

## Contents

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<i>Foreword</i>	vii
<i>Register of Persons</i>	xi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xix

### PART I. FROM BEGINNINGS TO 1943

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One. Adolf Keller's and C. G. Jung's Development up to 1909	3
a. Adolf Keller (1872–1963)	3
b. C. G. Jung (1875–1961)	8
Two. Common Paths: Analytical Psychology and Christian Pastoral Ministry	16
a. Jung's Split from Freud and Keller's Siding with Jung	16
b. Mutual Interests: The Psychoanalytical Society (1913–1914)	22
c. Consensus and Dissent: The Association for Analytical Psychology (1914–1918)	30
d. An Important Letter by Jung on Therapy	36
e. Keller as Pastoral Psychologist	37
f. Keller's Propaganda for Analytical Psychology and Pragmatism	41
g. Difficult Beginnings of the Psychological Club	46
h. The Individuation of Jesus: Keller's Lecture on the Gospel and Christianity	51
i. Tina Keller-Jenny, Early Analysand of C. G. Jung	54
j. Jung and Keller in Zurich Together in Zurich: An Overview	64
Three. The Paths Diverge	66
a. Keller's Ecumenical and Humanitarian Engagement	66
b. Keller's Turn toward Karl Barth's Dialectical Theology	68
c. Jung's and Keller's Analysis of National Socialism	72

vi • CONTENTS

d. Jung's and Keller's Writing on Psychology and Religion	76
e. The Situation at the Start of the Correspondence in Their Later Years	81

PART II. THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN JUNG AND KELLER

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On the Letters	91
The Letters	117
<i>Appendix. Adolf Keller: Analytical Psychology and Religious Research</i>	247
<i>Literature</i>	283
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	293
<i>Index</i>	295

## One

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# Adolf Keller's and C. G. Jung's Development up to 1909

### a. Adolf Keller (1872–1963)

Adolf Keller's original interest in the human psyche developed while a theology student during his two semesters in Berlin in 1894–1895. Around the turn of the twentieth century the capital of the Wilhelmine *Reich* was the mecca of Protestant theology. It was here that the brilliant Adolf von Harnack<sup>1</sup> was lecturing on the New Testament and early church history. He was an advocate of liberal theology and thus of a historico-critical approach to the Bible. Keller attended his lectures as a matter of course—but also those of Julius Kaftan,<sup>2</sup> whose social engagement impressed him as much as his theological approach: Taking the historic experience of God in Jesus Christ as its starting point, Kaftan's theology conveyed a mystical overtone. In line with Kant's "Primacy of Practical Reason," he considered religion to be a "practical concern of the human spirit."<sup>3</sup> Keller came from a religiously conservative milieu and had already encountered liberal theology in his first semesters in Basel, being deeply unsettled by it. In contrast, Kaftan's principles, based as they were on human experience, were completely new to him.

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<sup>1</sup> Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930).

<sup>2</sup> Julius Wilhelm Martin Kaftan (1848–1926), theology professor in Basel, located in Berlin from 1883.

<sup>3</sup> Werner Raupp, *Kaftan, Julius Wilhelm Martin, ev. Theologe*, in Bautz, Traugott (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. XIV Col. 1128–1133.

Adolf Keller had spent his childhood in Rüdlingen in the canton of Schaffhausen. The village is near the Rhine and surrounded by wonderful countryside that imprinted itself deeply on Keller. A dream of his from decades later, which plays an important role in several letters between him and C. G. Jung, is good evidence of this.<sup>4</sup> The son of a teacher, Adolf Keller's religious socialization in his parental home was influential throughout his life. He experienced this as a positive thing. He would later write that his parents had stayed together "thanks to their religious faith" and their five children, despite the couple's different temperaments.<sup>5</sup> They were orthodox, conservatively minded, his father in rather a sober way, his emotional mother more piously. In fact Keller had to endure his father as his strict primary school teacher for six years. His father recognized the son's outstanding intelligence and set the bar high for him. In his father's religious-education classes, son Adolf had to learn by heart hundreds of Bible verses. However, this stood him in good stead later. As an older man, Adolf Keller acknowledged that his mother's trusting and joyful faith had influenced him in an enduring way.<sup>6</sup> It was taken for granted that he would study theology.

Keller attended the classics section of the Schaffhausen gymnasium. He enjoyed every subject—except for mathematics.<sup>7</sup> He began and completed the greater part of his theology studies in Basel. As already mentioned, his encounter with liberal theology during his student days at Basel University and in Berlin was unsettling:<sup>8</sup> in his head he was a "pagan," in his heart a "Christian."<sup>9</sup> Although skeptical, he felt he resonated with the lectures of the moderately liberal Old Testament scholar Bernhard Duhm,<sup>10</sup> but favored more conservatively minded theologians. He struggled to reconcile his traditional view of faith with modern theology, ultimately accepting modern biblical criticism. Until the publication of Karl Barth's *The Epistle to the Romans* at the end of 1918 he belonged to the so-called theological mediators,<sup>11</sup> deplored the ongoing theological infighting, and

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<sup>4</sup> See letters 24 and 26 below.

<sup>5</sup> Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, 1940, 281 pages (private archive of P. Keller), p. 45. On Keller's origins and youth, see Marianne Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, Cascade Books, Eugene Oregon / Cambridge GRB: Wipf and Stock / The Lutterworth Press, 2013. Translated by Mark Kyburz with John Peck.

<sup>6</sup> Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*

<sup>7</sup> Jung similarly, see below I, 1b) footnote I, 55.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 3–4, above.

<sup>9</sup> Keller, *Curriculum vitae*, 1896 (T30a, 16, national archive, Zurich).

<sup>10</sup> Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), see II "On the Letters," p. 101 and letter 59.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, p. 6.

longed for a “prophet” who would create a new theology and bring the unholy bickering to an end.<sup>12</sup>

Keller’s psychiatrist wife Tina Keller-Jenny wrote after the death of her husband: “Adolphe had a wide Christianity. It was very real, but it had nothing of narrow sectarianism. It was a feeling-relation to a worldwide God, he would express this in saying that he felt himself ‘safe in the everlasting arms.’ This was not just something that he said, but one felt that it was deeply experienced.”<sup>13</sup> The Keller’s oldest daughter writes that her parents were genuine in their religion, not sanctimonious, “simply—real.”<sup>14</sup>

As a student in Basel, Keller joined the Schwizerhüsli, the student fraternity of the local pietistic, politically conservative milieu. They gave reciprocal talks on various themes. To the amazement of his fellow students, Keller spoke on the equality of women (in Basel, women were not yet admitted to the University), and, in 1894, on suicide, a taboo subject. Also unusually, he immersed himself in philosophy, learned classical Arabic, passionately played the piano and organ, and attended art exhibitions. One of Keller’s student colleagues in Basel was Oskar Pfister, who also stood out due to his expansive mind. Originating in the liberal Protestant milieu of Zurich, he was also dissatisfied with the theological *status quo* and especially with “traditional pastoral care.”<sup>15</sup> The two friends reconnected later in the circle around C. G. Jung.

Keller completed his theology degree with distinction. Even after finishing his degree he kept up with developments in the humanities and read the most important new theological publications. However, he considered the focus of his work to be in practical church ministry. Accordingly he turned his interest to the nature and the work of the human being, as he had particularly learned to do from Kaftan.

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<sup>12</sup> Keller to Leonhard Ragaz, 1 May 1924 (WI 67 103.2 Zurich cantonal archive), cf. I, 2b), p. 29. below and footnote 61, p. 29. Ragaz was co-founder of “religious socialism,” the third way in Protestant theology in addition to orthodoxy and liberalism. Keller was close to Ragaz’s views without directly belonging to his movement.

<sup>13</sup> Tina Keller: *In Memoriam*, Manuscript 1972 (private archive of P. Keller). Tina Keller wrote fluent English. Cf. Spring books: *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny: A Lifelong Confrontation with the Psychology of C. G. Jung*. Ed. Wendy K Swan. New Orleans: Spring Journal Books, 2011.

<sup>14</sup> Doris Sträuli-Keller, *Erinnerungen—und jetzt*, typescript 2000, 2 (Sulzberg Institute archive, Winterthur).

<sup>15</sup> Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität. Psychoanalytische Rezeption in der Pastoral- und Religionspsychologie im deutschen Sprachraum und in den United States*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer Verlag 2010, p. 74.

*A brief outline of the first stages of his professional life.*<sup>16</sup> In 1896 Keller took up his first appointment at the German Protestant church in Cairo whose members included both German and French-speaking Swiss. This was a courageous decision. He came in contact with representatives of the English occupying forces and with members of the resident Muslim, Coptic, Greek-Orthodox, and Jewish populations. A sojourn of several weeks in the Sinai Desert and, in particular, a lonely night on Mount Sinai made profound religious impressions on him.<sup>17</sup> Keller left Egypt in 1899 as a multilingual, cosmopolitan man.

