a group of related archetypes and symbols revolving about this indescribable center. The wealth of images, qualities, and symbols is essentially a product of the fragmentation effected by a consciousness which perceives, discriminates, divides, and registers from a distance. *Determinatio est negatio*. The multiplicity of images corresponds to a multiplicity of possible attitudes and possible reactions of consciousness, contrasted with the original total-reaction that seizes upon primitive man.

The overpowering dynamism of the archetype is now held in check: it no longer releases paroxysms of dread, madness, ecstasy, delirium, and death. The unbearable white radiance of primordial light is broken up by the prism of consciousness into a multicolored rainbow of images and symbols. Thus from the image of the Great Mother the Good Mother is split off, recognized by consciousness, and established in the conscious world as a value. The other part, the Terrible Mother, is in our culture repressed and largely excluded from the conscious world. This repression has the result that, as the patriarchate develops, the Great Mother becomes simply the Good Mother, consort of the Father-Gods. Her dark animal side, her power as the uroboric Great Mother, is forgotten. Accordingly in all Western cultures,

including those of antiquity, there are vestiges of female consorts side by side with the father deities who have supplanted them. Only in recent times were the ancient mother cults laboriously rediscovered, and it was reserved for an age versed in depth psychology to excavate the primeval world of the Terrible and Uroboric Mother. Her repression was understandable and necessary from the point of view of the patriarchate and of a conscious development with strong patriarchal tendencies. Ego consciousness had to consign these aspects to oblivion, because its fear of the abyss was still too uncomfortably close: although it had successfully fought the dragon the terrors of this fight were still very much alive. Hence consciousness, afraid lest "real knowledge" should call down the fate of regression that overtook Oedipus, represses the Sphinx and with euphemistic imprecations enthrones the Good Mother.

The fragmentation of archetypes should on no account be conceived as a conscious analytical process. The activity of consciousness has a differentiating effect only because of the variety of possible attitudes it can adopt. The emergence of a group of archetypes split off from the basic archetype, and of the corresponding group of symbols, is the expression of spontaneous processes in which the activity of the unconscious continues unimpaired. To the conscious ego these archetypes and symbols appear as products of the unconscious, even when they have been constellated by the conscious situation as a whole. So long as consciousness fails to constellate the unconscious, no differentiated symbols and archetypes will appear. The more acute the systemization of consciousness is, the more sharply it constellates the contents of the unconscious. That is to say, the manifestations of the unconscious vary with the intensity and scope of the conscious mind. The growth of consciousness and its mounting energy-charge assist the differentiation of the archetype, bringing it and the archetypal nexus of symbols more sharply into focus. Hence conscious activity is of crucial importance; but all visible manifestations remain, like

the symbol itself, dependent on the spontaneity of the unconscious.

The breakdown of the amorphous unconscious into the picture world of archetypes enables them to be represented and perceived by the conscious mind. No longer do "dark" impulses and instincts exercise complete control of the totality; instead, the perception of an inner image produces a reaction on the part of the conscious ego. Originally this perception touched off a total reaction very like a reflex, as for instance the "panic terror" evoked by the Pan image.

Delayed reaction and de-emotionalization run parallel to this splitting of the archetype into groups of symbols. The ego ceases to be overwhelmed as consciousness becomes more capable of assimilating and understanding the individual symbols. The world grows clearer, orientation is more possible, and consciousness is enlarged. An anonymous and amorphous primal deity is inconceivably frightful; it is stupendous and unapproachable, incomprehensible and impossible to manipulate. The ego experiences its formlessness as something inhuman and hostile, if indeed it ever tackles the impossible task of experiencing it. So we often find an inhuman god at the beginning in the form of a beast, or some horrid anomaly and monster of miscegenation. These hideous creatures are expressions of the ego's inability to experience the featurelessness of the primal deity. The more anthropomorphic the world of gods becomes, the closer it is to the ego and the more it loses its overwhelming character. The Olympian gods are far more human and familiar than the primeval goddess of chaos.

During this process, the primal deity is split up into different gods with individualities of their own. God is now experienced and revealed under as many aspects as there are gods. This means that the ego's powers of expression and understanding have increased enormously. The growing differentiation of cults shows that man has learnt how to "deal with" the deity in the form of individual gods. He knows what they want and he understands how to manipulate them. Every god who can be seen

and ritually manipulated represents so much consciousness gained, so much unconsciousness made conscious.

It is a known fact that the "functional" gods of religion eventually become functions of consciousness. Originally, consciousness did not possess enough free libido to perform any activity—plowing, harvesting, hunting, waging war, etc.—of its own "free will," and was obliged to invoke the help of the god who "understood" these things. By means of ceremonial invocation, the ego activated the "help of the god" and thus conducted the flow of libido from the unconscious to the conscious system. The progressive development of consciousness assimilates the functional gods, who go on living as qualities and capacities of the conscious individual who plows, harvests, hunts, and wages war as and when he pleases. It is evident, however, that when the conscious manipulation is not successful, as in war, the war-god continues to act as a functional god even today.

Just as a symbolic multiplicity of gods surrounds the primordial God, so, as consciousness develops, every archetype surrounds itself with its appropriate group of symbols. The original unity breaks down into a solar system of archetypes and symbols grouped round a nuclear archetype, and the archetypal nexus of the collective unconscious comes forth from the darkness into the light.

Again, just as the digestive system decomposes food into its basic elements, so consciousness breaks up the great archetype into archetypal groups and symbols which can later be assimilated as split-off attributes and qualities by the perceptive and organizing powers of the conscious mind. With progressive abstraction the symbols turn into attributes of varying importance. Thus the animal nature of the archetypal deity appears alongside him as his "companion animal." With further rationalization the "human" element—i.e., his propinquity to the ego—comes so much to the fore that the god frequently fights against this animal, the animal side of himself.⁵ If the abstraction, or exhaustion of the symbol's content by the assimilating conscious-

⁵ Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (in *The Golden Bough*).

ness, is carried still further, then the symbol turns into a quality. For instance Mars, whose original meaning, like that of every god, was exceedingly complex, becomes the quality "martial." This fragmentation of the symbol group tends in the direction of rationalization. The more complex a content is, the less it can be grasped and measured by consciousness, whose structure is so one-sided that it can attain to clarity only over a limited area. In this respect consciousness is built analogously to the eye. There is *one* spot where vision is sharpest, and larger areas can be perceived clearly only by continuous eye-movements. In the same way, consciousness can only keep a small segment sharply in focus; consequently it has to break up a large content into partial aspects, experiencing them piecemeal, one after the other, and then learn to get a synoptic view of the whole terrain by comparison and abstraction.

The importance of this fragmentation is particularly clear in the case of a bivalent content such as we showed the Great Mother archetype to be. We say that the personality has a bivalent tendency when positive and negative trends are simultaneously present in it, e.g., love and hate towards the same object. The state of bivalence, which is innate in primitives and children, corresponds to a bivalent content composed of positive and negative elements. The antithetical structure of such a content makes conscious orientation impossible and eventually leads to fascination. Consciousness keeps on returning to this content, or to the person who embodies it or carries its projection, and is unable to get away from it. New reactions are constantly released, consciousness finds itself at a loss, and affective reactions begin to appear. All bivalent contents that simultaneously attract and repel act in like manner upon the organism as a whole and release powerfully affective reactions, because consciousness gives way, regresses, and primitive mechanisms take its place. Affective reactions resulting from fascination are dangerous; they amount to an invasion by the unconscious.

An advanced consciousness will therefore split the bivalent

content into a dialectic of contrary qualities. Before being so split, the content is not merely good and bad at once; it is beyond good and evil, attracting and repelling, and therefore irritating to consciousness. But if there is a division into good and evil, consciousness can then take up an attitude. It accepts and rejects, orientates itself, and thus gets outside the range of fascination. This conscious bias towards one-sidedness is reinforced by the rationalizing processes we have mentioned.

Rationalization, abstraction, and de-emotionalization are all expressions of the "devouring" tendency of ego consciousness to assimilate the symbols piecemeal. As the symbol is broken down into conscious contents, it loses its compulsive effect, its compelling significance, and becomes poorer in libido. Thus the "gods of Greece" are no longer for us, as they were for the Greeks, living forces and symbols of the unconscious requiring a ritualistic approach; they have been broken down into cultural contents, conscious principles, historical data, religious associations, and so on. They exist as contents of consciousness, and no longer—or only in special cases—as symbols of the unconscious.

However, it would be wrong to speak of the soul-destroying nature of consciousness, for we must not forget that consciousness constructs at the same time a new and spiritual world in which, transformed, the venerable but dangerous figures of the unconscious are allotted a new place.

This process of rationalization, which enables consciousness to form abstract concepts and to adopt a consistent view of the world, comes at the end of a development that is only just beginning to be realized in modern man.

The formation of symbols and groups of symbols played a large part in helping consciousness to understand and interpret the unconscious, and, for primitive man, the rational component of a symbol is particularly important. The symbol acts upon the whole of the psyche and not upon consciousness alone; but with the extension of consciousness there also ensues a modification and differentiation of the symbol's action. The complex content of the symbol still continues to "possess" consciousness, but in-

stead of being overwhelmed, consciousness becomes engrossed in it. Whereas its original archetypal effect led as it were to a "knockout" of consciousness and to the primary unconscious total reaction, the later effect of the symbol is stimulating and invigorating. Its intrinsic meaning addresses itself to the mind and conduces to reflection and understanding, precisely because it activates more than mere feeling and emotionality. Ernst Cassirer has demonstrated at great length how the intellectual, cognitive, conscious side of man develops out of "symbolic forms,"⁶ which from the point of view of analytical psychology are creative expressions of the unconscious.

Thus the emancipation of consciousness and the fragmentation of archetypes are far from being a negative process in the sense that primitive man experiences an "animated" world, while modern man knows only an "abstract" one. Pure existence in the unconscious, which primitive man shares with the animal, is indeed nonhuman and prehuman. The fact that the dawn of consciousness and the creation of the world are parallel processes which throw up the same symbolism indicates that the world actually "exists" only to the degree that it is cognized by an ego. A differentiated world is the reflection of a self-differentiating consciousness. The multiple archetypes and symbol groups split off from a primordial archetype are identical with the ego's greater range of experience, knowledge, and insight. Under the total impact of experience in the dawn period no particularized forms could be recognized, for the tremendous force of it extinguished the ego in a sort of numinous convulsion. But a more informed human consciousness can experience, in the multiplicity of religions and philosophies, theologies and psychologies, the innumerable facets and meanings of the numinous, now anatomized into image and symbol, attribute and revelation. That is to say, although the primal unity can only be experienced fragmentarily, it has at least come within range of conscious experience, whereas for the undeveloped ego it was utterly overwhelming.

⁶ *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen.*

A self-differentiating consciousness means that the ego complex can associate itself with any number of differentiated contents and thus gain experience. Primitive experience is total, but is not associated with an ego complex and consequently does not become personal experience which can be remembered. What makes the real psychology of childhood so extraordinarily difficult to describe is the fact that there is no developed ego complex capable of gaining experience, or at least of remembering its experience. For this reason child psychology, like that of the dawn man, is more transpersonal than personal.

The higher emotionality of primitives and children may easily bring about the extinction of the ego complex, whether because this emotionality is original, as in the child, or because it irrupts into consciousness in the form of an affect. If we imagine that the conscious function, in order to work at all, must carry a specific ballast of libido, but no more than that, then it is obvious that an overload of libido will unsettle the function and finally cause it to fail altogether, so that there is no possibility of ego experience and memory.

Concurrent with the fragmentation of archetypes and assisting, like it, the steady growth of ego consciousness, there is in man a tendency to exhaust his original reserves of emotionality in the interests of reason. This exhaustion of emotional components accompanies his evolutionary advance from the medullary man to the cortical man. Emotions and affects are bound up with the lowest reaches of the psyche, those closest to the instincts. The feeling tone basic to what we shall hereafter describe as the "emotional-dynamic" components has its organic roots in most primitive parts of the brain, namely the medullary region and the thalamus. Since these centers are linked up with the sympathetic nervous system, the emotional components are always intimately associated with unconscious contents. Hence the vicious circle we are constantly coming up against: unconscious contents release emotions, and emotions in their turn activate unconscious contents. The connection of both the emotions and the unconscious contents with the sympathetic nervous sys-

tem has its physiological basis at this point. Emotion manifests itself simultaneously with an alteration of the internal secretions, the circulation, blood pressure, respiration, etc., but equally, unconscious contents excite, and in neurotic cases disturb, the sympathetic nervous system either directly, or indirectly, via the emotions aroused.

The trend of evolution makes it clear that the medullary man is being superseded by the cortical man. This can be seen from the continuous deflation of the unconscious and the exhaustion of emotional components. It is only now, in the present crisis of modern man, whose overaccentuation of the conscious, cortical side of himself has led to excessive repression and dissociation of the unconscious, that it has become necessary for him to "link back" with the medullary region. (See Appendix II.)

The dawn man lives his affects and emotions to the full. We should not forget that "complexes," those contents of the unconscious which influence our lives to an extraordinary degree, have been explicitly characterized as feeling-toned. The tendency of any complex to lay hold on one's feelings forms the basis of Jung's association experiments. The disturbances in the rational structure of consciousness which manifest themselves during these experiments, and the physical excitation displayed in the psychogalvanic phenomenon, are due to the emotional component of the complex and to the feelings it arouses, which immediately lead to its detection.⁷

Human evolution runs from the primitive emotional man to the modern man, whose expanded consciousness protects—or endeavors to protect—him from this access of primitive emotionality. But so long as the dawn man continued to live in *participation mystique* with his unconscious contents, and his conscious system was unable to exist independently of the unconscious, the material and dynamic components were so closely linked together that we can speak of the identity and complete fusion of both. Or we can express it by saying that perception

⁷ Jung, "On Psychophysical Relations of the Associative Experiment," "The Association Method," and *Studies in Word Association*.

and instinctive reaction were one. The emergence of an image—the material component—and the instinctive reaction which affected the whole psychophysical organism—the emotional-dynamic component—were coupled in the manner of a reflex arc. Originally, therefore, a perceptual image outside or inside resulted in an instantaneous reaction. In other words, the coupling of the image with the emotional-dynamic component instantly released flight or attack, an access of rage, paralysis, etc.

This primitive reaction and the coupling of the two components cease as consciousness grows stronger. With the steady development of the cerebrum, the instinctive reflex is delayed by conscious intervention in the form of reflection, deliberation, etc. Gradually instinctive reaction is suppressed in favor of consciousness.

There are, however, two sides to this replacement of the original, total reaction by the discontinuous, differentiated, "splinter" reaction of modern man. The loss of total reaction is regrettable, especially when it leads to the apathetic, dead-and-alive specimen of today who no longer responds to anything vital except when he is recollectivized, as part of a mass, or, debauched by special techniques, reverts to the primitive. Nevertheless, the total reactivity of primitive man is no subject for romanticism. We must realize that, like the child, he was forced into total reaction by any and every content that emerged, and, overpowered by his emotionality and the underlying images, acted as a totality, but without freedom.

For this reason the anti-emotional trend of consciousness, provided that it is not carried to extremes, is an unmixed blessing for humanity. The impulsiveness of primitive man and of people in the mass, who are likely to be stampeded into catastrophic action on the slightest provocation, is so dangerous, so unpredictable in its "brainless" suggestibility, that it is highly desirable for the community that it should be replaced by conscious directives.

Consciousness has to resist these instinctive reactions because the ego is liable to be overpowered by the blind force of instinct,

against which the conscious system must protect itself if development is to proceed. Although instinctive reaction represents an "appropriate" pattern of behavior, there is nevertheless a conflict between the developing ego consciousness and the world of instinct. The former must always put its own specific mode of behavior, which pursues very different aims, in place of collective and instinctive reaction, for the latter is by no means always in accord with the individual aims of the ego, nor with its preservation.

Very often instinct is insufficiently adapted to the individual's situation, being appropriate only at a primitive level and to a primitive ego, but not at all appropriate to a developed one. For instance, an uprush of affective reaction for the deathblow may be extremely useful to savages in the jungle; but in the normal life of civilized man this kind of instinctive reaction—except in wartime—is not only inappropriate but positively dangerous. Bitter experience of mass psychology has taught us how senselessly and disastrously the instincts often work out from the standpoint of the individual, even though it may sometimes be for the good of the community.

Among primitives, and wherever the conditions are primitive, the conflict between individual consciousness and the collective tendencies of the unconscious is resolved in favor of the collective and at the cost of the individual. Often the instinctive reactions bear no relation to the ego, but only to the collective, the species, etc. Nature is always showing that she sets no store by the individual. As Goethe says:

The one thing she seems to aim at is Individuality; yet she cares nothing for individuals.⁸

In contrast with this, however, the development of consciousness also serves the interests of the individual. While the ego is coming to terms with the unconscious, more and more attempts are made to protect the personality, to consolidate the conscious

⁸ "Nature," trans. by T. H. Huxley, from the *Metamorphosis of Plants*.

system, and to dam up the danger of inundation and invasion from the unconscious side.

Thus, as the ego develops, it is imperative to prevent a situation from arising in which the dynamic-emotional component of an unconscious image or archetype would drive the ego into an instinctive reaction and so overwhelm consciousness.

For this reason there is sound sense in the tendency to separate the reaction from the perceptual image which releases it and to break down the original reflex arc until the material and the dynamic components of the collective unconscious are finally segregated. If the emergence of an archetype is not immediately followed by an instinctive reflex action, so much the better for conscious development, because the effect of the emotional-dynamic components is to disturb, or even prevent, objective knowledge, whether this be of the external world or of the psychic world of the collective unconscious. Consciousness with all its four functions, introverted as well as extraverted, is the cognitive organ par excellence, and its differentiation and that of the functions is possible only when the emotional components of the unconscious are excluded. The sure aim of the differentiated function is continually being obscured by the intrusion of emotional components.

If the ego is to attain a condition of tranquillity in which to exercise discrimination, consciousness and the differentiated function must be as far removed as possible from the active field of emotional components. All differentiated functions are liable to be disturbed by them, but the disturbance is most evident in the case of thinking, which is by nature opposed to feeling and even more to emotionality. More than any other function, differentiated thinking requires a "cool head" and "cold blood."

Consciousness, ego, and will, which might be described as the *avant-garde* of conscious development, at least in the West, tend to loosen up the bonds between the material and the dynamic components of the unconscious, so as then, by repressing the latter—i.e., the feeling-toned instinctive actions and reactions—to control and assimilate the material components. This repres-

sion of the emotional-dynamic components is unavoidable, because conscious development demands that the ego be freed from the grip of emotion and instinct.⁹

The fragmentation of archetypes and exhaustion of emotional components, therefore, are as necessary for the development of consciousness and the real or imaginary depotentiation of the unconscious as are the processes of abstraction and the secondary personalization which we shall discuss later. These abstraction processes are not to be identified with the abstract trend of scientific thinking or with conscious rationalization; they set in very much earlier. The development from prelogical to logical thinking¹⁰ represents a basic mutation which strives to establish the autonomy of the conscious system with the help of these same abstractive processes. In this way the archetype is replaced by the idea, of which it is the forerunner. The idea is the result of abstraction; it expresses "the meaning of a primordial image which has been 'abstracted' or detached from the concretism of the image."¹¹ It is a "product of thinking."

Thus the line runs from primitive man's total possession by the primordial images to a final situation in which deflation of the unconscious is so far advanced that the idea is regarded as a conscious content to which one can, though one need not, take up an attitude. Instead of being possessed by an archetype we now "have an idea" or, better still, "pursue an idea."

Secondary Personalization

The strengthening of the personal ego system and, simultaneously, the steady undermining of the unconscious tend in the

⁹ The repressed component plays an important compensatory role in other departments of man's collective culture. It also forms a specific characteristic of the unconscious independently of the individual's attitude- or function-type. The peculiar atmosphere and coloring of the unconscious, its fascination, the nameless attraction and repulsion we feel for it, and the insidious influence it exerts upon the ego irrespective of content, are all manifestations of the dynamic components of the unconscious.

¹⁰ Cassirer, op. cit.; Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*.

¹¹ Jung, *Psychological Types*, def. 23.

direction of secondary personalization. This principle holds that there is a persistent tendency in man to take primary and transpersonal contents as secondary and personal, and to reduce them to personal factors. Personalization is directly connected with the growth of the ego, of consciousness, and of individuality throughout human history, through which alone "personality" arises and the personal psychic sphere peculiar to the ego emerges from the torrent of transpersonal and collective events.

Secondary personalization is also connected with the processes of introjection and the interiorization of "outside" contents.

As we have seen, man begins by experiencing the transpersonal outside himself, i.e., projected upon the heavens or the world of gods, and ends by introjecting it and making it a personal psychic content. In the language of symbols, in ritual, myth, dreams, and childhood reality, these contents are "eaten," "incorporated," and so "digested." By such acts of introjection and the assimilation of previously projected contents the psyche builds itself up, the subject and the ego-centered conscious personality acquiring more and more "weight" as more and more contents are taken in. But, as we have already noted when discussing the fragmentation of archetypes, it is only through image formation—the giving of form to the formless—that conscious assimilation is made possible. The evolving consciousness gradually learns to distinguish shapes in the dimness, and, even more important, it elaborates them. Similarly, in secondary personalization the expanding system of personality draws the transpersonal figures into its own orbit. This involves not only introjection, but the anthropomorphic creation of images, which gives point to the old dictum of Xenophanes:

Why, if cattle and horses and lions had hands, and could use their hands to paint with and to produce works of art like men, then horses would paint the forms of gods like horses, and cattle like cattle, and each would make the bodies like their own.¹²

Secondary personalization brings a steady decrease in the effective power of the transpersonal and a steady increase in the

¹² Based on the citation in Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 119.

importance of the ego and personality. The sequence begins with the impersonal, all-powerful *numinosum*, cosmic mythology, and the ideas of the dynamistic or pre-animistic epoch, having as their corollary a more or less uncentered human being, unconscious, and existing psychologically as a group-unit. Next comes the plastic epoch, with vague forms looming behind the astral myths, then the gods with their earthly counterparts, the mana heroes, who possess an archetypal rather than an historical character.