His next posting was at the Church “auf Burg” beside Stein am Rhein, where he had a more leisurely time after the hectic environment of Cairo. He became a friend of Albert Schweitzer<sup>18</sup> in Strasburg, sharing with him the love of the piano and organ, and of Johann Sebastian Bach. Particularly relevant to our context, he also socialized regularly with the psychiatrist Robert Binswanger, who was leading the Bellevue Sanatorium in nearby Kreuzlingen into the second generation. The Bellevue was one of the best-known private psychiatric clinics on German-speaking territory. The doctors lived in a therapeutic community with the patients. “Humanity in psychiatry, a high medical ethos, forward-planning, and economic competence”<sup>19</sup> were the distinctive features of the clinic. Robert Binswanger was in contact with Sigmund Freud. It was in Kreuzlingen, following the encounter with Julius Kaftan in Berlin, that the second foundation stone in Keller’s interest in psychology was laid.

In 1902 he wrote his first article for the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, entitled “The Latest Propaganda for a Philosophy of the Sub-conscious.”<sup>20</sup> It

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<sup>16</sup> More information on Keller’s youth, studies, and his four parishes can be found in M. Jehle-Wildberger: *Adolf Keller, Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, pp. 1–28.

<sup>17</sup> See Jung, re. *Answer to Job* in the correspondence, letter 42, and in II, “On the Letters,” p. 92.

<sup>18</sup> Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965), theologian, philosopher, musician, and physician. Founder and head of Lambarene. See letters 59, 63, 64, 65, 73, 74, 75, 76.

<sup>19</sup> Roland Kley, *Wachstum, Geld und Geist: Der Ökonom Hans Christoph Binswanger*, St. Gallen: VGS 2010, 38. On Robert Binswanger’s son, the psychiatrist Ludwig Binswanger, see I, 2a), p. 14 below.

<sup>20</sup> Keller: *The Latest Propaganda for a Philosophy of the Sub-Conscious*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, No. 158, morning edition, Monday 9 June 1902. Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) stressed that he recognized the true concept of the unconscious (or the subconscious as it was often then called) as an area that was counterposed to consciousness. Cf. *Historical Dictionary of Philosophy* (Pub.: Joachim Ritter/Karlfried Gründer/Gotfried Gabriel), Vol. 11, Basel 2001, p. 127. Ultimately the acceptance of unconscious processes goes back to Plato and Plotinus. Arthur Drews’s book *Eduard von Hartmanns philosophisches System im Grundriss* (1902) was the impetus for Keller’s article.

considered the philosophical work of Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906), particularly his “Philosophy of the Unconscious.” Keller shared Hartmann’s view that the metaphysical need of man was ineradicable, stressing that a purely materialist worldview had been repudiated even by many scientists. In response to the widespread allegation that Hartmann had based his philosophy on the principle of the unconscious, Keller points out that this unconscious is not a negative concept, but is the absolute, knowing, and desiring being, which simply operates in a different form from consciousness. He felt it should be welcomed that Hartmann was contrasting the psyche, in which a mass of processes are taking place, with Descartes’ rationalist “*cogito ergo sum*.”<sup>21</sup> However, he had to disagree when Hartmann represented Christianity only as a necessary intermediary stage on the path towards a pantheistic future religion. In his youth, Jung too had immersed himself in Eduard von Hartmann’s<sup>22</sup> philosophy.

In 1904 Keller became minister of the German Reformed Church in Geneva. Despite his substantial workload, in the course of his five years there he attended all of the psychology courses given by the university professor Theodore Flournoy<sup>23</sup>. He sought to know more about the inner life of man because as a minister in that city he often met people suffering from psychological or social problems, both of which troubled Keller very much. Like Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung, Flournoy’s roots were in medicine. And like Freud, he longed to find a gateway to the unconscious.<sup>24</sup> In collaboration with William James, he established the psychology of religion.<sup>25</sup> James was one of the first to speak of the “unconscious mind,” and along with John Dewey<sup>26</sup> he is considered the father of American Pragmatism.<sup>27</sup> Flournoy gave lectures lasting two hours on “experimental

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. René Descartes (1596–1650), *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1959, p. 46: *Ego sum, ego existo, certum est* [I am, I exist, this is certain]. Cf. René Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1960, p. 54: “Je pense, donc je suis.” [I think therefore I am].

<sup>22</sup> See below, I, 1b) p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Théodore Flournoy (1854–1929).

<sup>24</sup> Flournoy is considered, with Eduard Claparède—with whom he edited the first Swiss psychological journal, the *Archives de Psychologie de la Suisse romande*—and Jean Piaget, as a leading advocate of the “Geneva School.”

<sup>25</sup> William James (1842–1910), American philosopher.

<sup>26</sup> John Dewey (1859–1952), American philosopher and pedagogue. His book *Democracy and Education*, New York: Macmillan, 1916, was groundbreaking; see letter 68.

<sup>27</sup> Keller, *Aus der Frühzeit der psychoanalytischen Bewegung*, offprint from *Swiss Journal for Psychology and its Applications*, 1956, Vol. XV, No. 2, no page numbers.

psychology,” followed by an hour of discussion.<sup>28</sup> On a smaller scale, he offered “special research and practical exercises in the experimental psychology laboratory,” in which Keller also participated.<sup>29</sup> Flournoy investigated topical occurrences in a pragmatic way, and investigated parapsychological and pathological phenomena. Keller writes that Flournoy “was simultaneously a kind of town-wizard whom you always called on if there was a haunted house somewhere or when mediums like the well-known Hélène Smith were proclaiming their new gospels. Quite mercilessly, Flournoy exposed their revelations as having an indubitably psychological basis. We ourselves once sat up almost half the night in a haunted house waiting for a ghost who judiciously chose that very night not to appear.”<sup>30</sup>

In 1907 Flournoy read about Freud, psychoanalysis, and the discovery of the unconscious as the basis of psychic disturbances. It impressed Keller that his teacher was “a thorough researcher,” but at the same time a “warm and sincere Christian with a liberal bent”<sup>31</sup> who advocated a theology of experience. Keller did not complete any qualifications in psychology, but the depth of his studies was equal to a fully fledged graduate degree. He used his psychological knowledge in pastoral conversation: “It was as if one were able to break open a locked door through which one could penetrate into the inaccessible rooms of the mentally ill.”<sup>32</sup> Notions such as “Jesus, the doctor of the soul” now appeared in Keller’s sermons. He credited Jesus with the ability to embrace “the crippled soul” of man and to heal it.<sup>33</sup>

### b. C. G. Jung (1875–1961)

C. G. Jung, who was three years younger than Keller, spent his grammar school and university years in Basel. It is interesting to compare his religious socialization with Keller’s. Jung’s father was a minister in Kleinhüningen near Basel. His parents, like Keller’s, were of an orthodox pietistic persuasion, which was common among upper-class Basel families such as Jung’s. However, the Jung household was not harmonious, since

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. “Course Program of the University of Geneva,” 1904–1907 (Archive of the University Library, Geneva).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Keller: *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 49f.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>33</sup> Keller’s sermon on the healing of the paralyzed man, Mark 2:3–12, of 29 January 1905 (Adolf Keller’s estate A, Private archive P. Keller).

the parental marriage was not a very happy one: They “made great efforts to live devout lives, with the result that there were angry scenes between them all too often.”<sup>34</sup> Jung writes of “good parents.”<sup>35</sup> However, he was a lonely child, often sickly and depressed. As an adolescent he frequently engaged in forthright discussions with his father on religious questions “which always left him dissatisfied.”<sup>36</sup> While Jung experienced his father as kind and generous, he found his faith legalistic, unreflective, stifling, derivative, ultimately inauthentic.<sup>37</sup> “It was the tragedy of my youth that I saw my father cracking up before my eyes on the problem of his faith and dying an early death.”<sup>38</sup> He had a strong, if partly problematic, relationship with his mother; he once wrote of his “mother complex.”<sup>39</sup>

“Theology had alienated my father and me from one another.”<sup>40</sup> The church became a source of “torment” for the youthful Jung.<sup>41</sup> Even as a twelve-year-old he had a striking daydream related to this: “I saw before me the cathedral, the blue sky. God sits on His golden throne, high above the world—and from under the throne an enormous turd falls upon the sparkling new roof, shatters it, and breaks the walls of the cathedral asunder. So that was it! I felt an enormous, an indescribable relief.”<sup>42</sup> In retrospect Jung writes: “I began my career with repudiating everything that smelt of belief.”<sup>43</sup> He decided upon the study of medicine. Religion, however, remained important to him, despite the negative experiences with his father. To apply to them Jung’s reflections in his maturity on a generally one-sided development, “our advance has been much too rapid for the real man, which is why we have become lopsidedly intellectualistic and rationalistic. . . . Hence we see on all sides a mystic emotionality flaring up.”<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Jung: *MDR*, p. 91.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96. C. G. Jung: *Word and Image* (ed. Aniela Jaffé), Bollingen Series XCVII:2, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1979, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> Jung: *MDR*, pp. 94ff.

<sup>38</sup> Jung to Walter Bernet, 13 June 1955, in C. G. Jung, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 1951–1961, p. 257. His father died in 1896. See: C. G. Jung, *Letters*, 2 vols., eds. Gerhard Adler with Aniela Jaffé. Bollingen Series XCV 1–2, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1972, 1975.