Hence the dragon-slaying hero who represents the sun on its "night sea journey," or in other cultures the moon, is the archetypal exemplar and guiding figure of all historical heroes.¹³

Thus, the mythical age is followed by the early historical period with its god-kings, etc., when the mingling of the heavenly with the earthly, and the descent of the transpersonal to the human level, become more and more evident. Secondary personalization leads finally to the local deities becoming heroes and the totem animals domestic spirits.

As ego consciousness and individual personality gain in importance and thrust themselves increasingly to the fore in the historical period, there is a marked strengthening of the personal element. In consequence, the human and personal sphere is enriched at the expense of the extrahuman and transpersonal.

The weight that falls to ego consciousness and individuality makes a man conscious of himself as a human being, whereas in the stage of unconscious nondiscrimination he was for the most part a purely natural being. The fact that, in totemism, he can equally well "be" an animal, a plant, or even a thing is an expression of his incapacity for self-discrimination and of his undeveloped self-awareness as a person.

¹³ For this reason the earliest historiographers always tried to bring the individual hero into line with the archetype of the primordial hero, and thus produced a kind of mythologized historiography. An example of this is the Christianization of the Jesus figure, where all the mythical traits peculiar to the hero and redeemer archetype were sketched in afterwards. The mythologizing process is the exact opposite of secondary personalization, but, here as there, the center of gravity of the hero-figure is displaced towards the human activity of the ego (cf. A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, p. 205).

While the animal forms of the gods and ancestors originally symbolized and expressed man's oneness with nature, which was turned to practical account in sorcery, hunting magic, and the breeding of domestic animals, the theriomorphism of a later age is an expression of the transpersonal numen of prehistoric times. Thus the attendant animals of the gods everywhere betray the original form of the latter. In Egypt, for instance, we can trace the development of secondary personalization in the increasing humanization of the gods. In prehistoric times the ensigns of the various nomes were animals, plants, or objects of some kind, whether we choose to regard them as totemistic symbols or not. In the First Dynasty the falcons, fishes, etc., sprouted arms; at the end of the Second Dynasty hybrid shapes begin to appear, human bodies with the heads of the old animal figures that have become anthropomorphic gods; and from the Third Dynasty onwards the human form becomes the rule. The gods establish themselves in human form as lords of heaven, and the animals retire.¹⁴ The advance of secondary personalization can be observed in literature too, where mythological motifs turn into fairy tales and finally into the earliest romances. A good example of this "descent" is the way in which the Set-Osiris or Set-Horus myth changes into the Story of the Two Brothers. What was originally the cosmic opposition of light and darkness becomes the conflict of divine twin brothers, and finally dwindles to a "family novel" in which the immemorial drama has taken on personalistic features.

This progressive assimilation of unconscious contents gradually builds up the personality, thus creating an enlarged psychic system which forms the basis of man's inner spiritual history as this makes itself increasingly independent of the collective history going on all round him. This process, initiated in the first instance by philosophy, has today reached what is chronologically its latest stage in psychology, still of course only in its infancy. Hand in hand with this there goes a "psychization" of the world. Gods, demons, heaven and hell are, as psychic forces,

¹⁴ Moret, *The Nile*, p. 362.

withdrawn from the objective world and incorporated in the human sphere, which thereupon undergoes a very considerable expansion. When we give the name of "sexuality" to what was once experienced as a chthonic divinity, or speak of "hallucination" instead of revelation, and when the gods of heaven and the underworld are recognized as dominants of man's unconscious, it means that an immense tract of external world has dropped into the human psyche. Introjection and psychization are the other side of the process by which a world of physical objects becomes visible, and this world can no longer be modified by projections to the degree that it could before.

What now happens, however—and this is the most important result of secondary personalization so far as the individual is concerned—is that transpersonal contents are projected upon persons. Just as in the historical process god-images were projected upon human beings and were experienced in them, so now archetypal figures are projected into the personal environment, and this leads to a necessary but exceedingly dangerous confusion of the person with the archetype.

This process not only plays an important role in childhood, as the projection of parental archetypes upon the parents, but the fate of the collective is largely determined by such projections upon Great Individuals who influence human history, whether positively or negatively, as heroes, leaders, saints, and so forth. We shall see that a healthy collective culture is possible only when secondary personalization is not carried to the point of absurdity; if it is too radical, it leads to false projections of the transpersonal and to the phenomena of recollectivization, whereby vital elements of the cultural heritage are placed in jeopardy and may be lost altogether.

The deflation of the unconscious, resulting from all the processes we have described, brings about the systemization of consciousness and the separation of the two systems. The relative depotentiation of the unconscious is absolutely necessary if ego consciousness is to be reinforced and enriched with libido. At the same time, the great wall that marks the boundary between

conscious and unconscious is continually being strengthened by the revaluation—and devaluation—of unconscious contents. The patriarchal motto of the ego, “Away from the unconscious, away from the mother,” sanctions all the devices of devaluation, suppression, and repression in order to exclude from its orbit contents potentially dangerous to consciousness. The activity of the latter as well as its further development depend on the resultant heightened tension with the unconscious.

The activity of masculine consciousness is heroic in so far as it voluntarily takes upon itself the archetypal struggle with the dragon of the unconscious and carries it to a successful conclusion. This dominance of masculinity, which is of crucial importance for the position of the female in patriarchal societies,¹⁵ determines the spiritual development of Western man.

¹⁵ The deflation of the unconscious, its “dethronement” by the patriarchal trend of conscious development, is closely connected with the depreciation of the female in the patriarchy. This fact will receive detailed treatment in my forthcoming work on the psychology of the feminine; here, it is only necessary to make the following observation: the psychological stage ruled by the unconscious is, as we saw, matriarchal, its emblem being the Great Mother who is overcome in the dragon fight. The association of the unconscious with feminine symbolism is archetypal, and the maternal character of the unconscious is further intensified by the anima figure which, in the masculine psyche, stands for the soul. Consequently the heroic-masculine trend of development is apt to confuse “away from the unconscious” with “away from the feminine” altogether. This trend towards patriarchal consciousness is reflected in the supersession of feminine moon myths by masculine sun myths and can be traced far back into primitive psychology. Whereas the moon myths, even when the moon is masculine, always indicate the dependence of consciousness and light upon the nocturnal side of life, i.e., the unconscious, this is no longer the case with the patriarchal solar mythologies. Here the sun is not the morning sun born of the night, but the sun in his zenith at high noon, symbolizing a masculine consciousness which knows itself to be free and independent even in its relations with the self, i.e., the creative world of heaven and spirit.

If Briffault's view is correct, that most mysteries were originally feminine mysteries and were adopted by the men only later, then the anti-feminine tendencies of the men's societies, whose archetypal basis we have already discussed (pp. 180 f.), also have an historical basis. The degradation of woman and her exclusion from many of the existing patriarchal systems of religion is evident even today. This depreciation of the feminine ranges from the intimidation of women by the ceremonial bull-roarers in primitive society (*The Mothers*, Vol. II, p. 544), to the “*taceat mulier in ecclesia*,” the Jew's daily prayer of thanks at having been born a man, and the disenfranchisement of women in many European countries at the present time.

The correlation of consciousness with masculinity culminates in the development of science, as an attempt by the masculine spirit to emancipate itself from the power of the unconscious. Wherever science appears it breaks up the original character of the world, which was filled with unconscious projections. Thus, stripped of projection, the world becomes objective, a scientific construction of the mind. In contrast to the original unconsciousness and the illusory world corresponding to it, this objective world is now viewed as the only reality. In this way, under the continual tutelage of the discriminative, masculine spirit, ever searching for laws and principles, the "reality principle" comes to be represented by men.

In so far, then, as ego consciousness, with its discriminative functions, endeavors to break up the indeterminate character of the unconscious world, it is the organ of adaptation to reality. Hence, in primitive man and in children, its development is necessarily dependent upon their capacity to grasp reality, and to that extent the Freudian opposition between the pleasure principle and the reality principle is justified. But this adaptation to a purely external reality no longer meets the needs of later and more recent developments. Our modern consciousness is beginning to recognize the fact that constituents of reality are also to be found in the unconscious itself, as the dominants of our experience, as ideas or archetypes. Consciousness must therefore turn inwards. As the discriminative organ it has to function just as efficiently in respect of the objective psyche inside as of the objective physis outside. Introversion and extraversion are now governed by a broadened reality principle which, in the interests of centroverson, has to be applied to the world and the unconscious equally. The rise of depth psychology as a means for investigating the objective psyche is a symptom of this new orientation.¹⁶

¹⁶ Cf. Gerhard Adler, "C. G. Jung's Contribution to Modern Consciousness," in *Studies in Analytical Psychology*.

The Transformation of Pleasure-Pain Components

The path of evolution, leading mankind from unconsciousness to consciousness, is the path traced by the transformations and ascent of the libido. On either side there stand the great images, the archetypes and their symbols. As man progresses along this path, ever greater units of libido are supplied to his ego consciousness, so that this system is continually being extended and strengthened. Thus the dawn man, with his momentary flashes of consciousness, is gradually replaced by the modern man, whose ego subsists more or less in a conscious continuum, within a cultural world produced by the collective consciousness of his group and of humanity at large.

We call this path an "ascent" because we experience consciousness and the world of light as being "above" us and unconsciousness and darkness "below," still under the spell of the primitive symbolism which associates the upright posture of the human figure with the development of the head as the seat of the "higher" centers and consciousness. The sequence of stages which begins with the Great Round and passes through the nexus of archetypes to the single archetype and the symbol group, and from the idea to the concept, is an ascending sequence, but it is also a limitation. What was originally experienced only as a vague something "in the depths," charged with energy and hence very real and fascinating, becomes, as a conceptual content, an item of thought, freely maneuverable by the mind and applicable at will. Such a content has certainly gained in utility value, but only at the cost of forfeiting an essential part of its initial libido charge to consciousness as a whole.

The fascination of an unconscious content lies in its power to attract the conscious libido, the first symptom of which is a riveting of attention upon that content. If the attraction grows stronger, the libido is sucked away from consciousness, and this may express itself in a lowering of consciousness, fatigue, de-

pression, etc. Whereas in an illness the activation of the unconscious content by an afflux of libido manifests itself in the form of disturbances, symptoms, and so forth, and in the creative individual this content spontaneously combines with consciousness and expresses itself in creativity, the act of conscious realization consists in the ego deliberately leading the mind and the free libido at its disposal towards the focus of fascination. The libido activating the unconscious system as its emotional component, and the libido of the recognizing and realizing ego system, flow together in the act of recognition into a single stream. This confluence is perceived by the ego as pleasurable, and this is so in any genuine realization, in any new recognition or discovery, and again whenever a complex is broken down or an unconscious content assimilated. It is immaterial whether the fascinating content is consciously realized as an image, a dream, a fantasy, an idea, a "hunch," or a projection. The assimilation of unconscious contents, in whatever form, leads not only to an enrichment of the conscious material but to an enrichment of libido, which makes itself felt, subjectively, as excitement, vivacity, and a joy that sometimes borders on intoxication; and, objectively, as a heightening of interest, a broadened and intensified capacity for work, mental alertness, etc.

In the process of realizing and assimilating an unconscious content, the ego makes a "descent," from the conscious standpoint, into the depths, in order to raise up the "treasure." In terms of psychic energy, the pleasure of the "conquering hero" arises from the combination of conscious libido with that of the newly acquired content which it incorporates.¹⁷

The grasping and assimilation of the content by consciousness are an expression of its enrichment with libido. But by no means

¹⁷ The descent is from the conscious to the unconscious, and thus the reverse of the creative process which starts in the unconscious and works upwards. Manifestations of the unconscious in the form of images, ideas, thoughts, etc. are experienced by the ego as pleasurable. The joy of the creative process springs from the suffusion of consciousness with the libido of the hitherto unconsciously activated content. The pleasure and enrichment of libido resulting from conscious realization and creativity are symptomatic of a synthesis in which the polarity of the two systems, conscious and unconscious, is temporarily suspended.

the whole libido charge of the content can be absorbed. Simultaneously with the alteration and enrichment of consciousness, the splitting up of the content leads very frequently, if not always, to an activation of the unconscious as well. We may explain the mechanism as follows: a certain proportion of the liberated libido cannot be absorbed by consciousness and flows off into the unconscious, where it "libidinizes" associated groups of complexes or archetypal contents. These contents are then brought up by association and are produced as random ideas, etc.—in so far as they appear at all—or else a new unconscious constellation is effected. The combination of this new constellation with the original activity of realization is what constitutes the continuity of all creative work, the essential elements of which are always prepared in advance by the unconscious, and are there elaborated and enriched before being produced.

The continuity of these processes is manifest not only in creativity but in all dream series, visions, and fantasies, where we always find an inner consistency, a web of associations deposited around one or more nuclei, as though around a center.¹⁸

One of the most important attainments of consciousness is its ability to dispose at will of the libido supplied to its system, and to use it more or less independently of the source from which it came. Just as the animation occasioned in the reader by a "stimulating" book can be applied to a poem, a walk, a bridge party, or a flirtation, without there necessarily being any connection between the book and the ego's reaction, so the ego can apply as it pleases a portion of the libido accruing to it from the conscious realization of an unconscious content. This relative freedom of the ego, no matter how much it is abused, is one of its most precious accomplishments.

In the course of these developments, consciousness becomes capable of directing its attention upon any object it chooses, and at the same time the ego acquires a relative independence. The way leads from fascination, when the ego was passive and at the mercy of any activated unconscious content, to a state of

¹⁸ Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, fig. 49.

consciousness having sufficient libido for the free and active application of interest to whatever the outside world or the collective demands, or to anything with which it chooses to occupy itself.

This is something that must constantly be borne in mind. Before the advent of depth psychology it seemed perfectly natural to identify psychology with the psychology of consciousness. The discoveries of depth psychology have now produced the reverse impression that all conscious contents are determined solely from the unconscious. But only through a better understanding of the dialectical play between conscious and unconscious is real psychological knowledge possible. The formation and consolidation of the conscious system and its struggle for autonomy and self-preservation are just as important a factor in the history of psychic development as the relativizing of this autonomy through the constant tension between conscious and unconscious.

One very important energy problem connected with the sequence of psychic stages is the modification of emotional components due to the change of pleasure-pain qualities. The pleasure-pain component depends on the libido-charge of a psychic system. Pleasure is the psychic equivalent of the proper functioning of a system, i.e., of its healthiness, and the symptom of this is balance and a capacity to expand with the help of surplus units of libido. The "inertia" of a system is proportionate to its specific gravity, i.e., to its powers of resistance. Every system resists dissolution and reacts to danger with pain, just as it reacts to stimulation and libido enrichment with pleasure.

Since the ego is the center of the conscious system, we identify ourselves primarily with the pleasure-pain reactions of this system as though they were our own. But in reality the source of the ego's pleasure-pain experience is by no means only the conscious system.

From the fact that the personality evolves into two systems, conscious and unconscious, it is evident that the conflict between them must also lead to psychic conflict between the

pleasure-pain positions, since every partial system strives to maintain itself and reacts to danger with pain, and to any reinforcement and extension of itself with pleasure, as we have said.

In consequence of this, however, the pleasure-conflict—as we can call this situation for short—depends as much upon the degree of integration reached by the personality as upon the stage of ego development which determines the relations between the ego and the unconscious. The more undeveloped consciousness is, the smaller the pleasure-conflict, which again diminishes with greater integration of the personality, since the pleasure-conflict expresses a dissociation between conscious and unconscious.

Not that these two lines of development always run parallel. In a small child a low ego level is combined with a high degree of integration; hence its relatively strong sense of pleasure in general, the mythological expression of which is the paradisaical uroboric state. On the other hand, during the process of maturation in the first half of life, a decrease of integration is combined with an increase of ego and consciousness. Differentiation of personality leads to mounting tension within the psyche and hence to increasing conflict between the pleasurable experiences of the ego system and those of the autonomous unconscious system.

The idea of the unconscious having “pleasurable experiences” strikes one as paradoxical at first, indeed as quite meaningless, since every experience, including that of pleasure, appears to pass through consciousness and the ego. But such is not the case. The serenity of the infant is just as emphatic as its experience of pain, but in no sense is it associated with a strong ego consciousness. Indeed, primitive pain and pleasure are largely expressions of unconscious processes. This is corroboration of the fact that ego consciousness is psychically only a partial system. In psychic illnesses it is patently clear that the impairment and disturbance of consciousness are far from being experienced as unrelievedly painful. Only to the degree that the

ego has become the center and carrier of the personality is its pain or pleasure identical with the latter's. In neurotic and particularly in hysterical reactions, the failure of the ego and its suffering are frequently accompanied by a "smile of pleasure"—the triumphant grin of the unconscious at having taken possession of the ego. The uncanniness of all such neurotic and psychotic manifestations—which correspond to a "dysfunction" of the pleasure positions—can be explained by a dissociation of the personality, i.e., its nonidentity with the ego.

In the psychology of primitives this phenomenon can be seen most strikingly in possession, where the pleasure or pain of the daemon—the unconscious complex causing the possession—manifests itself quite independently of the pleasure-pain experience of the ego.¹⁹

The uroboric stage is ruled by an undifferentiated pleasure-pain reaction; later this hybrid reaction sorts itself out with the differentiation of the two systems, and then, at the stage of the separation of the World Parents, divides into opposites. The original hybrid character of reaction is thereafter at an end: pleasure is pleasure and pain, pain, and there is in addition a clear co-ordination with the two psychic systems, so that the pleasure of the one becomes the pain of the other, and vice versa. A victorious ego consciousness experiences its victory as pleasurable, while the vanquished unconscious system experiences pain.

In spite of this co-ordination of pleasure and pain with the two systems, the pain of the "vanquished" unconscious system does not remain unconscious. The situation of consciousness is complicated by the fact that it has to take note of this pain and make it conscious, or at least not remain unaffected by it. This results in suffering for the ego, even when it triumphantly asserts itself against the unconscious.

Myths express this phenomenon in the feeling of primordial guilt which accompanies the separation of the World Parents. In reality the guilt experienced by the ego comes from the

¹⁹ Soeur Jeanne, *Memoiren einer Besessenen*.

sufferings of the unconscious. As we remarked earlier, it is in a sense the World Parents, the unconscious itself, which is the plaintiff, not the ego. Only by overcoming its guilt-feelings can ego consciousness realize its true values; only then does it stand its ground and approve its own deed. The pleasure-conflict is operative in these feelings too, and by conquering them the hero affirms life in the full light of consciousness, even in the midst of conflict.

Nevertheless, the assimilating ego can only conquer by dint of unremitting struggle, never at a single blow. The gods who have been overthrown still play a part in the religion of their conquerors. Thus the overthrow of the old matriarchal goddesses and their replacement by patriarchal gods in the *Oresteia* do not end simply with the expulsion of the Erinyes, but, quite the reverse, with the institution of a cult in their honor. We find this sort of thing happening everywhere.

So long as a content is totally unconscious, it regulates the whole and its power is then at its greatest. But if the ego succeeds in wresting it from the unconscious and making it a conscious content, it is—mythologically speaking—overcome. As, however, this content still goes on using up libido, the ego must continue to work at it until it is fully incorporated and assimilated. Ego consciousness cannot therefore avoid further dealings with the “conquered” content and is likely to suffer.

To take an example: the ascetic whose ego consciousness has triumphantly repulsed the instinctual components that threatened to master him experiences pleasure with his ego, but he “suffers” because the instinct he has denied is also a part of his total structure.

The pleasure-conflict between the two systems takes place mainly in consciousness and as such determines the life of the adult, just as the suffering it entails characterizes the life of the hero in mythology. Only with the onset of maturity is this suffering partially overcome in the individuation process. A high ego level then coincides once more with an integrated person-

ality, and with the progressive balancing of the two systems the pleasure-conflict too is equalized.

The Formation of Authorities within the Personality

The archetypal phases of conscious development correspond to certain ego levels which are co-ordinated with definite periods in the individual's life, each with its wealth of experiences. They belong to the store of personal conscious or unconscious memories of the individual, who passes through the archetypal phases of conscious development in his own ontogenetic development.

Jung²⁰ has emphasized that the archetypes are not determined as to their content, but only as to their form:

A primordial image is evidently determined as to its contents only when it is conscious, and hence filled out with the material of conscious experience.

Conscious experience of the archetype consists accordingly in the uniquely personal manner in which the transpersonal becomes a reality for the individual.

How individually the archetypal phases are experienced therefore depends on the personality, one part of which is formed by the "personal" unconscious. Consequently, the ontogenetic "filling out" of the archetypal framework—its "padding," so to speak—can be made conscious through analysis of the personal unconscious, by actively rehearsing these contents in the memory and thus dissipating their hitherto unconscious effects. Once more we observe how archetypal structures preformed in the collective unconscious are bound up with uniquely personal contents, without the one being derivable from the other. The *kind* of experience we shall have is prescribed by the archetypes, but *what* we experience is always individual.

²⁰ "Die psychologischen Aspekte des Mutterarchetypus."

This doubling of archetypal and individual features shows itself particularly clearly in a phenomenon of great importance for the formation and development of personality, namely the creation within it of various "authorities." Besides the ego, analytical psychology distinguishes as such authorities the self, i.e., the totality of the psyche, the persona, the anima (or animus in women), and the shadow.²¹ The fact that these authorities appear as "persons" is consistent with the fundamental teaching of analytical theory that all unconscious contents manifest themselves "like partial personalities."²² Each of these authorities can, as an autonomous complex, obsess the ego and lead to a state of possession, as the psychology of primitives and also of civilized man clearly shows. The psychology of the neuroses teems with such states of possession. The formation of psychic authorities as psychic organs has a very cogent meaning for the individual, since they facilitate the unity of the personality. Their growth in the course of human history—and the development of a personality in which these authorities are structurally united—is a process that continues still.

We are, unfortunately, not in a position to write a history of these formations, though we can follow their actualization ontogenetically in the development of the individual. We would only hint, very briefly, at what might be said about this process from the standpoint of stadial development.

In the course of its "heroic" encounter with the outside and inside world, the ego establishes objective relations with both by introjecting a variety of contents and building out of them its picture of reality. A complication arises here, because the ego system which seeks to master these external and internal realities is not fixed once and for all, but is itself an assimilatory mechanism with a history of its own, in the course of which it retraces, step by step, the archetypal phases of conscious development. Thus there are in the psychic system and in consciousness—so far as it represents that system—different phases

²¹ Jung, "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious."