<sup>39</sup> On the “Mother Complex” see Jung to Rev. Dorothee Hoch, 28 May 1952, C. G. Jung, *Letters*, vol. 2, p. 65. See also: C. G. Jung: *Word and Image* (ed. Aniela Jaffé), p. 16

<sup>40</sup> Jung: *MDR*, p. 93. See Sonu Shamdasani, Introduction to *The Red Book*, p. 196.

<sup>41</sup> Jung: *MDR*, p. 45.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

<sup>43</sup> Jung to Victor White, 5 October 1945, in *The Jung-White Letters*, eds. Ann Conrad Lammers and Adrian Cunningham. Philemon Series, New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Jung to Albert Oppenheimer, 10 October 1933, C. G. Jung: *Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 128–129.

The *anima naturaliter religiosa* was a lifelong preoccupation of Jung's.<sup>45</sup> "Only the wise are ethical from sheer intellectual presumption, the rest of us need the eternal truth of myth," he wrote to Freud in 1910.<sup>46</sup>

As a medical student Jung joined the *Zofingia* student association and spent many happy hours there. *Zofingia* member Albert Oeri, whom he had known since childhood, became a close lifelong friend.<sup>47</sup> And here, in the *Zofingia*, the student Jung gave a series of extraordinary lectures on philosophical, psychological, literary, but especially religious themes.<sup>48</sup> He boldly juggled the teachings of Darwin, Socrates, Plato, Kant, Schopenhauer, von Hartmann, and Nietzsche with the works of Schiller and Goethe, the mysticism of Jakob Boehme,<sup>49</sup> and the theology of Albrecht

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<sup>45</sup> Anima naturaliter religiosa = the naturally religious soul. Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 17,6: "O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae [What a testimony of the naturally Christian soul!] Jung studied the Church fathers intensively. See Aniela Jaffé, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*. New and Expanded Edition, trans. R. F. C. Hull, and Murray Stein, p. 59.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Jung to Freud, 11 February 1910: "Yet what infinite rapture and wantonness lie dormant in our religion, waiting to be led back to their true destination!" *The Freud/Jung Letters*, ed. William McGuire. London: Penguin, 1974, pp. 175–176

<sup>47</sup> Albert Oeri (1875–1950), chief editor of the *Basler Nachrichten* and National Council. Oeri was a committed opponent of National Socialism and worked hard in support of refugees. He often published articles by Adolf Keller, who held similar views. See below: I, 3b) p. 71. In his article on the occasion of Jung's 60th birthday entitled *Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen* in: *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Komplexen Psychologie* (Ed. Psychologischer Club Zurich), Berlin: Julius Springer, 1935, pp. 524–528, Oeri writes: "In his mid-boyhood we visited the Jung family in the Kleinhüningen vicarage some Sunday afternoons. . . . Carl spontaneously befriended me on the very first visit because he thought me no 'gentleman's lad.'" Oeri and Jung were distant cousins. According to Oeri, even at grammar school Jung had "a lot going on in his head," but mathematically he was "an idiot." (p. 524f.). Jung himself confesses that he felt a "downright fear of the mathematics class," Jung *MDR*, 29. Cf., above I,1a) Oeri's daughter Marianne was Jung's goddaughter, and Jung's daughter Gret was Oeri's goddaughter.

<sup>48</sup> Jung, *The Zofingia Lectures 1896–1899*, tr. Jan van Heurck, introd. Marie-Louise von Franz. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983. In *Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen*, Oeri writes, "Carl—or 'steam-roller' as his old friends still call him—this being his old services name—was an exceedingly joyful member of the *Zofingia* student association" (ibid. p. 526). The minutes of the *Zofingia* note, "steam-roller" for whom the spiritual had gone to his head, proposed that we debate unresolved philosophical questions." This was "reasonable," but "steam-roller" mouthed on endlessly. According to Oeri, "steam-roller" often managed to intellectually dominate the unruly group of fifty or sixty students from every faculty and to magically transport them into speculative areas which were for by far the majority of us a foreign wonderland. When I took notes on his lecture 'Some Thoughts on Psychology,' I could have tabled thirty votes in the discussion" (ibid., p. 527).

<sup>49</sup> Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), a shoemaker and self-taught theologian and philosopher, who studied alchemy, astrology, the Kabbalah, and called himself the "philosopher of the simple," experienced visions. For him, God consists of both love and wrath, and thus creation is correspondingly good and evil. Jung: "The visionary genius of Jakob Böhme

Ritschl.<sup>50</sup> He commented himself: “People have every right to feel surprised to see a medical student abandon his craft during his clinical training to speak about theological issues.”<sup>51</sup> He knew he was not winning any plaudits by doing so, but felt he had to do it because he hated error, because he wished to stand up for the truth.

It was his impression that one system or theory after another, whether in physics, chemistry, or biology, was beginning to falter:<sup>52</sup> “Science has not actually explained anything.”<sup>53</sup>

Physiologists are struggling to explain life in terms of natural laws. . . . They try desperately to force life into the system of natural laws, when life contradicts every law of nature. . . . The vital principle extends far beyond our consciousness. . . . Or as Schopenhauer says: “Consciousness is the object of a transcendental idea.” . . . Let us boldly assign to this transcendental subject the name of *soul*.<sup>54</sup>

Jung abandoned the “consecrated ground of Kantian philosophy,” and wished to find the forbidden “gates that bar our entrance into ‘the realm of darkness’”—a phrase that would make people pay attention.<sup>55</sup> He came to the view that “The new empirical psychology furnishes us with data ideally designed to expand our knowledge of organic life and to deepen our views of the world.”<sup>56</sup>

Jung sensed that the dilemma of man in the period before the First World War lay in no longer being able to derive any meaning from the rationality that had prevailed since the Enlightenment. In this he was like Henri Bergson. The novelists James Joyce, Robert Musil, and Marcel Proust followed a similar line, albeit several years later. In his search for

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recognized the paradoxical nature of the God-image and thus contributed to the further development of the myth. The mandala symbol sketched by Böhme is a representation of the split God, for the inner circle is divided into two semicircles placed back to back” (Jung, *MDR*, 333–334). Cf. the paradoxical nature of Yahweh in Jung’s *Answer to Job*, in letter 42, and below II “On the Letters” p. 91ff.).

<sup>50</sup> Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), leading Protestant theologian.

<sup>51</sup> Jung, “Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity,” in Jung: *The Zofingia Lectures*, para. 237.

<sup>52</sup> Jung, *Zofingia Lectures*, para. 43 (first lecture: November 1896).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 59.

<sup>54</sup> Jung, “Some Thoughts on Psychology,” in *Zofingia Lectures*, para. 96. On the “vital principle” see Henri Bergson’s *élan vital*, below I, 2b), p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 33. On Jung’s comparable motif of the “Night Sea Journey” see below I, 2c) p. 30, footnote 67.

<sup>56</sup> Jung, *ibid.*, para. 142.

new meaning and footholds, the medical student Jung placed his hope in empirical psychology.

In the Zofingia lectures, he severely criticized the theology of his time:

The theologians, the administrators of religion, have been shouting themselves hoarse for years trying to fight the demon of disbelief. . . . But the sermons we are hearing give us no clue as to who really has something special to tell us, for among the products of this [the 19th] century is an execrable jargon of the pulpit, the ‘language of Canaan,’ which is used to cover up anything which could possibly offend anyone. If we listen to certain sermons without any preconceived ideas we will soon find ourselves all agog with notions about grace and plans of salvation.”<sup>57</sup>

“[Indeed,] *deeds* are needed to wake up religion, miracles are needed, and men endowed with miraculous powers. Prophets, men sent by God! Never has a religion sprung from a dry theoretician or a gushy idealist. Religions are created by men who have demonstrated with deeds the reality of mystery and of the “extrasensory realm.”<sup>58</sup>

In the Middle Ages, the focal point of existence was located in the “inner life” of man; what counts today is unfortunately the external.<sup>59</sup>

In this critique Jung had in mind the traditional, orthodox theology of his father. However, he rejected even more critically “modern” theology such as he saw embodied in Albrecht Ritschl, one of the most renowned theologians of the nineteenth century. He claimed that if ethics are divorced from metaphysics, as Ritschl would have it, they have no ground to stand on: “If we view Christ as a human being, then it makes absolutely no sense to regard him as, in any way, a compelling model for our actions.”<sup>60</sup> Ritschl refutes the unmediated relationship with God and Christ, that is, “any illuministic or subjective knowledge, and consequently also rejects the *unio mystica*, that object on which all medieval mysticism was focused and which was also the concern of the Pietists.”<sup>61</sup> Jung had been fighting with all his might against this “Ritschlisiation,” which had

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. para. 138.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. [para 138] “On the “Prophet” see above I, 1a) p. 5 and below I, 3b), p. 70.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., para. 168.

<sup>60</sup> Jung: *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity*, *ibid.*, para. 251. Von Hartmann had already stated this.

<sup>61</sup> “This is the way Ritschl analyzes objects of a religious nature, above all the problem of the *unio mystica*, the direct relationship of a human being to God and Christ that is claimed by many so-called pietists.” *Ibid.*, para. 255.

opened up “the abyss of anti-Christian notions” underlying his language.<sup>62</sup> In the Ritschlist cosmic drama, “God, Christ, and man play a truly pathetic role. . . . Every pagan has his gods to whom he can cry out when he feels sorrowful and afraid. . . . But Ritschl’s Christian knows that his God exists only in church, school, and home. . . . And it is to this powerless God that a Christian is supposed to pray?”<sup>63</sup>

Much of what Jung later develops in his theories is already intimated in these lectures: the repudiation of rationalism, the critique of externalized religion, the emphasis on the value of the soul and thus on the religiosity of the Middle Ages and Pietism, the longing for *unio mystica*—and, as in Keller’s work, the longing for a prophet.<sup>64</sup> And like Keller, Jung chose to privilege subjective experience even from his student days. Both are closely aligned to Pietism in which a personal relationship with a powerful God is vital. Further, both were open to stimuli from philosophy, literature, and art. They both admired the historian and art historian Jacob Burckhardt. Keller had attended his final lectures at university, and at about the same time Jung had done the same while at *gymnasium*.<sup>65</sup> Both distinguished themselves early on through diverse interests and unconventional thinking.

Even in his youth Jung had encountered psychology as well as parapsychology. His mother was interested in acausal phenomena. She organized séances with one of Jung’s cousins acting as medium in which Jung often took part. Thus, for Jung “parapsychology was more than a subject for scientific research, experiment, and theory. His life was rich in personal experiences of spontaneous, acausal, or . . . paranormal phenomena.”<sup>66</sup> At the suggestion of Eugen Bleuler,<sup>67</sup> later his boss at the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich, he wrote his final medical dissertation on “The Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena.” This led him to study writings by Eduard von Hartmann, Sigmund Freud, William James,<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., para. 271.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., para. 278. This is largely consistent with Karl Barth’s critique of Ritschl and the concerns of dialectical theology. See below I, 3b.

<sup>64</sup> According to Susanne Heine, Jung oscillated between ontological and empirical statements: *Grundlagen der Religionspsychologie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005, p. 273 & p. 275.

<sup>65</sup> Jung mentions Burckhardt in *Symbols of Transformation*, CW 5, para. 45 (on Goethe’s *Faust*) and paras. 21 & 107 (on Petrarch & St. Augustine).

<sup>66</sup> Aniela Jaffé, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, new expanded ed. Trans. R. F. C. Hull & Murray Stein. Einsiedeln, Daimon, 1989, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939).

<sup>68</sup> Jung met William James during his trip to the United States with Freud in 1909.

and Theodor Flournoy, whom he visited several times in Geneva and describes thus: “Flournoy was far-sighted and saw things clearly. Through Freud’s influence I had acquired knowledge but came to no clarity about it [aber nicht geklärt]. Flournoy taught me how to stand back from the object. . . . Flournoy was a cultivated and distinguished personality, very well educated, intellectually balanced, and had a differentiated feeling for proportion. All of this was very good for me.”<sup>69</sup> Jung speaks of Flournoy as his “revered and fatherly friend.”<sup>70</sup> Keller was of the same mind.

As already mentioned, even as a student Jung believed that “without the psyche there would be neither knowledge nor insight.”<sup>71</sup> It made sense that he would set his sights on psychiatry, despite being a promising young internist.<sup>72</sup> In 1900 he became assistant doctor at the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich. “It was an entry into the monastery of the world,” says Jung in his *Memories*.<sup>73</sup> In the same year he read Freud’s *Interpretation of Dreams*, although he did not fully understand it. Soon he came to the conclusion that his colleagues were interested only in the description of symptoms, diagnosis, and statistics, but not in the mentally ill person.<sup>74</sup> For him, though, what mattered was the wholeness of being.<sup>75</sup> The Senior Doctor, Eugen Bleuler, sought to have a human relationship with the patients, creating a collegial atmosphere among the doctors and doing his best to support them. A lively pioneering spirit prevailed at the clinic. However, his colleague Ludwig Binswanger of Kreuzlingen said that it was Jung who really set the place alight. Ludwig was the son of Robert Binswanger, who also spent some time at the Burghölzli as a young psychiatrist. Jung “immersed himself more deeply than almost anyone before in an investigative therapeutic relationship with his most seriously ill patients.”<sup>76</sup> Thus, he achieved important discoveries very quickly, thanks to Bleuler and also to Freud, with whom he had a long conversation at their first meeting in Vienna in 1907.<sup>77</sup> It was Jung who introduced psychoanalysis to the Burghölzli, with some of the young doctors analyzing

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<sup>69</sup> C. G. Jung, *MDR*, Appendix, as from the 1971 German edition only, 379 (“aber nicht geklärt:” I saw but undiscerningly).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>71</sup> Jung, *MDR*, p.119.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114ff.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117: “In therapy the problem is always the whole person. . . . We must ask questions that challenge the whole personality.”

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73. See also Jung: *MDR*, p. 150.

each other. Jung also wrote his groundbreaking study on “dementia praecox” during this period.<sup>78</sup>

In 1907 The Freudian Society of Doctors was founded at the Burghölzli, which was renamed The Society for Freudian Research in 1908, perhaps because Keller’s student colleague Oskar Pfister and the theologian and pedagogue Paul Häberlin, leader of the Kreuzlingen teacher training institute, now also took part in the meetings.<sup>79</sup> Evidently, both of the non-psychiatrists had been introduced to the Society by Ludwig Binswanger.<sup>80</sup> Other members were the two young psychiatrists Alphons Maeder and Franz Riklin, as well as several women, including Bleuler’s wife and Jung’s wife Emma Jung-Rauschenbach. Bleuler was the Society’s president.

Jung ended his work at the clinic after personal and professional differences with Bleuler. Until then he had been living at the Burghölzli with his wife and children; at this point he moved into his new house in Kusnacht, where he set up a private practice. The patients whom he treated from then on were suffering largely from neurotic or depressive disorders. At this time Jung began to engage intensively with the mythology of different cultures, for he believed that psychoses could be treated only if one could understand their symbolism.<sup>81</sup> Thus he came to the revolutionary understanding that it was vital to differentiate between a “personal unconscious” acquired in the course of one’s life, and a “collective unconscious,” a piece of inherited psychic property. The relationship between the personal and collective unconscious occupied Jung throughout his entire life.

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<sup>78</sup> Jung, “The Psychology of Dementia praecox,” *New York Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 1909. Cf. Annatina Wieser, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>79</sup> Wieser, *ibid.*, p. 56ff.

<sup>80</sup> Häberlin was known to Binswanger from Kreuzlingen. Keller’s student friend Pfister had been minister at the Dominican church in Zurich since 1902. In 1905 and 1906 Binswanger lived with Pfister in the vicarage.

<sup>81</sup> Jung, *MDR*, p. 131.

## Index

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- act psychology, 249  
*Adagia* (Erasmus), 247n2  
Adler, Alfred, 17, 22  
aeon, 190n341, 197  
*Aion* (Jung), 101, 101n49, 104, 107, 165n213  
*American Christianity Today* (Keller), 93, 182  
American Federal Council of Churches, 66  
American Pragmatism, 7  
Analytical Psychology, 26, 143; compensation theory of, 270; counseling and, 278–80; foundations of, 250–52; hidden religion and, 259, 261; Jung's, 218n497, 231–33n590, 249–50, 268; meaning of, 254–55; propaganda for pragmatism and, 41–46; psychology of religion, 263; religion and, 256–58  
anathema, 148, 274  
anchorites, 119  
Anderson, Eugene A., 136n99, 136–37  
Anglican Church, 62, 267  
*anima naturaliter pagana*, 280  
*anima naturaliter religiosa* (naturally religious soul), 10, 10n45  
*Answer to Job* (Jung), 91n2, 92, 95, 101–4, 106–8, 110–12, 115, 181n292, 182n299, 220, 233, 233–34n604  
Antichrist, 119  
anti-Semitism/anti-Semite, 74, 75, 184n306  
apprentices of death, 92  
*aqua doctrinae*, 190n341  
Aquarius, 197, 197n375, 202, 209n444  
Aquinas, Thomas, 103n60, 199, 199n390  
Arendt, Hannah, 133n82  
Areopagus, 167  
Aries, 197, 197n373  
Aristotle, 45, 180  
Aryan unconscious, 74  
asceticism, 21  
assimilation, 190, 190n341, 191  
Association for Analytical Psychology (1914–1918), 30–36, 34n85, 39, 41, 46–47, 51, 54  
assumption of Mary, 164n209, 170n238, 178, 178n281  
astrological signs, 197, 209  
*Atlantic Journal* (periodical), 206, 206n427  
*Aufbau* (journal), 218, 218n498  
Augustine, 165n213, 201, 264, 264n29  
Austria, 136, 180  
automatisms, 28, 39, 152  
Bach, Johann Sebastian, 6, 28  
Bad Boll, 119n6, 179, 277n72  
Badrutt, Caspar, 145, 145n134, 149  
Bally, Gustav, 74  
Balthasar, Hans Urs von, 239n642  
Barth, Karl, *ix*, 4, 50, 72, 81, 85, 87, 96, 97, 110, 135, 136, 167, 169n234, 201n398, 222; Barthians, 274; dialectical theology of, 68–72, 98–100, 255–56, 261; on Heidelberg catechism, 138, 138–39n107  
Basel University, 4, 8  
Basilides, 265, 265n34  
Baudouin, Charles, 203, 203n409, 205  
Baumann-Jung, Gret, 209n445, 219n500  
Bellevue Sanatorium, 6  
Berdjajew, Nikolai, 121n17