²² "Allgemeines zur Komplextheorie."

of development as regards both the ego and the world, different modes of apprehension and different symbols, successful and unsuccessful attempts at assimilation, all co-existing side by side, so that orientation is made possible only through the hierarchical order imposed by stadial development. The introjection into consciousness of unconscious positions that have already been traversed, and of bygone levels of ego development, always complicates the situation of the ego by actualizing these positions and exposing consciousness to their influence.

The formation of personality, like that of the ego and consciousness, is regulated by centroverson, whose function it is to promote the creative unity of the living organism. The danger of dissolution through participation is extraordinarily great when the organism is unconscious, but less so for a conscious and integrated personality. The processes we have already described—namely, the fragmentation of archetypes, exhaustion of emotional components, secondary personalization, deflation of the unconscious, and rationalization, all of which enhance the stability of the ego and consciousness—prove, despite their tendency to become split off and differentiated, to be guided by centroverson, and the growth of personality and of the authorities constellated by them subserves its purposes likewise.

As the personality develops, it must take in wide areas of the unconscious. The task of the authorities is to protect the personality from the disintegrative forces of the collective unconscious without breaking the vital link with it, and to guarantee the continued existence of the individual without impairing his contacts with the group and the world.

The formation of the persona, as a defense mechanism against, and a means of adaptation to, the collective, has been fully described by Jung,²³ but it seems to be more difficult to account for the origins of the anima and the shadow.

A substantial part of the shadow, too, is the result of collective adaptation. It contains all those elements in the personality which the ego condemns as negative values. This selective

²³ "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious."

valuation is collectively determined by the class of values current in the individual's cultural canon. To the degree that his positive values are relative to a particular culture only, the shadow containing his negative values will be equally relative.

But the shadow only half belongs to the ego, since it is part of the personal unconscious and as such part of the collective. On the other hand, it is also constellated by the figure of the Antagonist in the collective unconscious, and the importance of the shadow as an authority rests precisely on its position midway between the personal conscious and the collective unconscious. Its effect on the personality as a whole lies in compensating the ego. It is as though centroversion had attached to the aspiring flights of ego consciousness, with its animosity to the body, the leaden weight of the shadow which takes good care that there shall be no "reaching for the moon" and that man's collective, historical, and biological conditions shall not pass unregarded by the generalizing and hypostatizing attitude of the conscious mind. The shadow thus prevents a dissociation of the personality such as always results from hypertrophy of consciousness and overaccentuation of the ego.²⁴

The formation of the shadow goes together with the introjection of the antagonist, a figure we have already encountered when dealing with the psychology of myths. The assimilation of evil and the incorporation of aggressive tendencies always center on the shadow. The "dark brother" is as much a symbol of the shadow side as the bush-soul of primitives.²⁵ Only by incorporating this dark side does the personality put itself into a posture of defense. Evil, no matter by what cultural canon it be judged, is a necessary constituent of individuality as its egoism, its readiness to defend itself or to attack, and lastly, as its capacity to mark itself off from the collective and to maintain its

²⁴ An alchemical picture from the *Viridarium chymicum* of Daniel Stolcius de Stolcenberg (Frankfort, 1624; reprinted from Michael Maier, *Symbola aurea*, Frankfort, 1617), showing Avicenna with an eagle chained to a toad, illustrates the same problem symbolically. Cf. Read, *Prelude to Chemistry*, pl. 2, ii.

²⁵ Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*; Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*.

"otherness" in face of the leveling demands of the community. The shadow roots the personality in the subsoil of the unconscious, and this shadowy link with the archetype of the antagonist, i.e., the devil, is in the deepest sense part of the creative abyss of every living personality. That is why in myths the shadow often appears as a twin, for he is not just the "hostile brother," but the companion and friend, and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether this twin is the shadow or the self, the deathless "other."

This paradox bears out the truth of the old law that upper and lower reflect one another. Indeed, in psychological development, the self lies hidden in the shadow; he is the "keeper of the gate,"²⁶ the guardian of the threshold. The way to the self lies through him; behind the dark aspect he represents there stands the aspect of wholeness, and only by making friends with the shadow do we gain the friendship of the self.

We shall examine elsewhere²⁷ some of the cultural complications arising from the conflict between ego and shadow, and, in even greater degree, from that between the community and the shadow side of the individual.

These few hints at the psychology of the shadow must suffice, and in the same way we can only venture a few remarks about the formation of that other authority known as the soul-image or anima/animus.²⁸

If we consider the sequence Uroboros, Great Mother, Princess, we note a steady progression away from monstrous confusion and paradoxicality to the clear human image of the freed captive. The further back we go, the more complex, intangible, and bafflingly mysterious the terms of the sequence become; but as we approach the ego they gain in definition and offer numerous points of relationship.

It is like one of those pictures which, so long as they are not

²⁶ Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious." Cf. also the Moses-Chidder analysis in "Die verschiedenen Aspekte der Wiedergeburt."

²⁷ Appendix II; also my *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik*.

²⁸ I am not concerned here with the "psychology of the feminine" and the extent to which it deviates from that of the masculine ego.

sharply focused, seem to be without contours and utterly confusing, but which fall into a pattern when the observer stands off at the right distance. Figures, masses, relations now become visible, whereas before they had remained blurred and indecipherable. The development of consciousness is more or less analogous to this alteration of vision; indeed it seems to be directly dependent upon how far consciousness succeeds in gaining the distance that will enable it to perceive distinct forms and meanings, where before was nothing but ambiguity and murk.

With the freeing of the anima from the power of the uroboric dragon, a feminine component is built into the structure of the hero's personality. He is assigned his own feminine counterpart, essentially like himself, whether it be a real woman or his own soul, and the ego's capacity to relate to this feminine element is the most valuable part of the capture. Herein, precisely, lies the difference between the princess and the Great Mother, with whom no relations on equal terms are possible. The union of male and female, inside and outside, bears fruit in the culture-hero and founder of kingdoms, in the family, or in creative work.

The link back to the Great Mother, to the ground and origin, passes through the anima princess, for she is the abyss of the feminine in altered, personal form. Only in her does the female become man's partner. His help consists essentially in delivering the princess from the power of the dragon, or in conjuring her forth from the dragon shape which distorts her and her humanity, as illustrated by the numerous myths and folk tales dealing with the theme of disenchantment.

A substantial part of the anima figure is formed through the fragmentation of the uroboric mother archetype and the introjection of its positive aspects. We have seen how this archetype gradually splits up into an archetypal group. For instance, qualities like good and bad, old and young, lie side by side in the uroboros and Great Mother, but in the course of development the "young" princess or anima splits off from the "old" mother, who continues undeterred to play her specific role of good and bad in the unconscious.

The anima is a symbolic and archetypal figure, being made up of magical, alluring, and dangerously fascinating elements which bring madness as well as wisdom. She has human, animal, and divine features, and can assume corresponding shapes when enchanted or disenchanting. As the soul, she can no more be defined than man can define woman; yet, although exceeding the heights and depths of a man, she has finally entered the human sphere, a "you" with whom "I" can commune, and not a mere idol to be worshiped.

With her mixed archetypal and personal characteristics, the anima stands on the frontiers of the personality, but as one of its "authorities" she is an assimilable part of its structure.

When, for instance, the anima figure is broken down in the individuation process and becomes a function of relationship between the ego and the unconscious,²⁹ we have an illustration of the fragmentation and assimilation of archetypes whose historic importance for the evolution of consciousness we have endeavored to describe.

Only by relating to the reality of the soul—the freed captive—can we make the link with the unconscious truly creative, for creativity in all its forms is always the product of a meeting between the masculine world of ego consciousness and the feminine world of the soul.

Just as the projection of the self upon the group, as the collective self, forms the libidinal basis of the group psyche and hence of all communal living,³⁰ so the anima or animus projection is the basis of life between the sexes. In the one case the all-embracing self-symbol is projected upon the all-embracing group; in the other the soul-image, which has closer ties with the ego and personality, is projected upon the more intimate figure of a woman. Whenever the anima (and, *mutatis mutandis*, the animus) is unconscious, she is projected and thereby forces the individual into a human relationship with the carrier of the projection, binds him to the collective through his partner, and

²⁹ Jung, "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious."

³⁰ Cf. Appendix I.

compels him to undergo the experience of a human "you," at the same time making him partially conscious of his own unconscious soul. Although both self and anima act as unconscious agencies at first, they gradually mark off, from the wide field of possible participations, smaller areas which are closer to the ego; while the powerful libido bond between the partners leads to progressive conscious realization and thus undermines the unconscious fascination.

The existence of the anima or animus figure means that the personality still possesses a system with strong unconscious motivations; but, judged by the situation of the dawn man, who was liable at any moment to uroboric dissolution through *participation mystique*, this component is a relatively stable structure capable of withstanding the onslaughts of the collective unconscious. Thus the divinatory powers of the psyche, giving guidance and warning of danger, serve the purposes of centroverson. When she appears in her highest form, as Sophia, the anima clearly reveals this basic function of hers as the sublime partner and helpmeet of the ego.

The Synthetic Function of the Ego

The militant or "heroic" functions of the ego, however, are not applied solely to the control of the unconscious; that the same functions are also used for dominating the external world need be pursued no further, since we can take it as known that this activity forms the basis of Western science. A no less important function of the ego is the synthetic function, which enables it to build a new whole out of the "decomposed" parts, through assimilation of the material previously broken down and modified by the analytical faculty. Our view of the world, in so far as we have a conscious conception of the whole, is the unity of a world transformed by ourselves, which once, as an unconscious unity, engulfed all consciousness.

We have described a number of processes illustrating the

polarity and collaboration of the two psychic systems, their separation and partial recombination, their tendency towards mutual insulation, and their mutual struggles to dominate one another. These processes would be disastrous for the individual in whom they take place, and would threaten his very existence, were they not all in large measure controlled and balanced by a striving for wholeness which regulates the psychophysical harmony and the interplay of the psychic systems themselves. This tendency we have introduced under the concept of centroversion. It sets to work whenever the whole is endangered through the ascendancy of the unconscious and its autonomous contents, or, conversely, through the excessive insulation and overvaluation of the conscious system. With the help of compensation, a basic factor in all organic and psychic life, it binds psyche and physis into a unity, and its range of action extends from the balanced metabolism of unicellular organisms to the balance which obtains between conscious and unconscious.

The differentiation of conscious from unconscious and of the individual from the all-pervading collective is typical of the human species. Whereas the collective has its roots in ancestral experience and is represented by the collective unconscious, the individual is rooted in the ego, whose development proceeds largely with the help of consciousness. Both systems are amalgamated in a single psyche, but the one grows out of the other both phylogenetically and ontogenetically. The ego is the acting and willing center, but the consciousness of which it is the center also possesses, as the organ of representation and cognition, the power to perceive processes in the collective unconscious and the body.

All the objects of the outside and inside worlds are introjected as contents of consciousness and are there represented according to their value. The selection, arrangement, gradation, and delimitation of the contents so represented depend in large measure on the cultural canon within which consciousness develops and by which it is conditioned. But it is characteristic of every individual, under all circumstances, to create for himself a

consciously constellated and synthetically constructed view of the world, however great or small in scope.

The likeness between ego consciousness and the uroboros is the fundamental "family likeness" between ego and self, which corresponds mythologically to that between father and son. Because, psychologically, ego and consciousness are organs of centroverson, the ego rightly emphasizes its central position. This basic fact of the human situation has its mythological equivalent in the divine birth of the hero and his filiation to "heaven." What we are prone to call the "anthropocentric" belief of the primitive, that the existence of the world depends on his magical performances and that his rituals control the coursing of the sun, is in reality one of the deepest truths of mankind. The father-son likeness between self and ego is manifest not only in the martial exploits of the hero-son, but in the synthetic power of consciousness to create a new spiritual world of human culture in the likeness of the divine.

This synthetic function, taking its place alongside the analytical one, presupposes a faculty to which we have repeatedly drawn attention: the faculty for objectivation. Ego consciousness, poised between the outer and inner world of objects and driven to unceasing acts of introjection, is by virtue of its registering and balancing functions ever compelled to keep its distance, until it finally reaches a point where it becomes detached even from itself. This produces a kind of self-relativization which, as skepticism, humor, irony, and a sense of one's own relativity, promotes a higher form of psychic objectivity.

During this process ego consciousness proves its difference from all other partial psychic systems—of which it is one—by throwing off that fanatical obsession with itself which is symptomatic of every system's primary will to self-preservation. It is precisely this growing reflectiveness, self-criticism, and desire for truth and objectivity that enable consciousness to give better and more adequate representation even to the positions it opposes. This facilitates self-objectivation and finally, at the climax of its development, it learns to give up its ego-centeredness and

allows itself to be integrated by the totality of the psyche, the self.

The synthetic activity, which is absolutely indispensable for the integration of a "self-centered" personality, is one of the elementary functions of consciousness. It is a direct offshoot of centroversion and of its synthesizing effects. The new and decisive factor here, however, is that the synthesis produced by the ego is a conscious one; in other words, the new unity does not remain at the biological level but is lifted onto the psychological level. Completeness is one of the desiderata of this synthesis.

As the integration process during the second half of life seems to indicate, the stability of the personality is determined by the scope of the synthesis it has reached. Only when the material has been synthesized to the requisite degree of completeness are the demands of centroversion satisfied; it then manifests itself by bringing the self into the center of the personality, with all the accompanying phenomena.

The integration of the personality is equivalent to an integration of the world. Just as an uncentered psyche which is dispersed in participations sees only a diffuse and chaotic world, so the world constellates itself in an hierarchical order about an integrated personality. The correspondence between one's view of the world and the formation of personality extends from the lowest level to the highest.

Only now, when the division of personality into two systems has been outgrown, is the unity of the psyche restored through the synthetic work of consciousness, but on the higher plane of integration. The visionary goal of the dragon fight—immortality and lastingness—is now attained. By the displacement of the center from the ego to the self, the inmost experience of the individuation process, the transitory character of the ego is relativized. The personality is no longer wholly identified with the ephemeral ego, but experiences its partial identity with the self, whether this experience take the form of "godlikeness" or of that

“cleaving to the godhead” (adherence)³¹ of which the mystics speak. The salient feature is that the personality’s sense of no longer being identical with the ego prevails over the mortality which clings to egohood. But that is the supreme goal of the hero myth. In his victorious struggle the hero proves his godlike descent and experiences the fulfillment of the primary condition on which he entered into battle, and which is expressed in the mythological formula “I and the Father are one.”

³¹ [Hebrew “*dw’kut.*” The root “*dwk*” is the same as that of “*dybbuk,*” the demon who “clings” to a person.—G. ADLER.]

C. The Balance and Crisis of Consciousness

*Compensation of the Separated Systems:
Culture in Balance*

IN APPENDIX I we trace some of the lines of development that lead from the original group situation to a collective formed of more or less strongly individualized persons, and try at the same time to show the role played by the Great Individual whom the myths represent as the hero. This development is paralleled by another, in which the differentiation of the conscious from the unconscious, their separation into two systems, and the emancipation of ego consciousness reach completion.

With this we have left the sphere of the dawn man and entered into the sphere of culture, and we now have to examine the cultural problems that emerge with the separation of the two systems.

The first part of the present section, dealing with "culture in balance," provides a tentative sketch of the situation that obtains when the psychic health of the collective is guaranteed by "nature," thanks to the operation of the same compensatory tendencies in mankind which can be shown to exist in the individual psyche.

The second part shows, equally tentatively, how far our cultural unease or dis-ease is due to the fact that the separation of the systems—in itself a necessary product of evolution—has degenerated into a schism and thus precipitated a psychic crisis whose catastrophic effects are reflected in contemporary history.¹

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We have emphasized that in the evolution of mankind the "sacred" and the "extraordinary" are precursors of processes

¹ In Appendix II an attempt is made to interpret this degeneration of the group into the mass and the various phenomena to which it gives rise, so that in a sense the present section, together with the two Appendices, form a self-contained whole.

which are later enacted in every individual. The wide discrepancy between ego consciousness on the one hand and the world and the unconscious on the other makes it imperative that the ego should be helped, if indeed the role of the individual and his ego consciousness is as important for the species as we take it to be. This help is granted to the individual, inwardly and outwardly, on condition that the maturing ego emulates the many heroic feats and dragon fights which mankind as a whole has accomplished before him. Or rather, it would be more correct to say that the individual must re-experience all the heroic deeds which mankind has accomplished in emulation of the Great Individuals, the original heroes and creators whose achievements have become part of the collective human heritage.

The collective transmits to the maturing individual, as cultural possessions in his world of values, such contents as have strengthened the growth of human consciousness, and it proscribes all developments and attitudes that run counter to this process. As the vehicle of spiritual tradition it supports from outside the a priori archetypal patterns laid down from the inside, and actualizes them through education.

The educative demands of the collective, and the need to adapt to these demands, together form one of the most important aids in the ego's struggle for independence. "Heaven" and the world of the fathers now constitute the superego or conscience which, as another "authority" within the personality, represents the collective conscious values, though these vary with the type of collective and its values, and also with the stage of consciousness which the collective has reached.

We have already indicated the significance of heaven and masculinity for the hero fight. Here we must emphasize yet again that in early childhood the personal father who represents the collective becomes the bearer of the authority complex which is bound up with collective values, and that later, in puberty, this representative role is taken over by the men's society. Both representatives are a great help in the dragon fight,

which in childhood and puberty determines the psychic situation of the normal ego.²

The collective places a conscious world of values at the ego's disposal in the cultural traditions of the group. A one-sided development of ego consciousness, however, would only heighten the danger of dissociation between the two systems and thus precipitate a psychic crisis. Hence there is an innate tendency in every collective and every culture to establish a balance between its own positions and those of the individual embedded within it.

These equilibrating tendencies in a culture generally operate through the spheres in which the collective unconscious impinges directly upon the life of the community, namely through religion, art, and the ceremonial group activities which may or may not be associated with these, such as the waging of war, feasts, processions, meetings, etc.

The importance of these spheres for cultural balance lies in the fact that they guarantee the unity of psychic functions by preventing a schism between conscious and unconscious.

In this connection we must elucidate the role of the symbol for consciousness. The world of symbols forms the bridge between a consciousness struggling to emancipate and systematize itself, and the collective unconscious with its transpersonal contents. So long as this world exists and continues to operate through the various rituals, cults, myths, religion, and art, it prevents the two realms from falling apart, because, owing to the effect of the symbol, one side of the psychic system continually influences the other and sets up a dialectical relationship between them.

As Jung has shown,³ the symbol mediates the passage of psychic energy from the unconscious, in order that it may be applied consciously and turned to practical account. He describes

² Both of them become the dragon who must be conquered if the ego is to develop in any way out of the ordinary, as for instance in the case of the creative individual.

³ *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

the symbol as a "psychological machine" which "transforms energy."⁴

In early cultures, everyday habit is simply the unconscious existence of primitive man, the habitual clinging of his libido to the world in *participation mystique*, in which state his natural life is spent. Through the symbol, the energy is freed from this attachment and becomes available for conscious activity and work. The symbol is the transformer of energy, converting into other forms the libido which alone enables primitive man to achieve anything at all. That is why any activity of his has to be initiated and accompanied by a variety of religious and symbolic measures, whether it be farming, hunting, fishing, or any other "unaccustomed" work not done every day. Only with the help of the fascinating, libido-catching, and ego-absorbing effect of the symbol can the "unaccustomed activity" be undertaken.

The same conditions are still operative in modern man, only we are not so conscious of them. The "sanctification" of unaccustomed activity is still the best method of getting a man out of the rut of everyday habit and conditioning him for the required state of work. To take an example: the transformation of a petty office clerk into the responsible leader of a death-dealing bomber squadron is probably one of the most radical psychic transformations that can be demanded of modern man. This metamorphosis of the normal peace-loving citizen into a fighter is, even today, only possible with the help of symbols. Such a transformation of personality is achieved by invoking the symbols of God, King, Fatherland, Freedom, the "most sacred good of the nation," and by dedicatory acts steeped in symbolism, with the added assistance of all the elements in religion and art best calculated to stir the individual. Only in this way is it psychologically possible to divert psychic energy from the "natural channel" of peaceable private life into the "unaccustomed activity" of slaughter.

Like the individual symbol, the social symbol valid for the group is "never of exclusively conscious or exclusively uncon-

⁴ "On Psychic Energy."

scious origin," but is produced by the "equal collaboration of both." The symbol therefore has a rational side "which accords with reason," and another side which is "inaccessible to reason, since it is composed not only of data of a rational nature, but of the irrational data of pure inward and outward perception."⁵

The sensuous, figurative component of the symbol—the component deriving from sensation or intuition, the irrational functions—cannot therefore be grasped by reason. While this is perfectly obvious with straightforward symbols like the flag, the cross, etc., it is also true of more abstract ideas in so far as these are concerned with symbolic realities. The symbolic significance of the idea "Fatherland," for instance, transcends the rational element it undoubtedly contains, and it is precisely the unconscious emotional factor activated whenever the Fatherland is invoked that shows the symbol to be an energy transformer which, by force of fascination, deflects the libido from its accustomed courses.

Generally speaking the symbol works in opposite ways for primitive and modern man.⁶ Historically, the symbol led to the development of consciousness, to reality-adaptation and the discovery of the objective world. It is now known, for instance, that sacred animals came "before" stockbreeding, just as in general the sacred meaning of a thing is older than its profane meaning. Its objective significance is only perceived afterwards, behind its symbolic significance.

In the dawn period the rationalizable component of a symbol was of crucial importance, since it was at this point that man's view of the world passed from the symbolic to the rational. The advance from prelogical to logical thinking likewise proceeds via the symbol, and it can be shown that philosophical and scientific thinking gradually developed out of symbolic thinking

⁵ Jung, *Psychological Types*, def. 51 [revised.—TRANS.].

⁶ For modern man the emergence of symbols on the "way inward" has a different meaning and function. Here, the mediatory position of the symbol, which is due to its being a combination of conscious and unconscious elements, is proved by the fact that the link-back of conscious to unconscious proceeds via the symbol, just as with the dawn man the development went in the reverse direction from unconscious to conscious.

by progressively emancipating itself from the emotional-dynamic components of the unconscious.