- Bergson, Henri, 11, 26  
Bernet, Walter, *xin*8  
Bernhard (Prince consort of Dutch Queen Juliana), 224, 224n535–36  
Besson, Marius, 96  
Bible, 3–4, 79, 81, 107–8, 110–11, 114, 137, 165, 165n211, 167, 205n420, 271, 272, 274. *See also* New Testament; Old Testament  
Binswanger, Ludwig, 14, 15, 18, 19n15, 20, 24, 31  
Binswanger, Robert, 6, 14  
Bircher-Benner, Maximilian, 60  
*Blackfriars* (periodical), 202, 202n406, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 218  
black shadow, 239  
Bleuler, Eugen, 13, 14, 15, 17, 40  
Blumhardt, Christoph, Jr., 50n183, 277n72  
Blumhardt, Johann Christoph, 119, 119n6, 267, 277, 277n72  
Bodenschwingh, Friedrich von, 277, 277n71  
body, natural and spiritual, 120–21n13  
Böhme, Jakob, 10, 10–11n49, 130, 152, 154, 166n220  
Bollingen, 132, 147, 171; conversation in, 101, 174, 180; tower in, 57, 93, 100, 128n55, 213n461; vacation in, 95  
Bollingen Foundation, 111, 213n461, 233  
Bollingen Press, 197n369, 226  
Bolshevism, 73  
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, 72  
Bossey Ecumenical Institute, *x*  
boundary problems, 18, 42, 167, 261, 269, 271  
Bovet, Ernest, 16  
Brandt, Lewis Wolfgang, 243, 243n664, 244, 244n673  
Brunner, Emil, 85, 87n139, 96, 127, 127n51, 151, 187n325, 222, 274  
Brunnerians, 274  
Buber, Martin, 50, 183, 183n304  
Buchman, Frank, 61, 277, 277n73  
Buchman's Oxford Movement, 79  
Bultmann, Rudolf, 95, 96n26, 167  
Burckhardt, Carl J., 206, 206n430  
Burckhardt, Jacob, 13  
Cabot, Godfrey Lowell, 137, 137n101  
Calvinists, 200  
Carmelites, 189, 189n339, 190, 198n384  
cathartic methods, 22  
Catholic Church, 35, 78, 79n85, 95, 164–65, 200, 210, 212; assumption of Mary, 164n209, 170n238, 178, 178n281; theology of, 103  
Catholicism, 159, 181n292, 184n310, 201n398  
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 125n37  
C. G. Jung Institute, 187, 187n324–25, 192n348, 212n455, 225  
*C. G. Jung Letters* (collection), 91  
Cheltenham Ladies College, 55  
Christian Anchorites, 119  
Christian dogma, 79, 95, 170, 170n241, 178, 178n281. *See also* dogmatics  
Christianity, 34, 36, 37, 43, 73, 98, 143, 151–52, 157, 162, 221, 266, 271; Antichrist in, 119; Catholic side of, 178–80; contemporary worldview of, 153–54; depth psychology and, 100, 114, 169; differentiations of, 273–76; idea of, 48; Keller's lecture on Gospel and, 51–54; psychology of, 154, 171  
Christian theology, 83, 160, 250, 253, 257, 260, 272  
*Church Dogmatics* (Barth), 110  
Churchill, Winston, 193, 193n350  
Claparède, Eduard, 7n24, 35  
clinical practice, 23  
cogito ergo sum, 7  
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 184, 184n310  
Collège d'Europe, 158, 173  
collective guilt, 131n81  
collective unconscious, 15, 18–19, 33, 42, 44, 57, 73, 140n115, 218n497, 223, 254, 260–63; concept of, *xin*7, 262; images of, 264–66; symbols of, 108; theory of, 140n115, 194n356, 218n497, 267–69; transcendence to, 44n146  
Communism, 73  
completely Other, 70, 71n33, 85, 100, 136–37, 137n103  
Complex Psychology, 26, 135, 143, 182, 187n325, 196; theology and, 221–23

- Confucius, 271, 271n49  
Conover Mellon, Mary, 125n38, 213, 213n461  
consciousness, 7, 11, 25, 28, 32–33, 167; collective, 44n146; experience of, 78; of God, 102, 112, 200, 203, 241; power that transcends, 100, 135, 248, 254, 262, 275; psychology of, 248; religious, 265, 272, 273; subjective reactions of, 98–99, 154, 160; theology of, 70; transcendence to, 44n146  
*consensus gentium*, 78  
conversation, preparation for, 150–52  
Corbin, Henry, 198, 198n382  
Corti, Walter Robert, 178, 178n279  
Coué method, 60  
cultural race, Jews, 74  
  
*Daily Mail* (newspaper), 207, 207n433  
*Daily News* (newspaper), 208, 208n440  
daimon, 144, 156; interpretation of, 160–61, 163  
daimonic, 164, 167, 224  
daimonie, 167, 271; of man, 279; of religion, 257, 266–70  
Darwin, Charles, 10  
Day of Repentance sermon, Keller, 37, 118, 118n2  
*Death in Venice* (Mann), 24  
deeds, 12  
dementia praecox, 15, 25  
demonic possession, 98, 99  
demons, 73, 75, 156–57, 161, 169, 257  
depth psychology, 54n201, 72, 100, 114, 169, 196, 211n453, 212, 217, 219, 225–27, 229, 240, 244, 250, 254, 257, 260, 271–73, 280; beginnings of, 226  
de Quervain, Paul Fredi, xi n8  
Descartes, René, 7, 27  
*descensus ad inferos*, 272, 272n53, 280  
Deus absconditus, 255, 255n16  
*Deutschen Merkur* (journal), 148  
Dewey, John, 7, 222  
dialectical theology, 76, 85–87, 255–56, 261; Barth's, 81, 98–100; Keller's turn to Barth's, 68–72  
dispossession, 151, 158, 160  
Disque Vert press, 198  
Dixi, 133, 133n83  
Docetism, 170, 170n246  
dogmatics, 28, 34, 80, 85, 94n19, 138n106, 165. *See also* Christian dogma  
*Dominican Studies* (journal), 204, 204n413  
Dostoevsky, Fyodor Mikhailovitch, 271, 271n46, 279  
dream(s), 164, 166–67, 171; competence as interpreter of, 161; initiation, 141, 141n119, 151, 184, 184n307; interpretation, 39, 151, 153, 154–55, 158–59; interpreter of, 156; outcome of phenomenon, 159  
Drewes, Hans-Anton, 169n234  
dualism, 103–4, 170n238  
Duhm, Bernhard, 4, 101, 205, 205n420  
Dulles, Allen Welsh, 92, 96, 97, 125, 125n37, 126, 126n41, 127  
Durckheim, Karl Friedrich Graf, 204  
durée créatrice, 28  
  
Eckhart, Meister, 195, 195n361  
Ecumenical Council of Churches, 67, 177n274  
ecumenical movement, 49, 66–68, 168n230, 210, 222, 226, 230, 230n577, 238  
Ecumenical Seminar, 67, 92  
ecumenism, 95  
Eddy, Mary Baker, 211n449  
Education Commission, 229  
Egyptian mythology, 19  
Einstein, Albert, 50, 133n82  
Eliasberg, Wladimir, 133, 133n81, 133n82  
Eliot, Thomas Stearns, 218  
emergence, stage of, 119  
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 210n449  
Emmanuel movement, 267, 267n41  
empirical psychology, 11–12  
empiricism, 64  
Enlightenment, 11  
eon, 197, 197n370  
Episcopal [Anglican] Church, 61–62

- The Epistle to the Romans* (Barth), 4, 69, 82, 115  
equality of women, 5  
Erasmus, 247n2  
esotericism, 120  
ETH (Federal Polytechnic University in Zurich), 0x  
Études Carmélitaines, 198  
Eucharist, 259  
Eucharistic controversy, 201n398, 276  
Europe Congress, 173  
Evans, Richard, 191n343  
Evans-Prichard, Edward, 191, 191n343  
evil, 103n60  
evil spirits, 157, 242. *See also* demons  
experimental psychology, 7–8, 249
- façon de parler, 23  
Falke, Konrad, 233, 233n602  
Fareed, Omar J., 211, 211n452, 212, 225  
Fareed-Holmes Foundation, 225  
Fascist Italy, 50  
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 66  
Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, x, 92  
Feuchtwanger, Lion, 133n82  
Fierz, Jürg, 138, 138n106, 139  
Fierz, Markus, 186n320  
Fierz-David, Linda Emma, 186, 186n320  
First World War, x, 11, 30, 32, 38, 66, 67  
Flournoy, Theodor, 7–8, 14, 19, 20, 35, 252  
Flüe, Niklaus von, 217  
Forel, August, 21  
Franz, Marie-Louise von, 105  
Frei, Gebhard, 187, 187n322  
Freud, Sigmund, x, 6, 7, 13, 17, 20, 22, 30, 56, 119, 243, 256, 261; Jung's split from, 16–22  
Freudian Society of Doctors, 15  
friendship, 65, 96, 104, 143, 156, 164, 183, 223; humanity and, 166; Jung and Keller, 113–14; Jung's, with men, 113–14; Keller and Jung, 99–100; Keller and Pfister, 20; renouncing, 163; World Brotherhood promoting, 183n304
- Fröbe-Kapteyn, Olga, 125n38  
Frobenius, Leo, 144n130  
*From India to the Planet Mars* (Flournoy), 204  
Frommel, Emil Wilhelm, 277, 277n74
- Gächelstone, 141, 143–44, 158  
Gandhi, Mahatma, 128, 128n58  
Garden of Pomegranates, 92  
Geibel, Emanuel, 258n22  
*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tönnies), 42  
German Christians, 274, 274n57  
German Reformed Church, 7  
Germany, 33, 67, 71, 72, 75, 97, 126n42, 133–34, 136, 189  
Gerster, Georg, 205n422  
Gestalt psychology, 249  
Giordano, Ralph, 133n82  
Gnosticism, 170, 188n327, 193, 254, 265  
God, 34, 39; completely Other, 70, 85; concept of, 36; existence of, 80; man's behavior and, 83  
*God and the Unconscious* (White), 95  
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, 10, 28n54, 162  
Görres, Albert, 104n64  
grandiose delusions, 266, 268–69  
Greek Orthodox Church, 6, 168  
Guild of Pastoral Psychology, 219, 219n505, 222, 230  
Gut, Walter, 31n74, 136n98
- Häberlin, Paul, 15  
*Habitus*, 155  
Haendler, Otto, *xin*8, 77n72, 84, 113, 214  
Hamann, Johann Georg, 29  
Hannon, Stuart, 188, 188n332, 189  
Harnack, Adolf von, 3, 170n241, 188, 188n327, 237n630  
*Harper's Magazine* (journal), 206, 206n427  
Hartmann, Eduard von, 6n20, 7, 10, 13  
Heidelberg Catechism, 100; Barth on, 138, 138–39n107  
Heim, Karl, 275, 275n62

- Heine, Susanne, *xin*7, 13n64, 81n103  
HEKS, Swiss Church Aid organization, *x*  
Heraclitus, 271, 271n47  
Herostratus, 198, 198n379  
Hesse, Hermann, 50  
Heym, Stefan, 133n82  
Hitler, Adolf, 72, 74, 75, 154  
Hoche, Alfred, 33n82  
Hoerni, Ulrich, 65n295, 76n64, 97n30,  
106n79, 109n109, 180n290, 186n320,  
227n562, 243n667  
Holmes, Ernest Shurtleff, 211, 211n451,  
212, 233  
Holy Ghost, 80n95, 83, 126n45; doctrine  
of paraclete, 126, 126n45  
Holy Spirit, 94, 113, 126, 180, 181n292,  
184, 256, 268  
*homo religious*, psychology of, 78  
homosexual/homosexuality, 24, 148,  
148n147  
hopeless solipsism, 71  
Hornaday, William H. D., 211, 211n453,  
216, 217, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227, 228,  
229, 231, 231–32n590, 240–41, 245,  
245n681  
horoscope, 209, 209n444  
Huch, Ricarda, 272, 272n52  
humanitarian engagement, Keller's, 66–68  
humanity, *ix*, 6, 44, 52, 62n279, 96n28,  
147, 151, 162–63, 166, 207, 238;  
ancient, 29, 35; knowledge of, 38;  
ordinary, 145; religious consciousness  
of, 273; religious life-cycle of, 263–64;  
thoughts and energy of, 51  
Hume, David, 45  
humility, 81, 130, 159, 162, 206, 251,  
269, 273  
Hurwitz, Siegmund, 184, 184n305  
Hu-Shih, 214, 214n471  
Huxley, Aldous, 183, 183n301, 204  
hydrogen bomb, 198, 198n376  
*I Ching* (Wilhelm), 50, 168, 168n233,  
214, 216, 265  
ichthys, 259, 259n23  
*The Idea of the Holy* (Otto), 42, 71  
identity crisis, Tina Keller, 123n32  
I-function, 42  
Ignatian exercises, 147, 147n141  
Ignatius of Loyola, 147n141  
*Imago* (periodical), 21  
incarnatio Dei, 172  
incestuous desires, 23  
individualism, 29  
individuation, 30, 33–34, 58, 68, 81,  
261–62, 269, 278; Christian-shaped,  
38; healing effect of, 115; as hopeless  
solipsism, 71; of Jesus, 51–54; meaning  
of life and, 83; understanding human  
nature and, 210–12  
inequality, 96, 209n444  
initiation dream, 141, 141n119, 151, 184,  
184n307  
*in partibus infidelium* (in lands of the  
unbelievers), 20, 20n19  
Institoris, Henricus, 267n39  
Institute of World Affairs, 196, 227  
intellectualism, 29  
Inter-Church Aid, 67, 92, 134, 134n84  
International General Medical Society for  
Psychotherapy, 74  
International PEN-Club, 196  
International Psychoanalytical Association  
(IPA), 17–18  
International Psychoanalytic Congress, 19,  
20, 31  
international relations, 133  
International Society, 74  
*Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud), 14  
introversion, stage of, 118  
intuition, 28–29, 46, 51, 146, 151, 153,  
210  
irrationalism, 28n54, 29  
Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich, 29  
Jacobi, Jolande, 218, 218n497  
Jaffé, Aniela, 63, 74–75, 82, 175n269,  
189  
James, William, 7, 13, 13n68, 19, 22, 45,  
46, 219, 219n504, 252  
Jaspers, Karl, 276, 276n67  
Jehle-Wildeberger, Marianne, 105

- Jesuits, 131  
Jesus Christ, 3, 8, 33, 39, 70, 81, 85, 176n261; individuation of, 51–54; psychological reality of, 52  
Jesus-Marie, Bruno de, 198, 198n384, 199  
Jewish difference, 74  
Jonathan Edwards College, 122  
Joyce, James, 11  
joyful affect, 159  
Jung, Carl G., *ix–xi*, 4, 41, 87, 108; (1875–1961), 8–15; birthday (70th), 132; birthday (80th), 183, 196, 205n422, 207, 209; Keller and, in Zurich, 64–65; Keller’s siding with, 16–22; letter on therapy, 36–37; Psychoanalytic Society and, 22–29; relationship with Keller, 113–14, 116; split from Freud, 16–22; start of correspondence with Keller, 81–87  
*Jung Codex*, 187, 187n324  
Jung-Rauschenbach, Emma, 15, 32, 46, 47  
justification by faith, 84
- Kaftan, Julius, 3, 5, 6  
Kant, Immanuel, 3, 10  
Kantian philosophy, 11  
Karl V., Kaiser, 206, 206n431  
Kassner, Rudolf, 145, 145n135, 149  
Keller, Adolf, *ix–xi*, 33, 47, 109; (1872–1963), 3–8; care after stroke, 113; Day of Repentance sermon, 37, 118, 118n2; dream in correspondence, 98–99; ecumenical and humanitarian engagement, 66–68; first stages of professional life, 6–8; initiation dream, 141, 141n119; Jung and, in Zurich, 64–65; lecture on Gospel and Christianity, 51–54; as pastoral psychologist, 37–41; propaganda for analytical psychology and pragmatism, 41–46; relationship between Jung and Keller’s wife, 54–64; relationship with Jung, 113–14, 116; religious socialization of, 4; siding with Jung, 16–22; start of correspondence with Jung, 81–87; suffering stroke in California, 63; turn to Barth’s dialectical theology, 68–72  
Keller, Doris (Sträuli), 5n14, 55n206, 64n291, 93n9  
Keller, Gottfried, 118n2  
Keller, Margrit, 65, 113  
Keller, Paul, 120n11, 242n655  
Keller, Pierre, 59, 124n35, 242n655  
Keller-Jenny, Tina, 5, 19, 33, 41n128, 47–49, 82, 93, 96n28, 113, 124n35, 120; early analysis of Jung, 54–64; humanitarian aid and husband, 67–68; identity crisis of, 123n32; religious development of, 60–64  
*Key of the Vatican*, 241  
Keyserling, Hermann Count, 120, 144–45n130, 144–46, 148–49, 150, 156, 161  
Kierkegaard, Søren, 271, 271n45  
Kirsch, James Isaac, 74n54, 112, 184, 184n306, 224, 227, 230  
Klepper, Jochen, 140n114  
Kluger-Schärf, Riwkah, 232, 232n594, 233  
Köberle, Adolf, 222, 222n515  
Koran, *x*  
Kutter, Hermann, 29n61
- Laotze, 165, 271  
Lavater, Johann Caspar, 16n1  
Lavater room, 16  
“*Lectori Benevolo*”, 106–7  
Lehmann, H., 82  
*Les Clefs de St. Pierre* (Peyrefitte), 241n652, 242  
*Liber Novus (The Red Book)* (Jung), *x*, 30, 57, 58, 118n4  
libido, 22, 24, 25, 26; Bergson’s philosophy on, 27–29; concept of, 27; stage of, 118  
Lienert, Meinrad G., 127, 127n51  
Lincoln, Abraham, 195, 195n360  
Lippman, Walter, 127, 127n52  
Livingstone, David, 238, 238n636  
Locke, John, 45  
love, actually, 48  
Luce, Henry, 200, 200n397