Because primitive man projects his unconscious contents into the world and its objects, these appear to him as drenched in symbolism and charged with mana, and his interest is thereby focused upon the world. His consciousness and will are weak and hard to move; his libido is suspended in the unconscious and is available to the ego only in small amounts. But the symbol, as an object animated by projection, fascinates, and, to the extent that it "grips" and "stirs" him, sets his libido in motion and with it the whole man. This activating effect of the symbol is, as Jung has pointed out,⁷ an important element in every cult. It was only through the symbolic animation of the earth that the drudgery of agriculture was overcome, just as symbolic possession in the *rites d'entrée* alone makes possible any activity requiring large amounts of libido.

The symbol, however, is also an expression of the spiritual side, of the formative principle dwelling in the unconscious, for "the spirit appears in the psyche as instinct," as a "principle *sui generis*."⁸ So far as the development of human consciousness is concerned, this spiritual side of the symbol is *the* decisive factor. Over and above its "gripping" aspect the symbol also has a meaningful aspect: it is more than a sign; it assigns meaning, it signifies something and demands interpretation. It is this aspect that speaks to our understanding and rouses us to reflection, not just to feeling and emotionality. These two aspects working together in the symbol constitute its specific nature, unlike the sign or allegory which have fixed meanings. So long as the symbol is a living and effective force, it transcends the capacity of the experiencing consciousness and "formulates an essential unconscious component"⁹—the very reason why it is so attractive and disturbing. Consciousness keeps on returning to it and circles round it fascinated, meditating and cogitat-

⁷ *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

⁸ Jung, "On Psychic Energy."

⁹ *Psychological Types*, def. 51.

ing, thus completing the *circumambulatio* which recurs in so many dramatically enacted rites and religious ceremonies.

In the "symbolic life,"¹⁰ the ego does not take up a content with the rational side of consciousness and then proceed to analyze it, breaking it down in order to digest it in disintegrated form; rather the whole of the psyche exposes itself to the action of the symbol and lets itself be permeated and "stirred" by it. This permeating quality affects the psychic whole and not just consciousness alone.

Images and symbols, being creative products of the unconscious, are so many formulations of the spiritual side of the human psyche. In them the meaning and "sense-giving" tendencies of the unconscious are expressing themselves, be it in a vision, a dream, or a fantasy, or again in an inner image which is seen outside, as the visible manifestation of a god. The inside "expresses" itself by way of the symbol.

Thanks to the symbol, man's consciousness becomes spiritualized and finally arrives at self-consciousness:

Man apprehends and has knowledge of his own being only to the extent that he is able to visualize it in the image of his gods.¹¹

Myth, art, religion, and language are all symbolic expressions of the creative spirit in man; in them this spirit takes on objective, perceptible form, becoming conscious of itself through man's consciousness of it.

But the "sense-giving" function of symbols and archetypes also has a powerful emotional side, and the emotionality they evoke is likewise directed; that is, it possesses a meaningful and ordering character. As Jung says:

Every relationship to the archetype, whether through experience or simply through the spoken word, is "stirring," that is to say, it works because it releases in us a mightier voice than our own. He who speaks in primordial images speaks with a thousand voices; he enthalls and overpowers, while at the same time he lifts the idea he is trying to express out of the occasional and the transitory into the realm of the ever-enduring. He trans-

¹⁰ Jung, "The Symbolic Life," a lecture (1939) printed for private circulation.

¹¹ Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, p. 269.

mutates our personal destiny into the destiny of mankind, thereby evoking in us all those beneficent forces that ever and anon have enabled mankind to find a refuge from every peril and to outlive the longest night.¹²

Consequently possession by the archetype brings meaning and deliverance at once, since it liberates part of the emotional forces that had been dammed up through the development of consciousness and the resultant exhaustion of emotional components. Moreover, in and through these experiences—which, as we saw, were originally group experiences—there ensues a reactivation of the group psyche which puts an end, at least temporarily, to the isolation of the individual ego.

Possession by the archetype links the individual to humanity again: he is dipped in the torrent of the collective unconscious and is regenerated through the activation of his own collective layers. Naturally enough this experience was originally a sacred event and was celebrated as a collective phenomenon by the group. Like religious celebrations, which were and for the most part still are group phenomena, art too was once a collective phenomenon. Apart from the fact that art, so far as it is concerned with the self-representation of archetypal symbols, was always associated with the sacral sphere in dancing, singing, sculpture, and the telling of myths, it preserved its collective sacramental character even in later times, as we can see from Greek tragedy, medieval mystery plays, church music, etc. Only gradually, with progressive individualization, did its collective character fall into abeyance and the individual worshiper, spectator, or listener emerge from the group.

The culture of a nation or group is determined by the operation within it of an archetypal canon which represents its highest and deepest values, and which organizes its religion, art, festivals, and everyday life. So long as culture is in a state of balance, the individual is secure in the network of the cultural canon, sustained by its vitality, but held fast.

That is to say, while he is contained in the culture of his group

¹² "On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetic Art," p. 248 [revised.—TRANS.].

his psychic system is balanced, because his consciousness is protected, developed, and educated by the traditional "heavenly world" which lives on in the collective values, and his conscious system is compensated by the archetypes embodied in the projections of religion, art, custom, etc. Whenever a critical situation arises, be it individual or collective, an appeal is instantly made to the transmitters of the canon. Whether these are medicine men, prophets, and priests, or commissars, leaders, ministers, and officials, will depend upon the canon, and also upon whether its basic institutions are founded upon demons, spirits, gods, a single God, or the idea of a tree, stone, animal, hallowed place, and so on.

In every case the psychological effect of the appeal will be one of balance, bringing about a reorientation to the prevailing canon and a reunion with the collective, thus overcoming the crisis. So long as the network of values remains intact, the average individual is secure in his group and its culture. In other words, the existing values and the existing symbols of the collective unconscious are sufficient to guarantee psychic equilibrium.

All symbols and archetypes are projections of the formative side of human nature that creates order and assigns meaning. Hence, symbols and symbolic figures are the dominants of every civilization, early or late. They are the cocoon of meaning which humanity spins round itself, and all studies and interpretations of culture are the study and interpretation of archetypes and their symbols.

The collective re-enactment of the determining archetypes in religious festivities and the arts associated with them gives meaning to life and saturates it in the emotions set free by transpersonal psychic forces in the background. Besides the religious and sacramental experience of the archetypes, there is also their aesthetic and cathartic effect to be considered, if we disregard the primitive states of possession induced by intoxicating drinks, by sexual excesses or sadistic orgies. Here again we can trace a gradual change in the line of development.

At first everything is under the unconscious emotional compulsion of the symbols which appear in the ritual, whose aim it is to represent and "enact" them. In the old coronation rites, for example, symbol and ritual are still wholly identical with the exemplary life of the king. Later the ritual takes the form of a sacred action which is "played" by the collective for the collective, though it is still invested with all the force of magic and ritual efficacy.

Gradually the *meaning* of the symbol is crystallized out, detaches itself from the action, and becomes a cultural content capable of conscious realization and interpretation. Although the ritual is acted as before, it is something of a game with a meaning—like the initiation rites, for instance—and the interpretation of the symbols therein represented and enacted becomes an essential part of the initiation. The accent, then, has already fallen on conscious assimilation and the strengthening of the ego.¹³

The law of compensation continues to act as an expression of centroverson over the whole field of a culture so long as this culture is "in balance." Compensation of the collective through intervention of the transpersonal components of the cultural canon and their influence upon religion, art, and custom is by no means only "orientating" in its effects, i.e., productive of meaning and value; it also brings emotional freedom and a re-attunement. This emotional compensation becomes more and more important as the conscious system grows more differentiated and specialized.

A significant analogy may be found in dreams, which are compensations of consciousness directed by centroverson. The contents necessary to consciousness are supplied to it in the dream under the guidance of centroverson, which strives for balance

¹³ We can trace the effect of secondary personalization all the way from the modification of the old symbolic ritual to the mysteries and classical tragedy, and finally to the modern theater. Once more we find the same line of development with its falling series of transpersonal factors and rising series of personal ones, beginning with the "play" of superhuman forces and gods and ending with the "boudoir" piece.

and tries to correct the aberrations, the one-sidednesses and oversights, which threaten the whole.

The dream, if it is understood, alters the conscious orientation and, in addition, brings about a reattunement of consciousness and personality. This reattunement shows itself in a complete change of attitude—for instance, after being asleep we wake up refreshed, alert, full of vigor, or again we may wake up feeling listless and out of sorts, depressed or on edge. It seems, also, that the contents of consciousness can be altered by a difference of emotional charge. Disagreeable contents suddenly appear delightful and therefore materially different; the things that attracted us before seem colorless, our desires disgust us, the unattainable becomes a pressing necessity, and so forth and so on.¹⁴

The emotional reattunement of consciousness thus produces an unconscious reorientation of its activity. In sick people it is effected by unconscious constellations which, because not built into the whole structure, may disrupt or possibly even destroy life, but in the healthy person the reattunement is directed by centroverson, and in his case emotionality is anything that stimulates him positively and sets him in motion, attracts, or repels. Where this is lacking, there is only deadness: dead knowledge, dead facts, meaningless data, disconnected, lifeless details, and dead relationships. But when the emotional component comes in, it arouses a libido-current of interest, and new constellations and new psychic contents start moving again. This interest may work for the most part unconsciously, as a kind of direction-giving affectivity; for the interest we ourselves can consciously direct is only a small tributary of the unconscious mainstream which flows through and regulates the life of the psyche.

This emotional current of vitality in a culture is canalized by the archetypes incorporated in the group's cultural canon. The

¹⁴ This reattunement or re-emotionalization has so far been grossly neglected by depth psychology because investigators have been so fascinated by the study of the material components. But the material interpretation of a dream does nothing to explain how it causes the reattunement. Here we would only draw attention to the importance of emotional components for dream interpretation and therapy.

emotionality remains a living force and regenerates the individual, even though it is more or less bound to the conventional paths laid down by communal custom and habit.

However, the collective ceremonies of the group are not the only theaters for the play of transpersonal forces. The normal life of the individual, too, is embedded in a network of symbols. All the naturally important periods of life—birth, puberty, marriage, etc.—are singled out and commemorated. As they are felt to be collective and transpersonal, i.e., something beyond the purely individual, they are sacralized by being brought into contact with the cultural canon of the archetypes.

This contact with the great processes of nature regulates and sustains the life of the group and of the individual. The cosmic festivals held in honor of the sun and moon, the anniversaries that provide life with a sacred setting and give it direction, link up with the historical events in which the collective celebrates its history as human history. Everywhere life is studded with holy times, holy places, holy days. The landscape is thick-sown with shrines, temples, churches, monuments, and memorials, marking the spot where religion and art deposit their archetypal contents in our temporal space, and everywhere the transpersonal canon of values stamps itself upon the community it has gripped. In the same way, time too is caught up in a nexus of feast days with their solemn celebrations—dramas, contests, spring and autumn festivals, sacraments, and rites, in which cosmic life intermingles with the earthly.

Yet the sacred, emotive power of the transpersonal touches the life of the individual still more closely, and in a profounder sense. Birth and death, maturity, marriage, and childbirth are everywhere “sacred” for man, just as sickness and recovery, happiness and unhappiness, give him occasion to link his personal fate with that which transcends him. Everywhere contact with the archetypes modifies the purely personal world.

We have no wish to cite a mass of particulars showing how the continual influx of transpersonal life guarantees the vitality

of the personal.¹⁵ Our sole concern is the basic situation; namely, that so long as culture is "in balance," the individuals contained in it normally stand in an adequate relationship to the collective unconscious, even if this is only a relationship to the archetypal projections of the cultural canon and to its highest values.

The organization of life inside this framework precludes—in the normal person—any dangerous invasions from the unconscious and guarantees him a relatively high degree of inner security, enabling him to lead an ordered existence in a world-system where the human and the cosmic, the personal and the transpersonal, are all articulated with one another.

The exceptions to this rule—exceptions, however, upon which the community depends—are the "outsiders," those who fall within an enlarged category of the type known in myth as the hero, the Great Individual.

The dialectical play between the Great Individual and the collective still continues today. For him the only thing that counts is the extraordinary. He must conquer the ordinary because it represents the power of the old order that constricts him. But conquering normal life—which is the life of the unheroic—always means sacrificing normal values and so coming into conflict with the collective. If later the hero is honored as a culture-bringer and savior, etc., this is generally only after he has been liquidated by the collective. The hero's mythological accession to power is only transpersonally true. He and his world of values may conquer and come to power, but often enough he never lives to experience this power personally.

The hero or Great Individual is always and pre-eminently the man with immediate inner experience who, as seer, artist, prophet, or revolutionary, sees, formulates, sets forth, and realizes the new values, the "new images." His orientation comes from the "voice," from the unique, inner utterance of the self, which has all the immediacy of a "dictate." Herein lies the extraordinary orientation of this type of individual. Not only is the canon always "founded," so far as we can judge, in accordance

¹⁵ Van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*: "Sacred Life."

with the revelations enunciated by the voice, but to have experience of the voice often becomes an integral part of the canon, as is the case with the guardian spirits of the American Indians, or when the individual has to acquire his own particular totem. Even when he is pathologically overwhelmed by the spontaneous activity of the collective unconscious and, with mind deranged, proclaims the will of the Transpersonal, he is still regarded as holy precisely because he is crazed. Humanity, with profound psychological insight, sees in him a victim of the powers that be, sanctified through having been "touched" by the transpersonal.

We cannot enter here into the question of whether, in the case of the creative individual, possession results from the activity of the collective psyche or of his own consciousness, or of whether it is due to an excess or a deficit in his personal psychic system. All these possibilities exist, but they can only be examined in a separate study of the problem of creativity.

The important thing, however, is that the archetypal canon is always created and brought to birth by "eccentric" individuals. These are the founders of religions, sects, philosophies, political sciences, ideologies, and spiritual movements, in the security of which the collective man lives without needing to come into contact with the primordial fire of direct revelation, or to experience the throes of creation.

Speaking of the compensatory function of creative art, Jung writes:

In this lies the social significance of art: it labors without cease to educate the spirit of the age, bringing to birth those forms in which the age is most lacking. Recoiling from the discontents of the present, the yearning of the artist reaches back to that primordial image in the unconscious which is best fitted to compensate the insufficiency and one-sidedness of the spirit of the age. The artist seizes this image, and in the work of raising it from deepest unconsciousness and bringing it nearer to consciousness, he transforms its shape, until it can be accepted by his contemporaries according to their capacities.¹⁶

¹⁶ "On the Relation of Analytical Psychology to Poetic Art," p. 248 [revised.—TRANS.].

The hero is not creative in the sense that he decorates and embellishes the existing canon, although his creativeness may also manifest itself in shaping and transforming the archetypal contents of his age. The true hero is one who brings the new and shatters the fabric of old values, namely the father-dragon which, backed by the whole weight of tradition and the power of the collective, ever strives to obstruct the birth of the new.

The creators form the progressive element in a community, but at the same time they are the conservatives who link back to the origins. In ever-renewed fights with the dragon they conquer new territory, establish new provinces of consciousness, and overthrow antiquated systems of knowledge and morality at the behest of the voice whose summons they follow, no matter whether they formulate their task as a religious vocation or as practical ethics. The depth of the unconscious layer from which the new springs, and the intensity with which this layer seizes upon the individual, are the real criteria of this summons by the voice, and not the ideology of the conscious mind.

By means of the symbol, the archetypes break through the creative person into the conscious world of culture. It is this deeper-lying reality that fertilizes, transforms, and broadens the life of the collective, giving it and the individual the background which alone endows life with a meaning. The meaning of religion and art is positive and synthetic, not only in primitive cultures, but also in our own overconscious culture, precisely because they provide an outlet for contents and emotional components that have been too rigorously suppressed. In the collective as in the individual the patriarchal world of culture, with its primacy of consciousness, forms only a segment of the whole. The positive forces of the collective unconscious which have been excluded struggle for expression in the creative person and flow through him into the community. Partly they are "old" forces, shut out through the overdifferentiation of culture, partly new and untried forces which are destined to shape the face of the future.

Both functions help to keep culture "in balance" by ensuring

that it does not stray too far from its roots or, on the other hand, ossify through conservatism.

But the hero, as the vehicle of this effort at compensation, becomes alienated from the normal human situation and from the collective. This decollectivization entails suffering, and he suffers at the same time because, in his struggle for freedom, he is also the victim and representative of the obsolete, old order and is forced to bear the burden of it in his own soul.

The significance of this fact has already been pointed out by Jung,¹⁷ who speaks of the fatal compulsion that draws the hero towards sacrifice and suffering.

Whether his deeds are looked upon as services, as with Herakles, whose life, like the life of many if not all heroes, is a series of strenuous labors and difficult tasks, or whether this symbolism takes the form of a bull-sacrifice as with Mithras, or crucifixion as with Jesus, or being chained to the Caucasus as with Prometheus, always and everywhere we meet with the motif of sacrifice and suffering.

The sacrifice to be made may mean sacrificing the old matriarchal world of childhood or the real world of the adult; sometimes the future has to be sacrificed for the sake of the present, sometimes the present so that the hero may fulfill the future. The nature of the hero is as manifold as the agonizing situations of real life. But always he is compelled to sacrifice normal living in whatever form it may touch him, whether it be mother, father, child, homeland, sweetheart, brother, or friend.

Jung puts it that the danger to which the hero is exposed is "isolation in himself."¹⁸ The suffering entailed by the very fact of being an ego and an individual is implicit in the hero's situation of having to distinguish himself psychologically from his fellows. He sees things they do not see, does not fall for the things they fall for—but that means that he is a different type of human being and therefore necessarily alone. The loneliness of Prometheus on the rock or of Christ on the cross is the sacrifice

¹⁷ *Psychology of the Unconscious*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

they have to endure for having brought fire and redemption to mankind.

Whereas the average individual has no soul of his own, because the group and its canon of values tell him what he may or may not be psychically, the hero is one who can call his soul his own because he has fought for it and won it. Hence there can be no heroic and creative activity without winning the anima, and the individual life of the hero is in the deepest sense bound up with the psychic reality of the anima.

Creation is always an individual achievement, for every creative work or deed is something new that was not there before, unique and not to be repeated. Thus the anima component of the personality is connected with the "voice" which expresses the creative element in the individual, contrasted with the conventionality of the father, of the collective, of conscience. The anima as prophetess and priestess is the archetype of the soul who conceives the Logos, the "spermatic word" of God. She is the inspirer and the inspired, the Virgin Sophia who conceives by the Holy Ghost, and the Virgin Mother who brings forth the Logos-spirit-son.

In the early uroboric and matriarchal phase there is only the type of the seer who, by sacrificing his ego, and so having become effeminate by identification with the Great Mother, delivers himself of his utterances under the overwhelming impact of the unconscious. This type of seer is widely distributed. The best known is the mantic form, in which a woman plays the prophetic role of seer and priestess, sibyl and Pythia. Her function is later taken over by the masculine seer-priest who is identified with her. This can still be seen in Wotan's relation to Erda. He receives the age-old wisdom of the Great Mother, the gift of prophecy, but in return has to sacrifice his right eye. Thus, with its ecstatic abandon and berserker frenzies of emotion, Wotanism, in its orgiastic as well as its mantic form, lacks the clear eye of the higher knowledge, which was lost through the "upper castration" performed by Erda.

The dark Wotan type of savage huntsman and of Flying

Dutchman belong to the retinue of the Great Mother. Behind their spiritual unrest there is the old longing for uroboric incest, the death wish that seems so deeply engrained in the Germanic soul.¹⁹

It is no accident that we find a powerful contrast to this mother-obsessed seer type in the kind of prophet who arose among the ancient Hebrews. His essential characteristic is his affinity with the father-figure, and the preservation and intensification of consciousness by means of this affinity. For him, mantic and oneiromantic prophecy is much inferior to prophecy with consciousness unimpaired. The prophetic intensity depends upon the intensity of consciousness, and Moses is rated the greatest prophet because he beheld God by day and face to face. In other words, the profound insight of the activated transpersonal layer, and the sharp vision of a highly developed consciousness, have to be brought into relationship, and not one developed at the expense of the other.

Thus the hero, like the ego, stands between two worlds: the inner world that threatens to overwhelm him, and the outer world that wants to liquidate him for breaking the old laws. Only the hero can stand his ground against these collective forces, because he is the exemplar of individuality and possesses the light of consciousness.

Notwithstanding its original hostility the collective later accepts the hero into its pantheon, and his creative quality lives on—at least in the Western canon—as a value. The paradox that the breaker of the old canon is incorporated in the canon itself is typical of the creative character of Western consciousness whose special position we have repeatedly stressed. The tradition in which the ego is brought up demands emulation of the hero in so far as he has created the canon of current values. That is to say, consciousness, moral responsibility, freedom, etc., count as the supreme good. The individual is educated up to them, but woe to any who dares to flout the cultural values, for

¹⁹ Jung, "Wotan"; Ninck, *Wodan und germanischer Schicksalsglaube*.

he will instantly be outlawed by the collective as the breaker of the old tablets.

Only the hero can destroy the old and extricate himself from the toils of his culture by a creative assault upon it, but normally its compensatory structure must be preserved at all costs by the collective. Its resistance to the hero and its expulsion of him are justifiable as a defense against imminent collapse. For a collapse such as the innovations of the Great Individual bring with them is a portentous event for millions of people. When an old cultural canon is demolished, there follows a period of chaos and destruction which may last for centuries, and in which hecatombs of victims are sacrificed until a new, stable canon is established, with a compensatory structure strong enough to guarantee a modicum of security to the collective and the individual.

The Schism of the Systems: Culture in Crisis

It now remains for us to describe how, in the course of development, the emancipation of consciousness has precipitated a crisis, and how the separation of the conscious from the unconscious has led to the danger of a schism. At this point we enter into the cultural crisis of our time and of Western development as a whole. We can only attempt to follow out the psychological trends already described and thus make whatever contribution is possible, within the limits of our theme, towards an understanding of the cultural problems. The temptation to go beyond that is great, since the questions touched upon are of a burning topicality; but here, as in so many places, we must content ourselves with hints and can only point to the phenomena without embarking upon a discussion of causal connections.²⁰

Western culture, whose crisis we are experiencing today, differs from all others known to us in that, although a continuum, it finds itself in continual process of change, even if the degree of change is not always equally apparent. The conventional

²⁰ In Appendix II we enlarge upon certain of the problems broached here.

division into classical, medieval, and modern is wholly fallacious. Any deeper analysis will show a picture of Western man in continuous movement and countermovement, but moving steadily in a direction fixed from the very beginning: toward the emancipation of man from nature and consciousness from unconscious. The cultural canon of the medieval man is likewise embedded in this continuum, not only because of the emphasis which that canon laid upon the individual soul and its salvation, but also because of its spiritual heritage from classical antiquity, which was far from being a mere matter of outward form, as all church history shows.

Despite the tendency to conservatism innate in every canon, the Western canon also has in it a revolutionary ingredient deriving from its acceptance of the hero archetype. It goes without saying that this hero figure is not the central point of the canon, nor is its revolutionary influence very easy to recognize; but when one sees in how short a space of time the most revolutionary figures of ecclesiastical history became assimilated and produced a new variation of the canon, one realizes the full significance of the acceptance into it of the hero archetype. The sanctity of the individual soul, which asserted itself throughout the Middle Ages in spite of all orthodoxy and all burnings of heretics, has become secularized since the Renaissance, though it was in existence long before that.

It is the same with the accentuation of individual consciousness. The recollectivization that was so conspicuous a feature of the Middle Ages as compared with antiquity is more a sociological than a theological problem. In recent times—that is, during the last one hundred and fifty years—we have witnessed an analogous process taking place in quite untheological form, and so are in a better position to understand the connection between them. We refer to the problem of the masses, which, owing to the Christianization of the backward peoples of Europe, led to a recollectivization that contrasted very strongly with the high standard of individual consciousness attained by the cultured man of antiquity. And today also, when the downtrodden masses

and the Asiatic masses are entering into history, there must inevitably be a temporary leveling down of consciousness and of individual culture in comparison with the single individual as the end product of Western civilization since the Renaissance.

The four phenomena—aggregation of masses, decay of the old canon, the schism between conscious and unconscious, and the divorce between individual and collective—run parallel to one another. How far they are causally connected is difficult to determine. At all events it is patently clear today that in the mass collective a new canon is being formed. Psychologically a primitive collective situation predominates, and in this new collective the old laws of *participation mystique* are more prevalent than at any time during the last few centuries of Western development.

This psychologically reactionary massing together of modern man coincides with another sociological phenomenon, namely the entry into history of new primary racial groups. That is to say, one must not confuse the primitive collective situation of the Asian masses now entering history with the phenomena of recollectivization, where untold millions of highly individualized and overspecialized city dwellers regress to a mass collective (see Appendix II). The intermingling of progressive and regressive lines of development is one of the complications of modern collective and cultural psychology.

Although standing from the very beginning under the motto "Away from the unconscious," the ego, as the organ of centroverson, must never lose touch with it, for it is an essential part of its natural balancing function to give the transpersonal world its due place.

The development that has brought about the division of the two systems is in accord with a necessary process of psychic differentiation, but, like all differentiation, it runs the risk of becoming overdifferentiated and perverse. Just as the differentiation of conscious functions in the individual harbors in itself the danger of overdifferentiation and one-sidedness, so the development of Western consciousness as a whole has not escaped

this danger. The question now arises of how far conscious differentiation can proceed and where it begins to turn into its opposite; that is, at what point in the hero's development there arises the danger of a mutation which, as so many of the myths tell us, will lead to his downfall.

Too much stability can cramp the ego, a too independent ego consciousness can become insulated from the unconscious, and self-esteem and self-responsibility can degenerate into presumption and megalomania. In other words, consciousness, standing at the opposite pole to the unconscious, and originally having to represent the personality's striving for wholeness, may lose its link with the whole and deteriorate.²¹

The danger of alienation from the unconscious presents itself in two forms: sclerosis of consciousness, and possession. In a sclerotic consciousness—a late product of development which on that account is unknown to mythology—the autonomy of the conscious system has been carried so far that the living link with the unconscious becomes dangerously atrophied. This atrophy expresses itself in the loss to ego consciousness of the function which strives for wholeness, and in a growing neuroticism of the personality.

Possession, the second form of loss of relationship to the unconscious, presents a different picture. Here the conscious system is overpowered by the spirit, with the help of which it had struggled to free itself from the tyranny of the unconscious. We have termed this phenomenon "patriarchal castration," because the creative activity of the ego is here impeded by the father, as previously by the mother.

In contrast to the swamping of the ego by the unconscious, which ends with the dismemberment of consciousness, the main feature here is an illimitable expansion of the ego.

Matriarchal castration involves loss of masculine consciousness, deflation, and degradation of the ego. Its symptoms are depression, a flowing off of libido into the unconscious, anemia of

²¹ This phenomenon, which is central to all psychic illnesses, forms part of the general theory of neurosis.

the conscious system, and an "*abaissement du niveau mental*" (Janet).

In the inflation of patriarchal castration brought on by the ego's identification with the spirit, the process is the other way around. It leads to megalomania and overexpansion of the conscious system. The latter becomes surcharged with spiritual contents which it cannot assimilate and with libido units belonging to the unconscious. The ruling symbol of this condition is "ascension," and its symptoms are "losing the ground from under one's feet," loss of the body rather than dismemberment, mania rather than depression.

The mania is connected with all the signs of overaccentuation of the conscious system, such as intensified associations, sometimes amounting to an associative "fugue," paroxysms of will and action, senseless optimism, and so forth, all of which contrast with the slowing down of association, the enfeeblement of will and action, and the pessimism so evident in the depressive phase. Just as identification with the Great Mother causes enfeeblement of the masculine side of consciousness and impoverishes the activity of the will and the ego's directive powers, so identification with the spiritual father enfeebles the feminine side. Consciousness lacks the unconscious counterweights that would deepen and slow down the conscious processes. In both forms there is a disturbance of compensation, but in each case it is different.

Compensation is the first requisite for a productive relationship between the ego and the unconscious. This means that the princess, the soul, is lost to the ego just as much in the patriarchal as in the matriarchal form of castration.

But, as we have made clear in Part I of this book, behind both forms there looms the original uroboric castration, where the tendencies to differentiation cancel out. To put it in psychological language: just as mania and melancholia are merely two forms of madness, of the devouring uroboric state which destroys all ego consciousness, so regression to the unconscious, i.e., being devoured by the Great Mother, and the flight to

“nothing but” consciousness, i.e., being devoured by the spiritual father, are two forms in which any truly compensated consciousness, and the striving for wholeness, are lost. Deflation as well as inflation destroys the efficacy of consciousness, and both of them are defeats for the ego.

Spiritual inflation, a perfect example of which is the frenziedness of Nietzsche’s *Zarathustra*, is a typical Western development carried to extremes. Behind the overaccentuation of consciousness, ego, and reason—sensible enough in themselves as the guiding aims of psychic development—there stands the overwhelming might of “heaven” as the danger which goes beyond the heroic struggle with the earthly side of the dragon and culminates in a spirituality that has lost touch with reality and the instincts.

The form which this kind of degeneration usually takes in the West is not spiritual inflation, but sclerosis of consciousness, where the ego identifies with consciousness as a form of spirit. In most cases this means identifying spirit with intellect, and consciousness with thinking. Such a limitation is utterly unjustified, but the patriarchal trend of development “away from the unconscious” and towards consciousness and thinking makes the identification understandable.

Owing to this extremism the conscious system loses its true significance as the compensatory organ of centroversion whose function is to represent and realize the wholeness of the psyche. The ego degenerates into a psychic complex like any other, and exhibits in its egocentricity the self-obsession which is characteristic of every complex.

In this situation all the developments that have contributed in a meaningful way to the formation of consciousness go to extremes and become perverted. For instance, the splitting of an unconscious content into its material and emotional components was originally in the interests of conscious development, but now it is one of the critical features of a hypertrophied consciousness split off from the unconscious. The exhaustion of emotional components and the ego’s alienation from the world of

archetypal images result in its inability to react to sense-images at all, a fact which is particularly noticeable in modern man. Confrontation with an unconscious image, or even with an unexpected situation, finds him immune to reaction. Contrasted with the instantaneous reflex action of the primitive, the interval between situation and reaction is extraordinarily prolonged, if it is not abrogated altogether.

Loss of affectivity and emotionality, still further increased by the specialized differentiation of consciousness into separate functions, is certainly an essential condition of conscious activity and has undoubtedly helped modern man in his scientific pursuits, but it has a formidable shadow side. To the extent that conscious knowledge necessitates the suppression of emotional components, it is typical of and only advantageous to noncreative work. Creative processes, on the other hand, cannot and must not exclude powerfully emotional, and even excitatory, components; indeed they seem to be a necessary ingredient here. Every new conception and every creative idea comprise elements which up to that point were unconscious, and the inclusion of the emotional components associated with unconscious contents produces an excitation. The connection of the conscious system with the emotionally toned substrata of the unconscious alone makes creativity possible. Therefore, if carried to extremes, the differentiating and emotion-repressing trend of Western development has a sterilizing effect and hampers the widening of consciousness. This is confirmed by the fact that creative people always have something childlike and not fully differentiated about them; they are plasmatic centers of creativity, and it is quite beside the point to call such features "infantile" and try to reduce them to the level of the family romance.

This tendency to reduce all transpersonal contents to personalistic terms is the most extreme form of secondary personalization. The exhaustion of emotional components and secondary personalization have an important historical function to fulfill, in so far as they help to extricate ego consciousness and the

individual from the clutches of the unconscious. That explains why they always appear during the transition from the prepersonal and suprapersonal to the personal. But when secondary personalization seeks to assert itself by devaluing the transpersonal forces, it produces a dangerous overvaluation of the ego. It is a typical false constellation of the modern mind, which is no longer capable of seeing anything that transcends the personal sphere of ego consciousness.

Secondary personalization is now being exploited by Western man in order to devalue the unconscious forces of which he is afraid. The supremacy of the transpersonal, and hence of the unconscious which, psychically speaking, is the seat of transpersonality, is denigrated and defamed. This form of apotropaic defense-magic invariably attempts to explain away and exorcize anything dangerous with a glib "nothing but" or "it's not half so bad as you think." Much as the wild and treacherous Black Sea was euphemistically called the "Euxine," the "hospitable sea," or the Erinyes were renamed the Eumenides, and the abysmal unknowableness of Godhead became the "All-loving and Merciful Father" and the "eiapopeia of children," so now we mistake the transpersonal for the merely personal. The primordial divinity of the Creator and the fierce, infinitely strange, ancestral totem-animal that dwells in the human soul have been so garbled that they now purport to derive from a prehistoric gorilla father or from a deposit of many such fathers, who have not conducted themselves well towards their "children."

Even the exaggerations of secondary personalization are expressions of man's efforts to regain possession of exteriorized psychic contents by introjecting them. But the necessary consequence of this process, whereby contents that before seemed to be outside are diagnosed as inside, is that transpersonal forces now appear in the human psyche and are recognized as "psychic factors." When this happens, partially in the psychology of instinct, and quite consciously in Jung's theory of archetypes, it means that an adequate assimilation has been achieved. But when secondary personalization is perverted, it leads to an over-

expansion of the ego, which thereupon tries to demolish the transpersonal by calling it mere illusion and reducing it to personalistic ego data.

As a result, the whole meaning of secondary personalization as a prerequisite for conscious assimilation is done away with, because the transpersonal is now in fact repressed. It can no longer be consciously assimilated, and proceeds to work negatively as a vague and powerful "unconscious" factor inside the psyche, just as it did outside at the beginning of man's development. The problematical thing about this turn of events is that in itself it is legitimate and necessary, and only leads to absurdity and danger if exaggerated.

We find a corresponding process in rationalization, where the archetype is elaborated into a concept. The line runs, as we saw, from the archetype as an effective transpersonal figure to the idea, and then to the "concept" which one "forms." A good example of this is the concept of God, which now derives wholly from the sphere of consciousness—or purports to derive from it, as the ego is deluded enough to pretend. There is no longer anything transpersonal, but only personal; there are no more archetypes, but only concepts; no more symbols, only signs.

This splitting off of the unconscious leads on the one hand to an ego life emptied of meaning, and on the other hand to an activation of the deeper-lying layers which, now grown destructive, devastate the autocratic world of the ego with transpersonal invasions, collective epidemics, and mass psychoses. For an upsetting of the compensatory relationship between conscious and unconscious is not a phenomenon to be taken lightly. Even when it is not so acute as to bring on a psychic sickness, the loss of instinct and the overaccentuation of the ego have consequences which, multiplied a millionfold, constellate the crisis of civilization.

While we cannot follow out here the psychological and ethical consequences of this situation as they affect the individual in his relation to the group,²² we must still dwell for a moment

²² See my *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik*.

upon what has been called the modern decay of values, and which we prefer to describe as the collapse of the archetypal canon.

The cultural canon originates in the projection of archetypal images from the unconscious. Its effectiveness may vary, either because the consciousness of the group undergoes a progressive or a regressive mutation, or because modifications occur in the collective unconscious, spontaneously, or in reaction to social and political changes. We shall have to leave unexamined the question of when, and in what circumstances, changes in the real world lead to reactions in the collective unconscious, and when and in what circumstances modifications in the collective unconscious express themselves in sociological upheavals. That the canon of values has steadily been disintegrating over the last few hundred years of Western development is a truism, which does not, however, prevent us from experiencing with horror and amazement the grim consequences of this process in the past, in the present, and in the future.

The disintegration of the old system of values is in full swing. God, King, Fatherland, have become problematical quantities, and so have Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, love and fair play, human progress, and the meaning of existence. This is not to say that they will not continue to influence our lives as transpersonal quantities of an archetypal nature; but their validity, or at least their position, has become precarious, their relation to one another questionable, and their old hierarchical order has been destroyed.

In this way the individual who lacks the support of a compensatory movement inside himself drops out of the ordered fabric of civilization. For him this means the breakdown of transpersonal experience, a shrinking of world horizons, and the loss of all certainty and meaning in life.

Two general reactions are to be observed in this situation. The first is regression to the Great Mother, into unconsciousness, a readiness to herd together in masses, and so, as a collective atom with new transpersonal experiences, to gain a new certainty and

a new point of vantage; the second is flight to the Great Father, into the isolation of individualism.

When the individual falls away from the cultural fabric like this, he finds himself completely isolated in an egotistically inflated private world. The restlessness, the discontents, the excesses, the formlessness and meaninglessness of a purely ego-centric life—as compared with the symbolic life—are the unhappy results of this psychological apostasy.

Following the collapse of the archetypal canon, single archetypes then take possession of men and consume them like malevolent demons. Typical and symptomatic of this transitional phenomenon is the state of affairs in America, though the same holds good for practically the whole Western hemisphere. Every conceivable sort of dominant rules the personality, which is a personality only in name. The grotesque fact that murderers, brigands, gangsters, thieves, forgers, tyrants, and swindlers, in a guise that deceives nobody, have seized control of collective life is characteristic of our time. Their unscrupulousness and double-dealing are recognized—and admired. Their ruthless energy they obtain at best from some stray archetypal content that has got them in its power. The dynamism of a possessed personality is accordingly very great, because, in its one-track primitivity, it suffers from none of the differentiations that make men human. Worship of the “beast” is by no means confined to Germany; it prevails wherever one-sidedness, push, and moral blindness are applauded, i.e., wherever the aggravating complexities of civilized behavior are swept away in favor of bestial rapacity. One has only to look at the educative ideals now current in the West.

The possessed character of our financial and industrial magnates, for instance, is psychologically evident from the very fact that they are at the mercy of a suprapersonal factor—“work,” “power,” “money,” or whatever they like to call it—which, in the telling phrase, “consumes” them and leaves them little or no room as private persons. Coupled with a nihilistic attitude towards

civilization and humanity there goes a puffing up of the ego-sphere which expresses itself with brutish egotism in a total disregard for the common good and in the attempt to lead an egocentric existence, where personal power, money, and "experiences"—unbelievably trivial, but plentiful—occupy every hour of the day.

Formerly the stability of the cultural canon guaranteed the individual a set of ordered values in which everything had its proper place. This is now lost, and the atomized individual is possessed and eaten up by arbitrary dominants of a supra-personal nature.

Not only power, money, and lust, but religion, art, and politics as exclusive determinants in the form of parties, nations, sects, movements, and "isms" of every description take possession of the masses and destroy the individual. Far be it from us to compare the predatory industrial man and power politician with the man who is dedicated to an idea; for the latter is possessed by the archetypes that shape the future of mankind, and to this driving daemon he sacrifices his life. Nevertheless, it is the task of a cultural psychology based on depth psychology to set forth a new ethos which shall take the collective effect of these daemonic possessions into account, and this means also accepting responsibility for them.

The disintegration of personality caused by an idea is no less dangerous than the disintegration caused by empty, personalistic power-strivings. The results of both can be seen in the disastrous massing together and recollectivization of modern man (see Appendix II). Elsewhere²³ we have attempted to show the connection between depth psychology and the new ethos. One of the most important consequences of the new ethos is that integration of the personality, its wholeness, becomes the supreme ethical goal upon which the fate of humanity depends. And even though depth psychology has taught us to understand how necessary it is, especially for the "highest men," to be possessed

²³ *Tiefenpsychologie und neue Ethik.*

by the archetypes, this does not blind us to the possible fatal consequences of such possession.

The picture we have drawn of our age is not intended as an indictment, much less as a glorification of the "good old days"; for the phenomena we see around us are symptoms of an upheaval which, taken by and large, is necessary. The collapse of the old civilization, and its reconstruction on a lower level to begin with, will justify themselves because the new basis will have been immensely broadened. The civilization that is about to be born will be a human civilization in a far higher sense than any has ever been before, as it will have overcome important social, national, and racial limitations. These are not fantastic pipe dreams, but hard facts, and their birth pangs will bring infinite suffering upon infinite numbers of men. Spiritually, politically, and economically our world is an indivisible whole. By this standard the Napoleonic wars were minor *coups d'état*, and the world view of that age, in which anything outside Europe had hardly begun to appear, is almost inconceivable to us in its narrowness.

The collapse of the archetypal canon in our culture, which has produced such an extraordinary activation of the collective unconscious—or is perhaps its symptom, manifesting itself in mass movements that have a profound effect upon our personal destinies—is, however, only a passing phenomenon. Already, at a time when the internecine wars of the old canon are still being waged, we can discern, in single individuals, where the synthetic possibilities of the future lie, and almost how it will look. The turning of the mind from the conscious to the unconscious, the responsible *rapprochement* of human consciousness with the powers of the collective psyche, that is the task of the future. No outward tinkering with the world and no social ameliorations can give the quietus to the daemon, to the gods and devils of the human soul, or prevent them from tearing down again and again what consciousness has built. Unless they are assigned their place in consciousness and culture they will never leave mankind in peace. But the preparation for this *rapprochement*

lies, as always, with the hero, the individual; he and his transformation are the great human prototypes; he is the testing ground of the collective, just as consciousness is the testing ground of the unconscious.

D. Centroversion and the Stages of Life

Pilgrim, Pilgrimage, and Way
are but Myself toward Myself.

FARID UD-DIN ATTAR

Prolongation of Childhood and Differentiation of Consciousness

IN PART I we discussed the archetypal phases of conscious development as manifested in the mythological projections of humanity's collective unconscious. In Part II an attempt is made to show how and why the personality comes to be built up in the course of human history, and in what relation it stands to the archetypal phases.

Now, in this concluding chapter, we must show how the basic laws whose operation we have been tracing in the psychic history of mankind are recapitulated, in modified form, in the ontogenetic life history of the individual in our culture.

Only a tentative sketch is possible, because we cannot here present the reader with a detailed psychology of childhood and puberty. Nevertheless, it seems important to give a brief outline of this development, because in this way the connection between man's evolutionary history and modern life, and the life of every individual, will become apparent. Indeed, this link between ontogenesis and human history alone gives us the justification for having ranged so far afield in our exposition of the latter subject, and for claiming at the same time that the real concern of this book is the treatment of modern man and his urgent problems.

A psychotherapy of the individual, and a culture therapy of society as a whole, seem to us to be possible only when we have achieved a synoptic view of the origin and significance of consciousness and its history, such as will enable us to diagnose the conscious situation of the individual and of the collective.

The recognition of the crucial importance, for psychology and psychotherapy, of the stages of life, and the discovery of the individuation process as a development which takes place during the second half of life, we owe to the researches of C. G. Jung.¹

¹ "The Stages of Life"; also cf. G. Adler, "The Ego and the Cycle of Life," in *Studies in Analytical Psychology*.

The most important factors for the understanding of individual development are the different direction and different effect of centroversion in the two life phases. The first phase, which is one of differentiation, has its historical prototype in the formation of the ego and its development, that is, when the activity of centroversion passes from the psychic totality of the unconscious self and moves towards the ego.

During the first half of life, a period of egocentering which is finalized in puberty, centroversion expresses itself as a compensatory relation between the conscious and unconscious systems, but remains unconscious; in other words, the central organ of centroversion, the ego, has no knowledge of its dependence upon the whole. During the second half of life, however, which is generally ushered in by a psychological change of personality in middle age, there is in the ego a growing awareness of centroversion. The individuation process may then be initiated, resulting in the constellation of the self as the psychic center of wholeness, which no longer acts only unconsciously but is consciously experienced.

The retardation of maturity and the dependence of the individual upon the social group for a period of almost sixteen years are, as we know, pre-eminently characteristic of the human species. This prolonged youth, contrasted with the early development of the rest of the animal world, is the most important prerequisite for human culture and its transmission. The inclusion of a lengthy period of learning and training until full maturity is reached has its counterpart in the unfolding of consciousness throughout human history. During this period the brain is developed up to the level to which man as a species has brought it. The learning period that ends with puberty is devoted to cultural education, consisting in the adoption of collective values and the differentiation of consciousness which facilitates the individual's adaptation to the world and the collective.²

² In his *Biologische Fragmente zur Lehre vom Menschen*, which became available to me only after the completion of my manuscript, A. Portmann expresses views that coincide to a surprising degree with my own. The fact that we have

Lastly, there also occurs in this period a further differentiation of personality, whose final stage we then find in the adult, and whose development, so far as it follows the patriarchal trend of conscious evolution, we shall briefly outline.

Education and increasing experience of life strengthen the adaptation to reality, which is more or less identical with adaptation to the collective and its demands. Meanwhile the collective compels the individual, however different his orientation may be at the different periods, to develop a one-sidedness which is at all times acceptable to itself.