- Luther, Martin, 53–54, 109n108, 162, 255, 272, 276, 279, 279n80  
Lutherans/Lutheranism, 115, 200, 201n398, 216, 277n73
- Maag, Victor, 110  
McCormick, Harold, 40–41, 46  
McCormick, Mathilde, 41  
McCormick, Muriel, 41  
McCormick-Rockefeller, Edith, 40, 46–48, 66  
Maeder, Alphonse, 15, 18, 22, 31, 84  
magical effect, 75  
Maier, Hans, 40  
malleus maleficarum, 267, 267n39  
Mann, Thomas, 24, 133n82, 183, 183n302  
Marcion, 188, 188n327  
Marcuse, Ludwig, 97, 216, 216n485  
Mariology, 95  
Marriage of the Lamb, 92  
Martin, Percival William, 218n496  
Massignon, Louis, 198, 198n383  
Meier, Carl Alfred, 192, 192n348  
*Mein Kampf* (Hitler), 74  
Melanchthon, Philipp, 163n204, 275, 275n63  
Mellon, Paul, 213, 213n461, 217  
*Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (Jung), 19  
Menander, 221n513  
Menninger, Charles, 225n543  
Menninger Foundation, 225n543  
Menninger Institute, 225  
Mensendieck, Otto, 22, 24, 31  
Methodism, 258  
Meyer, Adolf, 225, 225n544  
Meyer, Arnold, 187, 187n326  
Meyer, Karl, 127, 127n51  
Meyers, Conrad Ferdinand, 196n368  
Michelangelo, 28  
Miller, Frank, 19  
Moltzer, Maria, 32, 32n76, 56, 222  
monasticism, 53  
Monism, 179, 191, 191n344, 270  
Monod, Leopold, 277–78, 278n75  
Montanism, 170, 170n240  
mother complex, 9, 141n119  
Müller, Johannes, 278, 278n76  
Muralt, Alex von, 254, 254n12  
Muralt, Charlotte von, 38  
Musil, Robert, 11  
mutuality of aid, 67  
mysticism, 10, 12, 29, 43, 53, 69–70, 170, 184n305, 198n382, 251, 254, 262, 271, 275
- Nag Hammadi Codex I*, 187n324  
National Broadcasting Company, 226, 226n547  
National Christian Council, 182  
National Socialism, 10n47, 97, 115, 274n58; Jung and Keller's analysis of, 72–76  
natural theology, 98, 115, 151, 154–55, 159, 165n37, 167, 171, 172  
neurosis, 20, 23, 25, 31, 41, 44–45  
New Testament, 3, 34, 40, 104, 109, 109n107–8, 110n110, 165n211, 191n346, 197n370  
New Thought, 210, 210–11n449; religious movement, 112, 210, 212  
*The Nice American* (Sykes), 199  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 96, 96n26  
Niemöller, Martin, 82  
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 10, 42, 159, 200  
Nikolaus of Cusa, 104n62, 272n51  
*numinosum*, 78  
*NZZ (Neue Zürcher Zeitung)* (journal), 218, 218n497
- oath of allegiance, 74  
obedience, 98, 143n127, 253, 260  
Occidental Christian, 264, 270  
occult phenomena/occultism, 13, 267  
Oedipus myth, 20  
Oeri, Albert, 10, 10n47, 71  
Oeri, Marianne, 10n46  
Old Testament, 4, 34, 35, 92, 101, 110–11, 164, 168, 172, 181n292, 188n327, 205, 232n595, 262; Book of Job, 92, 100, 106, 108, 109, 111

- Ophoites, 265, 265n35  
*Opus 21* (Wylie), 192, 192n347  
*opus divinum*, 79  
Origen, 275, 275n64  
Orthodox Church, 168, 170  
Otto, Rudolf, 42, 71, 71n33, 78, 128n60, 137n103  
Oxford Movement, Buchman's, 79
- paganism, 98, 143, 152, 264  
paraclete, doctrine of, 126, 126n45  
particularism, 179  
pastoral care, 45–46, 84n133, 140;  
  corruptions of true, 278–80; idealistic  
  corruption of, 280–81; psychiatry and,  
  18; psychoanalysis in, 21–22; psychol-  
  ogy and, 39–40; spiritual direction and,  
  276–81  
Pastoral Guild of Psychology, 219,  
  219n505  
pastoral psychologist, Keller as, 37–41  
pastoral psychology, *xi*, 40, 44, 64, 219  
Paul Mellon Foundation, 215  
Perini, Elisa, 183n300, 215n475, 220,  
  220n508, 225n539, 234, 235n610,  
  235n616, 236, 239, 240, 243n663,  
  244n670  
persona, 228, 257–58, 278  
personal complex, 108  
personalism, 86, 140  
*petra scandali*, 147, 147n142  
Peyrefitte, Roger, 241, 241n652, 242  
Pfister, Oskar, *xi*, *xin*7, 5, 15, 17, 19,  
  19n15, 31, 39, 64; friendship with  
  Keller, 20–21  
Piaget, Jean, 7n24  
Pickwick Bookshop, 216, 216n484  
piece of solitude, 93  
Pietism, 13, 70  
Pisces, 197, 197n374, 202  
Pius XII (Pope), 96  
Plato, 10, 180  
possession, daimonic of religion, 266–70  
Post, Laurens van der, 199, 199n392, 200  
pragmatism, 7, 45, 64; propaganda for  
  analytical psychology and, 41–46  
Pribilla, Max, 96, 96n26  
Princeton Theological Seminary, 73  
*principium individuationis*, 32  
*privatio boni*, doctrine of, 104  
prophetic revelation, 273  
Protestantism, 35, 79, 95, 131, 164–65;  
  American, 204; German, 6, 274;  
  Protestant Church, 67, 72, 78, 95,  
  211n449; violent critique of, 167–68  
Proust, Marcel, 11  
Psalm 90, 195, 201, 224  
psyche, 7, 14, 80, 103, 262, 270, 274;  
  beyond the domain of, 70, 72; concept  
  of, 249, 251; dark of, 47; depth of, 30;  
  human, 3, 78, 110; libido as, 22, 26; as  
  revelation, 253; Tina's, 62  
psychiatry, 6, 14; pastoral care and, 18;  
  training institute for, 225n543  
psychic atavism, 39  
psychic powers, 253, 269  
psychic treatment, 21  
psychoanalysis, 14, 18, 21; in pastoral  
  care, 21–22; theology and, 34  
Psychoanalytic Society (1913–1914),  
  22–29, 31  
Psychological Club, 33, 50, 55, 59–60,  
  94, 99, 112, 138n106, 139, 186n319;  
  beginnings of, 46–50  
psychologism, 69, 252  
psychology: international relations, 131,  
  133; Jung and Keller's writing on  
  religion and, 76–81; pastoral care and,  
  39–40; psychologizing, 17, 160; of  
  religion, 7, 17, 101–2, 160, 166, 178,  
  249–50, 252, 257, 263, 271, 277;  
  theology and, 42, 43, 84, 115–16;  
  transference of, 39, 85, 162, 244, 250;  
  of the unconscious, 71, 223  
*Psychology and Alchemy* (Jung), 199  
*Psychology and Politics* (Jung), 227  
Psychology Club, 51, 54  
Psychology of Mass Movements, 49  
*Psychology of the Transference* (Jung), 85  
*The Psychology of the Unconscious*  
  (Jung), 41, 44, 45, 249  
psychotherapy, 21, 44, 119n6, 153, 159, 189  
Pythagoras of Samos, 165