Various factors collaborate in this adaptation. Their common denominator is the strengthening of consciousness and of its capacity for action, and the simultaneous exclusion of the disruptive forces of the unconscious.

One of these factors is the differentiation of the psychological type. That is to say, every individual will adopt a definite attitude to the world, either extraverted or introverted. Side by side with the habitual attitude there is a further differentiation of one of the main functions of consciousness, which function differs in every individual.³ This differentiation of type, whether conditioned constitutionally or otherwise, guarantees him the maximum opportunities for adaptation, because the most efficient and congenitally the best function is developed as the main function. Simultaneously with this differentiation there is a suppression of the least efficient function, which, as the "inferior function," remains largely unconscious.

An important goal of childhood development and education is the utilization of the individual in the sense of making him a useful member of the community. This usefulness, achieved through differentiation of the separate components and functions of the personality, is necessarily bought at the cost of wholeness. The need to renounce the unconscious wholeness of the

arrived at the same conclusions, although approaching from two such different points of departure as biology and depth psychology, speaks not a little for the objectivity of these conclusions.

³ Jung, *Psychological Types*, defs. 14, 22, 55.

personality is one of the most formidable developmental difficulties for the child, and particularly for the introverted child.

The transition from the "totality orientation" of the small child, from direction by the unconscious activity of the self to an ego-centered consciousness and the necessary division of the whole into two separate systems, forms a special difficulty. In this critical phase the heritage bequeathed to mankind by the hero—the systematic development of consciousness and its protection—must be re-experienced by the childhood ego and made fast in its possession if it is to gain access to the culture of the collective and command a place for itself in the community.

Development in the first half of life is marked by two decisive crises, each of which corresponds to a fight with the dragon. The first crisis is characterized by the encounter with the problem of the First Parents and by the formation of the ego. It is enacted between the ages of three and five, and psychoanalysis has made us familiar with certain aspects and forms of this parental encounter, under the guise of the Oedipus complex. The second crisis is puberty, when the dragon fight has to be fought out again on a new level. Here the form of the ego is finally fixed with the support of what we have called "heaven." That is to say, new archetypal constellations emerge, and with them a new relation of the ego to the self.

Characteristic of the process of differentiation in childhood is the loss and renunciation of all the elements of perfection and wholeness, which are inherent in the psychology of the child so far as this is determined by the pleroma, the uroboros. The very things which the child has in common with the man of genius, the creative artist, and the primitive, and which constitute the magic and charm of his existence, must be sacrificed. The aim of all education, and not in our culture alone, is to expel the child from the paradise of his native genius and, through differentiation and the renunciation of wholeness, to constrain the Old Adam into the paths of collective usefulness.

From the pleasure principle to the reality principle as we have defined it, from the mother's darling to the schoolboy, from uro-

boros to hero, such is the normal course of childhood development. The drying up of imagination and of creative ability, which the child naturally possesses in high degree, is one of the typical symptoms of impoverishment that growing up entails. A steady loss of the vitality of feeling and of spontaneous reactions in the interests of "sensibleness" and "good behavior" is the operative factor in the conduct now demanded of the child in relation to the collective. Increase in efficiency at the cost of depth and intensity is the hallmark of this process.

On the ontogenetic plane there now ensue all the developments which we have described as indispensable for ego formation and the separation of the conscious and unconscious systems. The child's primarily transpersonal and mythological apperception of the world⁴ becomes limited owing to secondary personalization, and is finally abolished altogether. This personalization is necessary for the growth of personality now beginning and is effected with the help of ties to the personal environment upon which the archetypes are at first projected. As the personal ties grow stronger, the archetype is gradually replaced by the imago, in which personal and transpersonal characteristics are visibly blended and active. In this way the transpersonal archetypes are "blocked" by the personal figures of the environment to whom the ego relates. Or, as Rilke says:

. . . not quite can you call him away from that sinister company.
Truly, he tries, he escapes, and nestles disburdened
into your secret heart, where he takes and is newly begun.
But, did he ever begin himself?
Mother, you made him small, it was you who began him;
to you he was new, and over the young
eyes you bent down a world that was friendly and staved off the strange.
Where, O where are the years when you simply, by stepping in front of it,
screened with your slender figure the seething abyss?
Much you did hide from him thus; the room that was creepy at night
you made harmless, and out of your heart full of refuge
you mingled a humaner space with his night-space.⁵

⁴ Jung, Seminar on children's dreams (unpublished); Wickes, *The Inner World of Childhood*; Fordham, *The Life of Childhood*.

⁵ R. M. Rilke, Third Elegy.

Then follows the fragmentation of archetypes and the separation of the personal "good" side of the Mother figure from her transpersonal, negative side, or vice versa. The child's fear and feeling of being threatened does not derive from the traumatic character of the world, for no trauma exists under normal human conditions or even under primitive ones; it comes rather from the "night space," or, to be more precise, it arises when the ego steps forth from this night space. The germinal ego consciousness then experiences the overwhelming impact of the world-and-body stimulus, either directly or in projection. The importance of family relationships lies precisely in the fact that the personal figures of the environment who are the first form of society must be able, as soon as the ego emerges from the primary security of the uroboric state, to offer it the secondary security of the human world.

This development is paralleled by the exhaustion of emotional components and the outgrowing of the early accentuation of the body, and this in turn leads to the gradual building up of a superego through the demands and prohibitions of the environment.

Another general feature of conscious development, namely the deflation of the unconscious, can be traced in the normal growth of the child, when the primordial, unconscious world of childhood, the world of dream and fairy tale, and also of children's drawings and children's games, fades in increasing measure before the reality of the external world. The libido accruing from the activated unconscious is now employed to build up and extend the conscious system. The implementation of this process marks the transition from playing to learning. School in our culture is the architect whom the collective has commissioned to erect, systematically, a bastion between the deflated unconscious and a consciousness orientated towards collective adaptation.

The patriarchal line of conscious development with its watchword "Away from the Mother-world! Forward to the Father-world!" is enjoined upon male and female alike, although they

may follow it in different ways. To be a mother's darling is a sign of not having accomplished the initial dragon fight which brings infancy to a close. This failure makes entry into school and the world of other children impossible, just as failure in the rites of initiation at puberty precludes entry into the adult world of men and women.

We come now to the formation of those components of personality whose discovery we owe to the analytical psychology of Jung: the persona, the anima and animus figures, and the shadow. They are produced by the differentiation processes we have already described, which occur during the first half of life. In all of them, personalistic and individual features are combined with archetypal and transpersonal ones, and the personality components which ordinarily exist in the structure of the psyche as potential psychic organs now become amalgamated with the fateful, individual variants realized by the individual in the course of his development.

The development of the persona is the outcome of a process of adaptation that suppresses all individually significant features and potentialities, disguising and repressing them in favor of collective factors, or those deemed desirable by the collective. Here again, wholeness is exchanged for a workable and successful sham personality. The "inner voice" is stifled by the growth of a superego, of conscience, the representative of collective values. The voice, the individual experience of the transpersonal, which is particularly strong in childhood, is renounced in favor of conscience. When paradise is abandoned, the voice of God that spoke in the Garden is abandoned too, and the values of the collective, of the fathers, of law and conscience, of the current morality, etc., must be accepted as the supreme values in order to make social adaptation possible.

Whereas the natural disposition of every individual inclines him to be physically and psychically bisexual, the differential development of our culture forces him to thrust the contrasexual element into the unconscious. As a result, only those elements which accord with the outward characteristics of sex and which

conform to the collective valuation are recognized by the conscious mind. Thus "feminine" or "soulful" characteristics are considered undesirable in a boy, at least in our culture. Such a one-sided accentuation of one's specific sexuality ends by constellating the contrasexual element in the unconscious, in the form of the anima in men and the animus in women, which, as part souls, remain unconscious and dominate the conscious-unconscious relationship. This process has the support of the collective, and sexual differentiation, precisely because the repression of the contrasexual element is often difficult, is at first accompanied by typical forms of animosity towards the opposite sex. This development, too, follows the general principle of differentiation which presupposes the sacrifice of wholeness, here represented by the figure of the hermaphrodite.

Similarly, as we saw, the formation of the shadow, the dark side of the personality, is partly determined by adaptation to the collective conscience.

The training of the will and the pursuance of directed and disciplined action at the cost of unconscious, instinctive reactivity is equally necessary for the adaptation to reality demanded of the growing child. Once more there is a repression of emotional components. The passion and affectivity of the small child give way to the control of affects and the repression of feeling observable in well-brought-up children.

The formation of all these "authorities" strengthens the ego, consciousness, and the will, and, by more or less insulating the instinctual side, leads to an increased tension within the personality. The identification of the ego with consciousness robs it of contact with the unconscious and thus of psychic wholeness. Consciousness can now claim to represent unity, but this unity is only the relative unity of the conscious mind and not that of the personality. Psychic wholeness is lost and is replaced by the dualistic principle of opposites which governs all conscious and unconscious constellations.

In a sense, therefore, the development and cultivation of consciousness required by the collective constitute at the same time

a process of uprooting. The inner collective tie to the instincts must in large measure be given up, and, as a secondary security for the ego, new roots must be sunk in the subsoil of the collective and in its ruling canon of cultural values. This process of transplantation means moving from instinct-centeredness to ego-centeredness, and any failure here brings a crop of developmental disorders and illnesses.

Progression through the archetypal phases, the patriarchal orientation of consciousness, the formation of the superego as the representative of collective values within the personality, the existence of a collective value-canon, all these things are necessary conditions of normal, ethical development. If any one of these factors is inhibited, developmental disturbances result. A disturbance of the first two factors, which are specifically psychic, leads to neuroticism; a disturbance of the other two, which are cultural, expresses itself more in social maladjustment, delinquency, or criminality.

The average child not only survives this process of uprooting, but derives from it an enhanced inner tension. Relative loss of unity, polarization into two psychic systems, insulation of the inner world and the building up of authorities within the personality may be productive of conflict, but they cannot be said to lay the foundations of any neurotic development. They are on the contrary normative, and it is their absence, or rather their incompleteness, that leads to illness.

A certain one-sidedness of development favorable to consciousness is largely characteristic of our specifically Western psychic structure, which therefore includes conflict and sacrifice from the start. At the same time, however, such a structure has the innate capacity to make the conflict fruitful and to endow the sacrifice with a meaning. Centroversion expresses itself in the psyche as a striving for wholeness which, as life goes on, balances the one-sidedness of the first half by a compensatory development during the second half. The tensional conflict between conscious and unconscious, provided that the natural compensatory tendencies of the unconscious are at work, leads

to a steady growth of personality; and, with an intensification of the conscious-unconscious relationship in such a maturing personality, the original conflict is replaced by an ever richer and more complete synthesis.

But, to begin with, the differentiation and division which we found to be necessary in the development of mankind are also necessary for the individual, who in his own development retraces the old paths that mankind has trod. The tension arising from his inner psychic polarization forms the personality's energy potential and relates him to the world in two ways.

As ego consciousness increases there is a progressive transference of libido to the world, a cumulative "investment" of it in external objects. This transference of libido derives from two sources: on the one hand from the application of conscious interest by the ego, and on the other hand from the projection of unconscious contents. Whenever the energy-charge of unconscious contents becomes excessive, they discharge themselves from the unconscious and are projected. They now approach the conscious mind as world-animating images, and the ego experiences them as contents of that world. In this way projection results in an intensified fixation to the world and to the carriers of the projection.

This process is particularly noticeable in puberty. Activation of the unconscious, which at this period occurs as a parallel symptom to psychophysical change, manifests itself in the increased activity of the collective unconscious and of the archetypes; it far exceeds the activation of the sexual sphere, and its manifestations consist not only in the danger of invasion, as evidenced by the frequency of psychoses at this period, but more particularly in a newly fledged and passionate interest in everything suprapersonal, in ideas and ideals of universal import, which many people evince only at this period of heightened activity in the collective unconscious. Puberty is further characterized by a change of emotional tone, a feeling for life and the world more akin to the universal oneness of the dawn man than to the mood of the modern adult. This lyrical animation

and the relatively frequent emergence of mythological motifs in the dreams and poetic compositions of this period are typical symptoms of the activation of the collective unconscious layer.

But since the compensatory working of consciousness is also heightened in puberty, it is only with markedly introverted or creative natures that there is any direct perception of the movement in the unconscious. Generally it passes off behind the dividing wall between the ego and the unconscious, and only faint radiations reach the conscious mind. Besides radiating out into interest and feeling, the activated unconscious also makes itself felt through "fascinating" projections which initiate and guarantee the next stage of normal development.

The most important projections at this period are of the anima or animus, the contrasexual imagos lying dormant in the unconscious, which now become activated. These glamorous images are projected into the world and sought there, thus constellating the problem of a partner, the main theme during the first half of life.

Activation of Collective Unconscious and Ego Changes in Puberty

The detachment from the parental imagos, i.e., from the real parents, which has to be effected in puberty, is caused, as the primitive rites of initiation show, by the activation of the archetype of the transpersonal or First Parents. This activation is utilized institutionally by and for the collective, in the sense that the latter requires and assists the projection of parental archetypes upon transpersonal contents which are also recognized as transpersonal realities. That is to say, the relation to the figure of the master, teacher, and leader—in a word, the mana personality⁶—is, as a projection of the father archetype, no less important than the projection of the mother archetype upon one's country, or upon the community, the Church, or a political

⁶ Jung, "The Relations between the Ego and the Unconscious."

movement. Henceforward the life of the adolescent who has emerged from the family circle into the collective will largely be claimed and used by these contents.

The criterion of being "grown up" is that the individual is led out of the family circle and initiated into the world of the Great Life-Givers. Accordingly, puberty is a time of rebirth, and its symbolism is that of the hero who regenerates himself through fighting the dragon. All the rites characteristic of this period have the purpose of renewing the personality through a night sea journey, when the spiritual or conscious principle conquers the mother dragon, and the tie to the mother and to childhood, and also to the unconscious, is severed. The final stabilization of the ego, toilsomely achieved stage by stage, has its counterpart in the final dispatch of the mother dragon in puberty. Just as the detachment of the anima from the mother is effected in real life at this point in ontogenetic development, and the mother's importance is eclipsed by that of the soul-partner, so this time normally sees the conclusion of the fight with the mother dragon. The reborn is reborn through the father principle with which he identified himself in the initiation. He becomes the father's son without a mother, and, inasmuch as he is identical with the father, he is also the father of himself.⁷

Through the prepubertal period the ego has gradually been taking up a central position; now, in puberty, it finally becomes the carrier of individuality. The detachment from the unconscious—so far as this is necessary for the production of tension between the two systems—is complete. The puberty initiations are an expression of the activated collective unconscious, which is now linked to the community, since, in these rites, the archetypal canon is handed down as the spiritual world of the collective by the elders who represent "heaven." In this way the neophyte, even when not vouchsafed a personal revelation, as he is in the "guardian spirit" initiations among the North Ameri-

⁷ The partial relegation of these puberty rites to early childhood is a typical sign of patriarchally toned cultures. Here the mother is replaced by the father at the very beginning of life, in the rites of circumcision and baptism, so that the maternal sphere is consciously and decisively narrowed.

can Indians, is led to a new experience of his central position within the collective. Being initiated and being grown up mean being a responsible member of the collective, for from now on the suprapersonal significance of the ego and the individual is built into the culture of the collective and its canon.

Self-Realization of Centroversion in the Second Half of Life

The first condition of this development is the successful termination of the hero fight, when the victor unites himself with the suprapersonal forces which appear to him in the spiritual world of initiation. The neophyte feels himself to be the heir to this world, for whose sake he takes up the earthly struggle. Whether he effects his separation from the world of the unconscious by giving recognition to the world of religion and ethics, or by his acceptance of taboos and religious laws, is a matter of secondary importance.

Victory means the self-generation of masculinity, and, like the dragon slayer, the victor is rewarded with the princess. Now that he has reached adulthood, and sexuality has become admissible, the beloved takes the place of the mother. He now has a sexual role to play, and he has at the same time to pursue an individual as well as a collective aim.

The first half of life is largely taken up with adapting to the powers of the outside world and their suprapersonal demands. The projection of the archetypes of the First Parents, and of the anima and animus, alone makes it possible for consciousness to develop in a worldly direction. It is the fascination of the archetypal images operative "behind" the lure of external reality that gives the psyche its outward gradient, a characteristic feature of all normal development in this phase.

This phase of development is marked by the gradual unfolding of consciousness and the multiplication of relationships to reality. The underlying trend is given by nature herself, and it

corresponds to those inborn instincts and psychic mechanisms which promote the growth and stabilization of consciousness. The very fact that the unconscious, as it becomes activated in puberty, is literally turned "inside out" through the natural processes of assimilation and projection is an instance of this same trend.⁸

After puberty, the normal adult has a firm but resilient ego consciousness with a relatively large amount of free libido at its disposal, well insulated against the inroads of the unconscious without being incapsulated, and, in proportion to its capacity and libido-charge, positively orientated to a greater or lesser portion of the objective world. Consciousness and personality are formed, in extraverts and introverts alike, by their progressive mastery of the world and adaptation to it. An exception is the creative individual, in whom there is a surcharge of unconscious activity but whose conscious capacity is able to withstand this surcharge, and the neurotic in whom, for whatever reason, conscious development is disturbed.

The absence in our culture of rites and institutions designed, like the rites of puberty, to smooth the adolescent's passage into the world is one reason for the incidence of neuroses in youth, common to all of which is the difficulty of facing up to the demands of life and of adapting to the collective and to one's partner. The absence of rites at the climacteric works in the same way. Common to the climacteric neuroses of the second half of life is the difficulty of freeing oneself from worldly attachments, as is necessary for a mellow old age and its tasks. The causes of these neuroses are therefore quite different from, indeed the opposite of, those occurring in the first half of life.

Whereas in the first half of life the central position of the ego does not allow the workings of centroversion to come to consciousness, the middle period is characterized by a decisive change of personality. Centroversion becomes conscious. The ego is exposed to a somewhat painful process which, starting

⁸ The naturalness of this development is also proved by the analysis of developmental difficulties and neurotic disturbances in adult life.

in the unconscious, permeates the entire personality. This psychological mutation with its symptomatology and symbolism Jung has described as the individuation process, and he has amplified it with a wealth of material in his works on alchemy.

We can say, then, that with the phenomenon of the second half of life the personal development of centroversion enters upon a second phase. Whereas its initial phase led to the development of the ego and to the differentiation of the psychic system, its second phase brings development of the self and the integration of that system. But, although the transformation process runs in the opposite direction to the development which took place during the first half of life, the ego and consciousness are not disintegrated; on the contrary, there is an expansion of consciousness brought about by the ego reflecting upon itself. It is as though the ego were restored to its original position: it emerges from its monomaniac self-obsession and becomes once more the vehicle of the totality function.

The unconscious activity of the self dominates the whole of life, but it is only in the second half that this activity becomes conscious. While the ego is being built up in early childhood there is a gradual centering of consciousness, with the ego as the representative organ of wholeness. In puberty the individual, as an ego, feels himself to be the representative of collective wholeness. He becomes a responsible member of the collective, and between them there exists the same creative relationship as between the ego and the unconscious. From puberty up to the time of the climacteric, a period of active expansion which goes into reverse at the onset of the second half of life, the outward dialectic is conducted between individual and collective. Then, with individuation, comes the mastering of the inner dialectic between the ego and the collective unconscious.

In the integration process the personality goes back along the path it took during the phase of differentiation. It is now a question of reaching a synthesis between the conscious mind and the psyche as a whole, that is, between the ego and the self, so that a new wholeness may be constellated between the hitherto

diametrically opposed systems of conscious and unconscious. All the differentiations and personality components that were built up during the first half of life, when consciousness was developing, are now unbuilt. However, this does not take the form of a regression such as occurs in the phenomenon of mass recollection (see Appendix I), but is an integration in which the expansion and development of consciousness are simply continued in a new direction.

In this transformation process—which not only occurs in the conscious form of the individuation process, but, through the self-regulation of the psyche, also governs the maturation of all personality—the ego reaches consciousness of the self. With the growing self-awareness of the ego, the self evolves out of its unconscious activity and arrives at the stage of conscious activity. The path of transformation followed by the individuant resembles the hermetic process in alchemy; it is a new form of dragon fight culminating in a qualitative change of consciousness. The mythological stage which we called “Transformation, or Osiris,” becomes a psychological reality when the conscious mind experiences the unity of the psyche.

In contrast to the previous deflation of the unconscious, differentiation, and the formation of an outward gradient to the collective, we now have deflation of the world, integration, and the formation of an inward gradient to the self. During the first half of life the impersonal and unconscious life of childhood had to mold itself into the personal life of the adult, who, while maintaining his position in the collective, must give a central place to the ego sphere, whether this be the sphere of personal achievement, human relationships, power, or creative work. This phase of personality development, dominated by the ego, is followed by another in which the assimilation of transpersonal and suprapersonal contents leads to a shifting of the center from the personal ego, the center of consciousness, to the self, the center of the total psyche.

The integration of all the authorities of the personality within this total psychic unity joins to the conscious mind those parts

which were split off or had never been attached to it at all; and this process activates the emotional components as well as putting an end to secondary personalization. Although this development normally proceeds without impairing the integrity of consciousness, the crises and dangers involved are similar to those which threaten the primitive ego and may, in unlucky cases, even destroy the personality. Here, too, emotional and archetypal invasions threaten the ego as, on its heroic journey to the underworld, it voluntarily discards the limitations and defenses of conscious development. For instance, behind the parental imagos there now loom the primary archetypes, and the figures encountered become more various, more complex, more enigmatic and equivocal as the journey progresses. Just as the personality gives up the primacy of its specific sexuality and, by assimilating the anima or animus, regains its original hermaphroditism, so the archetypes lose their unambiguous character in a multiplicity of contradictory meanings. In contrast, however, to the primitive situation there is now a consciousness capable of experiencing them in all their polyvalency and paradoxicality, whereas formerly they would have led to its extinction. In the evolution of mankind the spontaneous expression of the unconscious through the natural symbol took precedence; but now, concurrently, we meet the phenomenon which Jung designates with the name of the "uniting symbol" and the "transcendent function."⁹

The uniting symbol is a product of a special situation in which, instead of the creativity of the unconscious predominating, as it does wherever natural symbols appear, the crucial factor is rather the attitude of the conscious ego, its stability in face of the unconscious. As a product of the transcendent function, the uniting symbol resolves the tension—of energy and content—existing between the ego stability of consciousness and the contrary tendency of the unconscious to overwhelm it.

The uniting symbol is therefore a direct manifestation of centroversion, of the individual's wholeness. Under the creative

⁹ *Psychological Types*, def. 51.

influence of new and hitherto inactive elements the conscious and unconscious positions are overcome, i.e., "transcended." The uniting symbol is the highest form of synthesis, the most perfect product of the psyche's innate striving for wholeness and self-healing, which not only "makes whole" all conflict—provided that it is taken seriously and suffered to the end—by turning it into a creative process, but also makes it the point of departure for a new expansion of the total personality.

Jung observes: "The stability and positiveness of individuality, and the superior power of unconscious expression, are merely tokens of one and the same fact."¹⁰ Stability and positiveness of individuality: that means the strength and integrity, also the moral integrity, of the conscious mind, its refusal to let itself be cast down by the demands of the unconscious and of the world. But the "superior power of unconscious expression" is the transcendent function, the creative elements in the psyche which can overcome a conflict situation not soluble by the conscious mind, by discovering a new way, a new value or image. Both together are an expression of the fact that a total constellation of the personality has been reached, in which the creativeness of the psyche and the positiveness of the conscious mind no longer function like two opposed systems split off from one another, but have achieved a synthesis.

This synthesis of the psyche is frequently accompanied by symbols representing the new unity of opposites, such as the symbol of the hermaphrodite. The hermaphroditic nature of the uroboros reappears here on a new level.

As in alchemy the initial hermaphroditic state of the *prima materia* is sublimated through successive transformations until it reaches the final, and once more hermaphroditic, state of the philosophers' stone, so the path of individuation leads through successive transformations to a higher synthesis of ego, consciousness and the unconscious. While in the beginning the ego germ lay in the embrace of the hermaphroditic uroboros, at the end the self proves to be the golden core of a sublimated uro-

¹⁰ Ibid.

boros, combining in itself masculine and feminine, conscious and unconscious elements, a unity in which the ego does not perish but experiences itself, in the self, as the uniting symbol.

In this process there is a "sublimation" of the ego as it realizes its connection with the self, a connection which appears more than once in the paradoxical identity of Horus and Osiris. In the self the ego knows itself immortal, and in itself mortal; the connection between the two comes out in the Talmudic saying "Man and God are twins,"¹¹ and also in the symbolism of the father-son and mother-daughter identity. By ceding its pretensions to uniqueness and its central position to the self, the ego, as its indirect representative, becomes "king of this world," just as the self is "king of the spirit-world."

The first phase of this process of "Osirification" and transformation, which is equivalent to the individuation process, still lies within the domain of the hero archetype; it is the phase of the dragon fight and of the *hieros gamos* with the anima. These two together constitute the preliminary stage of transformation which ends with the production of the self, of unity, as an inward act of self-generation and glorification. The introjection of the hero archetype, the union with the soul, the founding of the kingdom that "is not of this world," and the birth of the king are as much the mysteries of alchemy as of the individuation process.¹²

The act of self-generation which takes place right at the beginning of life, when ego consciousness frees itself from the devouring embrace of the dragon of the unconscious, has its counterpart in this rebirth of the ego as the self, when, in the second half of life, it breaks free from the embrace of the world dragon. The dragon fight of the first period begins with the encounter with the unconscious and ends with the heroic birth of the ego. The night sea journey of the second period begins with the encounter with the world and ends with the heroic birth of the self.

This last phase of conscious development is no longer

¹¹ Talmud, Sanhedrin 46 b.

¹² Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, index, s.v.

archetypal, i.e., collectively conditioned, but is individual. Archetypal materials may have to be assimilated as well, but they are assimilated consciously and by an individual who attains self-experience through his unique and idiosyncratic union with the transpersonal worlds within and without. It is no longer the unconscious, purely collective world of the uroboros that now dominates the ego, nor the conscious, purely collective world of the community, but both are combined and assimilated in a unique way. Whereas the fragmentary ego finds itself a mere atom tossed between the vast collective worlds of objective psyche and objective physis, the ego united with the self experiences itself anthropomorphically as the center of the universe.

After passing through all the phases of world-experience and self-experience, the individual reaches consciousness of his true meaning. He knows himself the beginning, middle, and end of the self-development of the psyche, which manifests itself first as the ego and is then experienced by this ego as the self.

This self-experience of the ego, however, is bound up with "everlastingness," with immortality, as in the Osiris myth. The wholeness that comes into being as a result of the individuation process corresponds to a profound structural change, a new configuration of the personality. Whereas in the first half of life there was a tendency to differentiation and ever-increasing tension at the expense of wholeness, the integration process tends towards increased stability and a lowering of tension. This trend of development is in accord with the natural maturation of all living structures. It has biological as well as physical equivalents. The genesis, stabilization, configuration, and consolidation of the personality are therefore associated with a symbolism whose ingredients are perfect form, balance, harmony, solidity. The mandala, whether appearing as the circle, sphere, pearl, or symmetrical flower, contains all these elements; while diamond, stone, or rock, as symbols of the self, represent the indestructibility and permanence of something that can no longer be split apart by the opposites.

But where the accent does not lie so much on indestructi-

bility, eternity, and immortality, the stability of the psyche appears to be that of a living organism which grows, develops, and renews itself. Hence the decrease of tension between the opposites points rather to the agreement and harmony of the forces at work, to a qualitative change rather than to a quantitative diminution of their power. Here as everywhere, maturity denotes a transformation of quantitatively stronger tensions into qualitatively higher and more stable structures.

Structural wholeness, with the self as center of the psyche, is symbolized by the mandala, by the circle with a center, and by the hermaphroditic uroboros. But this uroboric circle now has the luminous core of the self for a center. Whereas in the beginning the uroboros existed at the animal level only, so that the ego germ contained in its midst was almost hidden, in the unfolding flower of the mandala the animal tension of opposites is overcome, transcended by a self which blossoms forth into a corolla of opposites. At the beginning of the development, consciousness was all but extinguished by the crushing superiority of the unconscious; at the end, it is broadened and strengthened by its connection with the self. This combination of the self with the stability of the ego serves to subdue and bind in a magic circle all contents, whether of the world or the unconscious, outside or inside.

The self-differentiating structure of the psyche is reflected in a world cleft asunder by the principle of opposites into outside and inside, conscious and unconscious, life and spirit, male and female, individual and collective. But to the maturing psyche, slowly integrating itself under the sign of the hermaphrodite, the world, too, assumes the appearance of the hermaphroditic ring of existence, within which a human center takes shape, be it the individual who comes to self-realization between the inner and outer worlds, or humanity itself. For humanity as a whole and the single individual have the same task, namely, to realize themselves as a unity. Both are cast forth into a reality, one half of which confronts them as nature and external world, while the other half approaches them as psyche and the unconscious,

spirit and daemonic power. Both must experience themselves as the center of this total reality.

We began with the ego in the womb of the parental uroboros dragon, curled up like an embryo in the sheltering fusion of inside and outside, world and unconscious. We end, as in an alchemical picture, with the hermaphrodite standing upon this dragon: by virtue of its own synthetic being it has overcome the primal situation, above it hangs the crown of the self, and in its heart glows the diamond.

But only when the conscious development of mankind as a whole, and not merely of single individuals, has reached this stage of synthesis, will the supra-individual uroboros situation truly be overcome, and with it the collective danger of the dragon. The collective unconscious of mankind must be experienced and apprehended by the consciousness of mankind as the ground common to all men. Not until the differentiation into races, nations, tribes, and groups has, by a process of integration, been resolved in a new synthesis, will the danger of recurrent invasions from the unconscious be averted. A future humanity will then realize the center, which the individual personality today experiences as his own self-center, to be one with humanity's very self, whose coming to birth will finally vanquish and cast out that old serpent, the primordial uroboric dragon.

APPENDICES

I

THE GROUP AND THE GREAT INDIVIDUAL

WE HAVE ATTEMPTED to clarify the psychological significance of the uroboric situation and to represent it as the original situation of the ego. Our task now is to show how the ego and the individual develop out of the group. We have in the first place to demonstrate the positive significance of the group for the individual and to distinguish between the group and the mass. The group is a living unit in which all members are connected with one another, whether the connection be a natural biological one as in the tribal group, the family, clan, and the primitive folk group, or whether it be institutional as in the totem, the sect, and the religious group. But even in the institutional group the members are emotionally bound to one another through common experience, initiations, and so forth. The formation of a group is thus dependent upon the existence of *participation mystique* between its members, upon unconscious projection processes whose emotional significance we have already discussed. Symptomatic of this situation is, for instance, the fact that the group members call themselves brothers and sisters, and so reproduce by analogy the original family group where these ties are taken for granted.

Moreover, it is the nature of the group to have a permanent character which is guaranteed by the unconscious ties between the members. Every genuine group is a permanent group, and through that permanence it also acquires an historical character. Even temporary groups such as school classes, regiments, etc., show a tendency to manufacture a history for themselves so as to become a genuine group. They try to make the original

experience upon which the group was founded—the shared experiences of youth or war—historic, and to demonstrate its permanence by means of conventions, rallies, records, minute-books, and the like.

Mass associations, on the other hand, are only nominal associations to which we cannot give the character and name of a group. In them it is always a question of what the Gestalt theory calls additive parts, i.e., an aggregation of individuals who are not bound together emotionally and between whom no unconscious projection processes occur. The common use of a train or theater, the herding together in unions, societies, guilds, corporations, parties, etc., do not constitute a group community. Certainly it is possible for such a mass association to become secondarily grouped, so that there is a partial resemblance to genuine group phenomena. But then the partial nature of the grouping comes to the fore. In an emergency it turns out that the pull of the primary group, e.g., the nation, is stronger than party membership. The fate of social democracy, for instance, has repeatedly shown that the political party is a mass association which collapses as soon as the primary group becomes activated, and that group allegiance to the nation reasserts itself in an emotional crisis, as on the outbreak of war.

Similarly, the associations resulting from the phenomena of recollectivization, to be discussed later, are mass associations. The carrying away of the atomized individual in a mass movement is a psychological process that can never form a group and has no permanent character. As we shall see, the mass lacks all the positive marks of the group, even though the individual in the mass may mistake it for a group and think he is experiencing a unity—whose illusory character, however, is manifest in its very transience.

Hence the group in our sense of the word is a psychological unit with a permanent character, whether natural or institutional, both contrasting with the associations of masses. The group in which the individual is contained represents a natural whole whose parts are integrated, as is seen most clearly in the

original uroboric situation. The superiority of this group totality over the individual part invests the former with all the marks of an archetype. It is possessed of superior power, has a spiritual character and displays the qualities of leadership, is numinous, and is always the "wholly other," as is apparent in all institutional groups in which the founder of the group plays a part. The clearest example of this phenomenon—the projection of group wholeness—is totemism.

The spiritual nature of the totem has a religious and, in even higher degree, a social and ethical significance. It is the formative principle of all primitive life, since all conduct, rites, and festivals are determined by it, as well as the social hierarchy established by the totem.

The acquisition of an individual totem, as in North America, is by no means the rule; on the contrary we have here a collective demand that the individual should individualize himself through experience of the "voice," of direct inner revelation, which is quite in contrast to the ordinary life of primitives, where the totem is inherited. But even then, the totem is usually transmitted through the rites of initiation; i.e., is made the spiritual inheritance of the individual. The phenomenon of the guardian spirit is particularly interesting because in it we can observe, in collective form, the act which was normally the experience of the Great Individuals only, and which led to the formation of totemism everywhere. Not only is the spirit alive and active in the group psyche, that is, in the group's unconscious, but these spiritual phenomena of the collective unconscious manifest themselves in revelations which are perceived by particularly gifted individuals who, precisely because they become revelatory bearers of the transpersonal, prove to be Great Individuals.

The collective unconscious of the group manifests itself by taking possession of the individual, whose function it is, as an organ of the group, to convey to it the contents of the unconscious. Such manifestations are determined by the situation of

the group and by the way in which the collective unconscious is constellated.

We have, therefore, a whole hierarchy of phenomena revealing the deeper layers of the psyche, and a corresponding hierarchy of revelation bearers who appear as Great Individuals. In the main, two things distinguish the revelation bearers from one another: the first is the degree of conscious participation in the phenomena of revelation; the second is the scope of the emergent contents.

The lowest place in this hierarchy is occupied by the Great Individual who is only a passive carrier of projections, that is to say, one whose conscious mind and personality stand in no kind of relationship to what is projected upon him. An instance of this is the widespread institution of symbolic victims who have to represent the god to be sacrificed. They may be chosen on account of their beauty, as in the case of fertility goddesses, or because they have some symbolic—and for us quite accidental—sign on their bodies, for instance they may be albinos or possess special stigmata like the witch marks of the Middle Ages. Often the symbol bearers are purely institutional, as with the sacrifice of war prisoners in ancient Mexico. This form, which shows no direct relationship between the personality and the contents projected upon it, is based on religious institutions with their retinue of priests, prophets, sorcerers, etc., who decide on the victim with the help of divination and other practices, and who are, therefore, the operative factors in the situation. But even here there is an active projection of an unconscious group-content upon an individual who thereby becomes a Great Individual, as is evident from the numerous dispensations which show him to be one “exempt,” to whom the customary taboos no longer apply.

On a rather higher level stands the individual whose personality is possessed directly by the unconscious content—spirit, demon, God—even when his conscious mind does not participate in its assimilation or interpretation. This passive hypnosis by the unconscious is a very common phenomenon which is well

known as shamanism and can be observed in the possession states of practically all medicine men, prophets, and so forth. To this category also belongs the madman, in whom the transpersonal forces of the collective unconscious and of the spiritual world manifest themselves without the participation of the conscious mind and the ego. As we know, among primitive peoples, unless correspondingly gifted "psychopathic" personages are present, this state may be artificially induced by driving a member of the tribe mad and thus making him a medicine man. In this way he becomes the mouthpiece of the transpersonal and conveys to the group the contents it needs, which have been activated in the collective unconscious.

This stage has many forms and variants, for passive possession by a content of the collective unconscious may lead to identification with it, to inflation, but also to a "symbolic life" in which the content is actually "represented" in reality, as is partially the case among the Hebrew prophets and manifestly so wherever the life of a divine figure is "imitated."

Again, the temporary leader of a group, who is not related to it as the permanent leader but has only accomplished something outstanding in a unique situation and is therefore a Great Individual for the moment only,¹ is a typical example of this connection between unconscious possession and the importance of personality for the group.

The mediumistic Führer figure, the hypnotized hypnotist, likewise falls into the lower category of medicine men, for whom the daemonism of the Great Individual is simply a means for the self-daemonization of the mass, and whose significance as an individual personality is submerged, like that of the madman, in his function as a mere mouthpiece of the unconscious.

We come now to an important criterion. Many genuinely "great" men are distinguished from these lower stages by the fact that their conscious mind actively participates in the process and adopts a responsible attitude toward it. What characterizes

¹ This naturally does not apply to the "specialists," such as the professionals who wage a war, organize a fishing expedition, etc.

the hypnotist who is hypnotized by the unconscious is the banality of his mind, its lack of problems. For, if completely swamped by the invading content, consciousness becomes incapable of taking up any counterposition whatsoever, but is carried away and possessed by it to the point of identification.

The Great Individual, on the other hand, who really is a great man in the sense of being a great personality, is characterized not only by the fact that the unconscious content has him in its grip, but by the fact that his conscious mind also has an active grip on the content. It is immaterial whether his assimilation of the content takes the form of creation, or of interpretation, or of action; for common to all these is the responsible participation of the ego in coming to terms with the invading content, and not only its participation, but its ability to take up an attitude.

Only then does the Great Individual become a creative human being. The action no longer rests with the invading transpersonal alone, but with the centroverson operating through ego consciousness; in other words, there is now a creative total reaction in which the specifically human qualities of ego formation and conscious elaboration are preserved.

This category of Great Individuals serves as a model for the development of individuality in humankind generally. The individual fate of the hero—and the creative Great Individual is indeed a hero—may be the exception, but he is also the exemplar of a process which subsequently affects all individuals in varying degree.

The average ego, the average individual, remains fixed in the group, although in the course of development he is compelled to give up the original security of the unconscious, to evolve a conscious system, and to take upon himself all the complications and sufferings which such development entails. For the primary security of the unconscious he exchanges the secondary security of the group. He becomes a group member, and the average man spends at least half his life—the essential part of his development—adapting to the group and allowing himself to be molded by collective trends.

The role played by the collective in the human culture is decisive. Society, with its conscious postulates, sets up an authority, a spiritual tradition which, spoken or unspoken, forms the background of education. The individual is molded by the collective through its ethos, its customs, laws, morality, its ritual and religion, its institutions and collective undertakings. When one considers the original submergence of the individual in the collective, one sees why all collective orientations are so binding and are accepted without question.

Besides this tendency of the collective to form average members and to educate the ego up to the cultural norm represented by the elders, there is another tendency which is in the direction of the Great Individual.

For the group member, the Great Individual is primarily the carrier of projections. The unconscious psychic wholeness of the collective is experienced in the person of the Great Individual, who is at once the group self and the unconscious self of each member. What is present in every part of the group as the unconscious creative totality of the psyche, namely the self, becomes visible in the Great Individual or, at a higher level, is actualized in his life. The collective parts are still childishly dependent, with no ego center, no responsibility or will of their own to mark them off from the collective, so that the Great Individual is regarded as the directive force, as the very center of life, and is institutionally honored as such.

It is therefore completely inadmissible to reduce him to, or derive him from, the personal father figure. We find that, just as in the early history of man the Great Individual becomes the carrier for the projection of archetypal images such as the self, the mana figure, the hero, and the father archetype, so also in the course of ontogenetic development the figure representing authority, who in our civilization is the father, frequently becomes the carrier for these projections. But it is by no means only the father archetype that is projected upon him; very often it is quite another image, for instance that of the magician, the

wise old man, the hero or, conversely, of the devil, death, and so on.

The Great Individual who breaks away from the anonymity of the primordial collective is, on the heavenly plane, the god-figure, while on the earthly plane he is the medicine man, chief, and god-king. Sociological and religious developments are here closely bound together; they correspond to psychic changes, and the psychic differentiation by which the ego detaches itself from the undifferentiated unconscious is expressed in sociological changes as well as in a theological differentiation of man's view of the world.

Historically, the Great Individual is most accessible to us in the role of the god-king and, later, the king. The earliest cuneiform pictogram for "king" signifies "great man," and this was the way he was always pictured in the art of the ancient East. The Great King or the Great House, Pharaoh, is the embodiment and representative of the people. If the hieroglyph for the king of Lower Egypt is the bee, and the same image also occurs in the cultural sphere of the Euphrates, that only tells us the same thing. The "great" bee which rules the hive, and which today we call the queen bee, was regarded in antiquity as the king bee. But in Egypt the designation of the king as the "First Man" or "Great Man" is already a later development. It follows the stage of his god-identity, when even ritually he was as far removed from his people as a god. Speaking of this stage, the Pyramid Texts say the king was already in existence before the creation of the world,² an ideology which reappears later in connection with the Messiah.³

We have shown how, in the process of self-deification, the Egyptian king becomes the human bearer of an immortal soul. He is the only man who, by being ritually transformed into a

² Erman and Ranke, *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben in Alterthum*, p. 62.

³ We have explained earlier that a substantial part of the Egyptian worship of the dead served the purpose of making the king immortal after his death by the embalming of the body and the building of pyramids as symbols of immortality. Whereas at first only the king, who symbolized the collective self, gained immortality, and armies of men toiled for decades at his pyramids in order to assist his self-immortalization, this process was later not confined to him alone.

god in his own lifetime, unifies all parts of the soul and becomes the "perfect being";⁴ that is to say, he is the first and at this period the only man who is the simulacrum of God, a conception which in Judaism and in somewhat modified form in Christianity was to become a basic factor in man's psychic life.

The history of Egypt enables us to trace in a unique way how the ego grows out of its original collective identity and how the Great Individual, as carrier for the projection of the collective self, paves the way for the formation of each individual ego, and initiates and assists the process. Whereas in a collective composed of incomplete individuals the god-king is the archetypal representative of the group's totality, this figure gradually develops a mediatory function, that is, it gives up more and more of its mana to the group members and is thus disintegrated and "dismembered." The same process of incorporating and assimilating the greater, which was originally enacted between the king and God, now takes place between the individual and the king, who is "eaten." His divine kingship is continually reduced, but at the same time the incomplete members of the collective, who formerly existed only as instruments of his apotheosis, become complete individuals. The king now turns into a worldly ruler, and his despotism is a merely human and political one; but his demotion is accompanied by a process in which every individual acquires an immortal soul, that is, becomes Osiris, and introjects the self, the god-king, as the sacral center of his own being. We find the same secularization of a sacred content in the growing consciousness of a personal ancestry and a personal name. Originally both were the property of the king; later they became proper to each individual.⁵

The development of ego consciousness and individuality, via the Great Individual, is effected by the transmission of the contents he has revealed, and by making them part of the cultural canon, i.e., part of the suprapersonal values and agencies which regulate culture and life. For this the men's groups are mainly

⁴ Moret, *The Nile and Egyptian Civilization*, pp. 181 f.

⁵ Erman and Ranke, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-90.

responsible, a fact of especial importance for the patriarchal line of conscious development and for the psychological understanding of the hero myth.

At the outset of culture, spiritual development is fostered by the men's societies in the form of secret societies, which later take the form of sects, mysteries, and religions. These secret societies seem from the very beginning to have arisen in opposition to the matriarchate. Koppers says:

The ethnological secret society is historically speaking an extremely ancient phenomenon. It was evidently founded by the opposing males not so very long after the introduction of agriculture by women. The period to be taken into account here may well date back to the mesolithic age.

Further:

The ethnological conditions then prevailing support the assumption that it was woman who first developed agriculture from primitive food-gathering. In this way she made the soil valuable and consequently became its owner. As a result, woman gained the upper hand, economically at first, and then socially: from this there grew up the well-known complex of matriarchy.

The disagreeable and uncomfortable situation in which the men now found themselves placed called forth a reaction. This reaction is outwardly documented in the men's secret societies, whose mystery and terror were logically directed first and foremost against the female part of the population. In this way it was attempted, with the help of spiritual and religio-magical means, to make up for the ground lost in the economic and social sphere.⁶

Apart from the fact that it is incorrect to reduce an historical and spiritual phenomenon like the rise of secret societies to personalistic feelings of resentment, the main point has been overlooked. Even if we accepted this "compensation theory," the fact remains—and it is precisely this fact that needs explaining—that for the men's groups religio-magical and spiritual contents were no less important than the social and economic supremacy of the matriarchate. This spiritual accent of masculinity, which is central to all secret societies and mysteries, is the point of significance. And if we invariably find, at the center

⁶ "Zum Ursprung des Mysterienwesens."

of the initiation ceremonies, that the neophytes are shown—on pain of death should they ever reveal the secret—that the ghosts and masks which have so terrified them are merely “play-acted” by men of their personal acquaintance, this does in fact amount to the passing on of a secret. We have no right to explain this in the modern scientific manner by saying that the neophyte is given much the same sort of enlightenment as one gives to a child today when he is told that Santa Claus is really Daddy or Uncle So-and-So.

Here, as later in the mysteries, we are dealing with a genuine transformation process which merits serious attention. In the same way that the primitive’s identity with his totem is not just “represented,” but is actually reproduced, in the dancing and the masks, the connection of the secret society with its tutelary spirit is a sacramental one. No more than the host is the wafer, is the ghost who appears in the initiation merely the man who plays him.

Thus Koppers says of the Kina festival of the Yamana Indians, of Tierra del Fuego:

The term “secret” is quite appropriate here, for the *kina* is celebrated only by men. Women may not take part, indeed the whole institution is directed primarily *against* the women. They are meant to believe that the ghosts who are played by the painted and masked figures of the men really are ghosts. The women are consciously duped and deceived by the men, and, at least in principle, the penalty for revealing the secret of the *kina* festival to women or to any other noninitiate is death.

The corresponding myth tells us that

In days gone by, the women, under the leadership of the Moon Woman, *Kina*, acted just as the men do today. The servitude which this meant for the men was forcibly broken by the Sun Man. Urged on by the Sun Man, the men killed all the women, leaving only the little girls alive, lest the continuance of the tribe be endangered.⁷

That the women are “consciously duped and deceived” is, if not entirely a false European interpretation, a late misunder-

⁷ Ibid. This is a mother-murder myth as opposed to the father-murder myth concocted by Freud.

standing of their own mysteries by the natives themselves, such as we find all too frequently. Originally the mystery consisted precisely in the fact that the painted and masked men were "real ghosts." Besides experiencing his genuine transpersonality as an initiate, the individual also experiences a piece of ritualistic "secondary personalization." The detachment from the unconscious which is effected in the puberty initiation is enormously strengthened by his experiencing the mask-wearers as persons. It dispels fear and fortifies the ego and consciousness. But this knowledge in no way contradicts the initiate's other experience that he and the spiritual world belong together. On the contrary, the double relationship which enables the individualized, initiated ego to be apprehended both as a private person and as a mask, personal and transpersonal at once, is an elementary form of what the myths call the divine parentage of the hero.

The opposition of the men's society to all matriarchal tendencies is undeniable, but it is not to be explained by social factors, as we also find it under sociological conditions which rule out a suppression of the males—not proved even under matriarchal conditions—namely, in the patriarchate. On the other hand the psychological explanation which maintains that the matriarchate is not so much a sociological factor as a psychological stage will help to clear up the situation. Already in the Kina myth we find the archetypal opposition between Moon Woman and Sun Man, regarding which Koppers remarks: "In the light of the general ethnological findings it appears that totemistic spirituality displays a preference for solar conception." That is to say, the collective world of initiations, secret societies, sects, mysteries, and religions is a spiritual and masculine world, and, despite its communal character, the accent still falls on the individual, in that each man is initiated individually and undergoes an individual experience which stamps his individuality. This individual emphasis with its elective character stands in marked contrast to the matriarchal group, where the archetype of the Great Mother and the corresponding stage of consciousness predominate, bringing with them all the features we have described—*partici-*

pation mystique, emotionality, etc. In the opposed group of men's societies and secret organizations the dominant is the hero archetype and the dragon-fight mythology, i.e., the next stage of conscious development. It is true that the men's society also leads to a community life among the members, but this is braced by its individual character, the masculinity and accentuation of the ego. Consequently it favors the formation of the leader and hero type. Individualization, ego formation, and heroism belong to the very life of the male group and are in fact its expressions. Conditions in the female group seem to be markedly different in this respect, and it is this contrast which explains the antifeminine tendencies of the men's society. Woman and sex, the principal representatives of those unconscious instinctual constellations which are stirred up by anything feminine, are the danger zone: they are "the dragons to be overcome." That is why no women are ever admitted to the men's societies. On this level, where men are not yet sure of themselves, women are execrated as dangerous and seductive, and this is still largely true of cultures with patriarchal religions.⁸

Collective masculinity is a value-creating and educative force. Every ego and every consciousness is gripped and formed by it. In this way the masculine side helps the developing ego to live through the archetypal stages individually and to establish contact with the hero myth.

Even these bare indications will have sufficed to make it clear why we speak of a patriarchal line of conscious development. The development proceeds from the mother to the father. It is assisted by a series of collective authorities—heaven, the fathers, the superego—which are as emphatically masculine as the

⁸ Patriarchal development brings a revaluation of the feminine, the best-known instance of which is the creation myth in Genesis. Here the Word is the creative principle: world and matter come from the abstract, from the spirit; the female is derived from the male and comes later. At the same time she is negative and seductive, the source of all evil, and must be subjugated by the male. The world of the Old Testament is very much colored by this revaluation in which all the maternal-chthonic characteristics of the primitive world of the Canaanites were devalued, reinterpreted, and replaced by the patriarchal Jehovah-valuation. This Jehovah-earth polarity is a basic factor in Jewish psychology, and unless it is understood it is not possible to understand the Jews.

conscious system itself. Further investigation might show that our terms "matriarchal" and "patriarchal" are characteristic only of the early Mediterranean cultures along the coast of Asia Minor and Africa. That fact would merely modify our terminology; it would not alter the content and substance of stadial development. Just as the father complex must be broken down and the authority complex delimited from him, so it is with the opposition between matriarchal and patriarchal. The archetypal symbolism of male and female is not biological and sociological, but psychological; in other words, it is possible for feminine people to be bearers of masculinity and vice versa. Always it is a question of relations, never of hard and fast definitions.

The figures of the Leader and Great Individual as projections of the collective unconscious are not confined to the male group, though the latter is more concerned with the spirituality of these figures than the female group, whose self-projection finds in the figure of the Great Mother a representative that is closer to nature than to the spirit. However that may be, the figure of the Great Individual is of crucial importance for the development of every single individual. His crystallization from the collective is obviously an evolutionary advance, since the progressive differentiation of the individual and the infinite variety of ego systems it produces lead to an infinite variety of experiments within the life of mankind. Whereas formerly, as we saw, only the "great man" possessed a consciousness and stood for the collective in the role of leader, the further course of evolution is characterized by a progressive democratization, in which a vast number of individual consciousnesses work productively at the common human task. In this sense the leader who is saddled with collective responsibility is an atavism, and democracy the future form of humanity, regardless of the political expedients that may be chosen.

This conscious democratization of humanity is compensated by the genius, the Great Individual who is leader and hero in an "inner" sense, that is, the true representative of the forces and contents which such a democratized consciousness lacks and

which reach consciousness for the first time in him. He is pre-eminently the theater for mankind's novel experiments, in whom are constellated those contents which will later extend the whole range of human consciousness.

Between the democratized consciousness of humanity which lives, functions, perceives, thinks, formulates, interprets, and understands in millions of representatives, and the creative centers, the men of genius, there is a continuous interchange. Together, as the spiritual and cultural side of humanity, they form a united front against the unconscious, even if, at first, the genius is hounded down, starved to death, and silenced by the democracy of consciousness. The fact that millions of human beings work together consciously and are simultaneously concerned with the vital problems of the collective—political, scientific, artistic, or religious—makes the probability of his acceptance ever greater. The time lag between the appearance of a genius and his assimilation by the democracy of consciousness is relatively small. For the genius himself it may be tragic, but so far as humanity is concerned it is irrelevant.

II

MASS MAN AND THE PHENOMENA OF RECOLLECTIVIZATION

IN THE COURSE of Western development, the essentially positive process of emancipating the ego and consciousness from the tyranny of the unconscious has become negative. It has gone far beyond the division of conscious and unconscious into two systems and has brought about a schism between them; and, just as differentiation and specialization have degenerated into overspecialization, so this development has gone beyond the formation of individual personality and given rise to an atomized individualism. Whereas on the one hand we see ever larger groups of overindividualized persons, there are on the other hand ever larger masses of humanity who have detached themselves from the original situation of the primary group and entered into the historical process. Both these developments tend to lower the significance of the group as a unit composed of persons consciously or unconsciously bound together, and to exalt the mass as a conglomeration of unrelated individuals.

Now, while the clan, tribe, or village is as a rule a homogeneous group descended from a common origin, the city, office, or factory is a mass unit. The growth of these mass units at the cost of the group unit only intensifies the process of alienation from the unconscious. All emotional participations are broken down and personalized; that is, they exist only in a narrowly restricted personal sphere. As has long been observed, in the place of a group or a people there now appears a mass unit like the State, a purely nominal structure which, in the manner of a concept, comprises a variety of different things, but does not represent an idea that springs as a central image from a homogeneous

group. Romantic attempts to revalue or to reverse this development necessarily result in regressions, because they take no account of its forward tendency and misunderstand its connection with the historically positive evolution of the ego and consciousness.

Owing to the process of mass aggregation, the original group continues to exist only in the form of the family; but here too we can already discern a disintegrative tendency which increasingly restricts the effectiveness of the family group and assigns it a place only in childhood, or rather, only in infancy. The existence of the family, however, is of paramount importance for the preconscious and transpersonal psychology of the child.

In our culture there has been a steady disintegration of small groups and small nations, and hence an undermining of the psychological foundations of the group which expresses itself in mass-mindedness, in the atomization and conscious internationalization of the individual. One result of this expansion of consciousness is that, regardless of conflicting national ideologies, every modern consciousness is confronted with that of other nations and races and with other cultures, other economic patterns, religions, and systems of value. In this way the original group psychology and the cultural canon determining it, once taken for granted, become relativized and profoundly disturbed. Modern man's view of the world has changed to a degree that is still very far from having been digested psychologically. The long perspective of human history stretching back beyond prehistoric times into the animal kingdom, the rise of ethnology and comparative religion, social revolutions advancing all over the world towards the same goal, the recognition of primitive psychology and its connection with modern psychology¹—behind all this we perceive the same fundamental driving force. The common human background and substratum whose scientific discovery as the collective unconscious we owe to Jung is beginning to manifest its universal workings in humanity itself. The picture that now emerges of a starry heaven of archetypal

¹ Aldrich, *The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization*, pp. 48 f.

forces arching over humanity is, however, accompanied by the disappearance of those fragmentary constellations which in the canon of individual groups were regarded as the whole of heaven. Knowledge of other religions may lead to the experience of a common religious tendency at work in humanity, but it also relativizes every individual form of religion, for at root this is always conditioned by the psychological, historical, social, and racial soil of the group from which it sprang.

The global revolution which has seized upon modern man and in whose storm center we find ourselves today has, with its transvaluation of all values, led to a loss of orientation in the part and in the whole, and daily we have new and painful experience of its repercussions in the political life of the collective, as well as in the psychological life of the individual.

The cultural process leads to a schism between conscious and unconscious in a form which we described above as characteristic of development during the first half of life. The building up of the persona, and the adaptation to reality under the guidance of the superego as the court of conscience representing collective values, together with the help of suppression and repression, constellate the shadow and the anima and animus components in the unconscious.

This shadow side of the personality, however, owing to its contamination with the inferior, undeveloped archaic side, bears all the marks of the primitive psyche and thus stands in significant contrast to the original group man.

On this account we prefer to call the sub-man who dwells in us moderns the "mass man" rather than the "group man," because his psychology differs in essential respects from that of the latter. Although the genuine group man is for the most part unconscious, he nevertheless lives under the rule of centroverson; he is a psychic whole in which powerful tendencies are at work, making for consciousness, individualization, and spiritual growth. We have followed these tendencies, and it will therefore be understandable if we now say that in spite of his unconsciousness, in spite of projections, emotionality, and so forth,

the group man possesses enormously constructive, synthetic, and creative powers which manifest themselves in his culture, his society, his religion, art, customs, and even in what we call his superstitions.

The mass man lurking in the unconscious of the modern, on the other hand, is psychically a fragment, a part-personality which, when integrated, brings with it a considerable expansion of the personality, but is bound to have disastrous consequences if it acts autonomously.

This unconscious mass component is opposed to consciousness and the world of culture. It resists conscious development, is irrational and emotional, anti-individual and destructive. It corresponds mythologically to the negative aspect of the Great Mother—it is her murderous accomplice, the adversary and man-slaying boar. This negative, unconscious part of the personality is archaic in the most negative sense, for it is the beast-man at bay. He becomes the shadow and dark brother of the ego only if, through a process of integration, the ego consciously descends into the depths of the unconscious, there to seek him out and bind him to the conscious mind. But when the reverse happens, when, that is to say, consciousness is overpowered and wholly possessed by him, we get the frightful phenomenon of regression to the mass man as manifested in the mass epidemics of recollectivization.

In these circumstances the disoriented, rationalistic consciousness of modern man, having become atomized and split off from the unconscious, gives up the fight because, understandably enough, his isolation in a mass which no longer offers him any psychic support becomes unendurable. For him the hero's task is too difficult, the task he ought to perform by following in the footsteps of humanity before him. The fabric of the archetypal canon which used to support the average man has given way, and real heroes capable of taking up the struggle for new values are naturally few and far between.

The renegade ego of modern man therefore succumbs to a reactionary mass-mindedness and falls victim to the collective

shadow, to the mass man within. Whereas in a homogeneous psyche the negative element has a meaningful place as decomposition and death, as chaos and *prima materia*, or as the leaden counterweight which roots growing things to the earth, in a fragmented psyche with a defeatist, regressing ego it becomes a cancer and a nihilistic danger. With the disintegration of ego consciousness all the positions built up in the course of human development are regressively destroyed, as in psychosis.

As a result, the ego-sphere of the human and personal is lost. Personality values no longer count, and the supreme achievement of the individual—his behavior as an individual human being—is broken down and replaced by collective modes of behavior. The daemons and archetypes become autonomous again, the individual soul is swallowed back by the Terrible Mother, and along with it the experience of the voice and the individual's responsibility before man and God is invalidated.

That the mass phenomenon is statistically a regression to the lowest level is self-evident, since the position of consciousness itself then begins to decay. Simultaneously with this, however, there is a reactivation of the medullary man and of his overwhelming emotionality. With the collapse of a consciousness oriented by the cultural canon the effective power of conscience, of the superego, is also destroyed, and consciousness loses its virility. "Effeminacy" then makes its appearance as an invasion from the unconscious side, manifesting itself in the breakthrough of complexes, of the inferior function and the shadow, and finally in a semipsychotic eruption of archetypes. The whole defense position of the conscious mind crumples up and the spiritual world of values with it. The personal ego-sphere as well as the autarchy of the personality drop away, and all the essential marks of centroversion.

Every single one of these phenomena is discoverable today in the mass situation and in the phenomena of recollectivization.²

² Alfred Kubin's visionary book, *Die andere Seite*, written in 1908, not only anticipates the events that were to burst upon Germany many years later, but with remarkable intuition realizes their connection with the collective unconscious.

The unique and frightful thing about this recollectivization is that it does not and cannot possibly mean a genuine regeneration. Regression does not reproduce the original group situation, but only a mass such as has never existed before and is, psychologically, a novel phenomenon.

When masses of city-dwellers regress to the unconscious state, it does not create a psychological unit that is in any way comparable to the original group and its psychology. In the original group, as we must emphasize yet again, consciousness, individuality, and spirit existed in the germ and strove to express themselves through the collective unconscious of the group, whereas the unconsciousness to which people are resignedly regressing today is, as it were, an unconscious with no tendencies in this direction. The autonomy of the unconscious reigns supreme in the mass psyche with the collusion of the mass shadow-man who lurks in the unconscious personality, and for the time being at least there is no sign of the regulating intervention of centroversion or of the regulation of the group by the cultural canon. The mass, therefore, is the decay of a more complex unit not into a more primitive unit but into a centerless agglomeration. Regression to the mass-man is only possible given the extreme process of cleavage between ego consciousness and the unconscious, and the consequent loss of centroversion. This absence of regulation by the whole leads to chaos.

Using the analogy of psychic illness one might, even in these circumstances, speak of the action of centroversion. In the individual, too, a rigid exclusion of the unconscious and a systematic disregard of its efforts at compensation cause it to turn destructive. We then find that compensation ceases and that, as Jung says, the unconscious directs its destructive tendency against consciousness and the ego. This "if you won't, then I'll force you" attitude can sometimes bring about a conversion, just as punishment may bring the sinner to repentance. The destructive decay of the individual in the mass harbors this possibility in itself, but only if it is made conscious, understood, assimilated, and in this way integrated.

The great danger that evidently prevents a conscious realization of this situation lies in the illusory phenomena which appear with recollectivization and blind the ego. The toxic effect of the mass situation lies precisely in its intoxicating character, which is always a concomitant of the dissolution of consciousness and its powers of discrimination. As we saw earlier, the libido-link between the ego system and the unconscious is "pleasurable." So it is when the link snaps and the ego system sinks into regression. The old bait with which that wily ratcatcher, the "hypnotized hypnotist" of mass epidemics, seduces us is uroboric incest.

In recollectivization the image of the original group and its wholeness is projected by the renegade ego upon the mass. The ego surrenders and, re-emotionalized, pouring itself out in an orgy of mass participations, experiences with pleasure a mass self akin to the uroboros, which sucks it in, embraces, and engulfs it. But a nihilistic, regressive perversion of the motto "Be embraced, ye millions!" is truly of the devil. The mass shadow-man, the herd of atomized individuals, and the mass self combine to form a pseudo-unity which is sheer illusion. That it is purely a matter of mass unification and a travesty of unity is evident from the swift disillusionment which ensues, and from the fact that mass illusion is incapable of producing any genuine and durable participation, much less anything constructive. The illusion of unity at a mass meeting does not even lead to genuine *participation mystique* with the spirit of the mass, let alone to a relationship of the participants with one another. In the real group, the group phenomenon of participation brings a synthetic development, taking the form of mutual responsibility, increased readiness for self-sacrifice, etc., which appears not merely as a momentary intoxication but embodies itself in institutions and communal undertakings. For instance the orgiastic feasts among primitives and in the older cultures promote the growth of groups and communities, and establish religious forms and other phenomena whose importance for the development of consciousness we have already stressed.

But in mass phenomena the illusory elation is as transient as

that induced by hypnosis; it does not impress itself upon the conscious mind by bringing it to a creative synthesis, but leaks away like any other momentary intoxication. Yet even this delusive frenzy of mass possession is zealously desired by an ego emptied of all meaning, and is one of the chief allurements with which the mass hypnotist successfully operates.

Modern mass propaganda seeks—in part quite consciously—to restore the old group unity and the mutual projections of the participants, together with all the symptoms of emotional possession that pertain thereto. This it does—as was particularly to be observed in National Socialism—by enlisting the aid of symbols and archetypes. We have already pointed out the basic error and also the dangers of these recollectivizing tendencies. The intended victims of this possession are—above all in the big cities—atomized individuals split off from the unconscious, and although they may be able to regress to this unconscious state for a little while by surrendering their egos, the subjective delirium which accompanies it harbors in itself the most dangerous and destructive consequences.

The modern worker and citizen, with his scientific education and proneness to “reduce” everything transpersonal, himself becomes a reduced individual when recollectivized by the mass. The primitive or archaic man, on the other hand, with his relatively undeveloped consciousness and ego system, experiences in a collective group event, such as an initiation ceremony or mystery cult, a progression and expansion of himself through his own experience of the symbols and archetypes. He is illuminated and not reduced by them. These group phenomena tend to constellate the higher man and a “higher brotherhood,” and not, on the contrary, to weld the mass particles into a mere conglomeration of which Jung could say, “The masses are blind brutes.”³ Note that the accent lies on the blind, not on the brute. Group possession, therefore, is never destructive in the same sense that mass action is destructive, where the mass consists of psychologically unrelated, or only momentarily related,

³ *Psychology and Alchemy*, p. 461.

atomized individuals. The group contains its own regulator not only in the form of the ruling canon, but in the mutual knowledge all members have of one another. The very anonymity of the individual in the mass intensifies the action of the shadow side. It is a significant fact that, in order to carry out their sadistic executions, the Nazis were obliged to remove the assassin from his own group. It is very much harder, if not actually impossible, for a village community to liquidate its own Jews. Not so much because of the group's greater humanity—we have learnt not to regard this as one of the fundamental decencies—but because the individual must do his deeds under the eyes of the group. Removed from his group and subjected to terrorism, however, he becomes capable of anything.

But even in the mass situation the quality of the individual is important, for the composition of the mass determines its deeds. Sighele⁴ could still believe that the violence or peaceableness of a mass is determined by its criminals or by those of its members whose profession it is to "see blood"; but depth psychology takes a different view. The "mass man within," the shadow, is the determining factor, not just consciousness and its orientation. The quality of the individual is indeed decisive, yet this is formed not so much by the quality of consciousness as by the quality of the whole personality, which for that very reason must be the psychological basis of the new ethos.

The growth of conscience, the formation of the superego by adaptation to the values of the collective, of the old men, stops at the point where the collapse of the cultural canon deprives this collective tribunal of its transpersonal bases. Conscience then becomes a Jewish, capitalist, or Socialist "invention." But the "voice," that inward orientation which makes known the utterances of the self, will never speak in a disintegrated personality, in a bankrupt consciousness, and in a fragmented psychic system.

⁴ Reiwald, *Vom Geist der Massen*, p. 123.

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| 6. Psychological Types (two parts). | 14. <i>Mysterium Coniunctionis</i> . |
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