- quaternity, 171–72; Christian concept of, 80, 138n106
- Quimby, Phineas Parkhurst, 210n449
- rabies theologorum, 274, 274n61, 275
- Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, 121n17
- Ragaz, Leonhard, 5n12, 29n61, 39, 43
- Rahner, Karl, 239n642
- Ramse: common property of, 159; god of spring, 158; settling down in, 160, 162–63; valley, 141
- Rauschenbach-Schenk, Bertha, 65n295, 121n15
- Reconstruction* (Keller), 96
- The Red Book* (Jung), x, 30, 57, 58, 118n4
- redeemed, 99
- redemption, 159, 209n444; experience of, 151n157, 153; self-, 113; theology of, 98–99, 115, 152, 153n167
- Reformation, 43, 53
- Reich, Jens, 133n82
- Reinhart, Werner, 93n12, 128n54
- religion: daimonie of, 257, 266–70; discovery of hidden, 258–61; images of collective unconscious and religious symbols, 264–66; Jung and Keller's writing on psychology and, 76–81; pastoral care and spiritual direction, 276–81; psychological reality of, 252–61; psychological types and differentiation of, 273–76; psychology of, 7, 17, 101–2, 160, 166, 178, 249–50, 252, 257, 263, 271, 277; religious polarity, 270–73; source of religious, 262–73; unmasking of, 255–58
- Religion and Revolution* (Keller), 73
- religiosity, 13, 81, 104n64, 167n223, 224, 254–55, 257–58, 260, 264
- religious knowledge, 98, 143
- religious socialism, 5n12, 119n6
- Repentance Day sermon, Keller, 37, 118, 118n2
- restlessness of life, 28
- revelation, 100n40, 165, 167, 269; of Christ, 86; Christian doctrine of, 73, 170, 269; Christian faith of, 73, 78; Christian theology of, 115, 137, 153n167, 159, 170–71, 253, 253–55; concept of prophetic, 273; Flourney and, 8; of hidden man, 258; mystery of, 86; phenomenon of private, 79n85; private, 79n85; theory of compensation and, 271
- revelation theology, 115, 153n167, 159, 171, 253–55
- Rhine valley, 98, 141, 143, 151–52
- Ribot, Théodule A., 252, 252n7
- Riklin, Franz, 15, 17, 18, 31
- Rilke, Rainer Maria, 128, 128n54
- Ritschl, Albrecht, 10–11, 12–13
- Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 41, 66, 67
- Rockefeller McCormick, Edith, 40–41
- Rosenthal, Hugo, 254, 254n13
- sadomasochism, 39
- salvation, 12, 35, 36, 44, 53, 73, 77, 84n129, 101, 130, 165, 179, 181n292, 278, 281
- sarcasm, 82, 102
- Satan, 103, 233, 239, 274; Schärf dissertation on form of, 232n595, 233; Yahweh-friendly, 200
- Saxer, Walter, 127, 127n51
- scandalon, 273
- Schär, Hans, *xin*8, 84, 101n48, 102, 175n268, 212, 212n455
- Scheler, Max, 144n130
- Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph, 152, 170, 178
- Schildmann, Wolfgang, *xin*7
- Schiller, Friedrich von, 10
- Schindler, Dietrich, 127, 127n51
- schizoid thinking type, 82
- schizophrenia, 25, 264
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 203, 203n411, 251, 251n6, 256
- Schmid, Marie-Jeanne, 91n2, 105, 122, 124, 175, 177
- scholasticism, 85
- Schoop, Trudi, 63
- Schopenhauer, Arthur, 10, 11, 26

- Schuhmacher, Joseph, 239n642  
Schumacher, Karl von, 148, 148n147  
Schweitzer, Albert, 6, 6n18, 140n114, 181n292, 203, 204n412, 213, 213n462, 215, 217, 234n606, 234–35, 237, 237n629–31, 238, 238n636–37  
science, 11, 84n133, 130, 165  
scientific enlightenment, 79  
Second World War, *xi*, 44, 50, 81, 142n120  
*Secret of the Golden Flower* (Wilhelm), 121, 121n14  
self-awareness, process of, 118–19  
self-harm, 39  
sexuality, 20–21, 69, 260  
sexual phenomenon, 256  
sexual trauma, 20  
Shamdasani, Sonu, 57, 58, 101n49, 105, 105n75, 178n276, 187n324, 195n363, 207n433, 227n562, 247n2, 268n42  
Sibylline Books, 197, 197n376  
Silberschmidt, Max, 127, 127n51  
sin, 53, 79, 80, 138n106, 139; concept of, 170; confession of, 81, 279; forgiveness of, 119n6, 147, 176n271; sexual, 119  
Sinclair, Upton, 191, 191–92n346, 194, 196, 197n369, 204n412, 205, 243  
Smith, Hélène, 8  
Society for Freudian Research, 15, 17  
Society of Jesus, 131, 131n74  
Socrates, 10, 45  
sola gratia, principle of, 84n129  
soul, 11, 176n271, 186–87, 205n422, 216, 232, 248–57, 259; collective, 264–65  
Soviet Union, 50  
*Spektrum Europas* (Keyserling), 144, 149  
Spitteler, Carl, 166, 166n219  
Stanley, Sir Henry Norton, 238, 238n636  
Stoicism, 43  
subconscious, 6, 6n20, 29  
subconsciousness, 76  
suicide, 5, 157  
Sulzer, Hans, 127, 127n51  
Swiss Church Aid, *x*  
Swiss Institute for Foreign Studies, 134  
Swiss Protestant Council of Churches (SEK), 68  
Swiss Society for Practical Psychology, 134, 134n85, 135  
Switzerland, 35, 41, 59, 63, 66, 73, 112, 125n37–38, 127, 136, 144–45n130, 149, 174, 178n279, 213n461, 217, 228n567, 234n606, 236, 236n620, 258  
Sykes, Gerald, 199, 199n391  
symbol(s): concept of, 46; of incest in mythology, 23; religious, 264–66  
symbolism, 15, 24, 236; Christian, 85; mythological, 35; of “quaternity,” 80; religious, 265; of the spirit, 138n106, 232  
*Symbols of Transformation* (Jung), 18, 22, 34  
synchronicity, 146, 146n139, 173  
Tagore, Rabindranath, 144n130  
tao, 190n341  
Tao concept, 214, 216, 253  
Taoism, 265, 272  
Tappolet, Walter, 140, 140n114  
Taurus, 197, 197n372  
Temple, William, 126, 126n44  
Terry Lectures, 77, 97, 101, 192n347, 214, 216–17, 226  
Tertullian, 255, 255n14, 275, 280  
Theologia naturalis, 265, 265n37  
theological mediators, 4  
theology: complex psychology and, 221–23; Jung on, 9–10; pastoral care and, 221; psychoanalysis and, 34; psychology and, 42, 43, 84, 115–16; of redemption, 99  
theory of compensation, 171, 223, 271  
*This Is My Faith* (Cole), 112, 112–13n121  
Thurneysen, Eduard, *xin*8, 84, 84n133  
Tillich, Paul, *xin*7, 95, 96n26  
*Time* (magazine), 195, 196, 197, 197m369, 200  
Tönnies, Ferdinand, 42  
Tournier, Paul, 176n261  
Toynbee, Arnold, 218  
transatlantic dialogue, 182, 233

- transcendence, 37, 44, 70, 100, 115, 171, 205n422, 209n444, 252–56, 275
- transference, psychology of, 39, 85, 162, 244, 250
- Transformations of the Symbols of the Libido* (Jung), 241
- trinity: concept of, 80, 80n95; devil in, 138n106, 170n238, 172, 172n253
- true dialectic, 115, 174
- Uhsadel, Walter, *xin*8, 140
- unconscious, 19, 21, 23–25, 58, 69, 78, 123n32, 165, 197; Aryan, 74; assaults of, 56–57; concept of, 6n20; confrontation with, 54, 62, 72; conscious, 42; depths of, 254, 262; discovery of, 8; experiences of, 114, 118n4, 205n422; Jung on, 30, 36; knowledge of, 250; mind, 7; moral perspective from, 32; personal, 15, 268; personality, 63; power of the devil, 52; principle of, 7; psychology of the, 71, 223; religion and, 259–60, 262–73; symbolism of quaternity, 80, 172.  
*See also* collective unconscious
- universalism, 179
- University of Zurich, *x*, 110, 134n86
- Uriah letters, 229, 229n575
- Valentinians, 265, 265n33
- Vinet, Alexandre, 279, 279n78
- Vishnu, 172
- vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit*, 77, 77n72, 195n358, 196n368, 247, 347n2
- water of baptism, 190n341
- Wegmann, Hans, 0*xin*7
- Weltwoche* (journal), 91n3, 138, 144, 148, 148n147, 149, 185, 205–6, 208
- Werfel, Franz, 133n82
- White, Victor, *xin*7, 94n19, 94–96, 101n48, 103–4, 109, 175n268, 192n347, 199, 199n387, 202–3n406, 218, 218n499
- Wildberger, Hans, 110
- Wilhelm, Richard, 50, 50n183, 121n14, 144n130
- wisdom school, 144n130
- Wissen und Leben* (journal), 16
- Wolff, Toni, 22, 31, 31n75, 32n77, 35, 46, 49, 57, 58, 59, 60, 186, 186n319
- women, equality of, 5
- Worcester, Elwood, 66, 267, 267n41
- World Brotherhood, 50, 115, 142n120, 183n304
- World Congress for Psychiatry, 142, 142n121
- World Congress of the Ecumenical Movement, 67
- World Council of Churches, *x*, 182
- Wotan, 76
- Wylie, Philip, 192, 192n347, 194, 234, 243
- Yahweh, 11n49, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108–9, 109n107, 161, 175n269, 181, 181n292, 200, 202n406, 241, 241n651
- Yale Review* (periodical), 206, 206n427
- Yale University, 75, 77–78, 80, 122
- Zacharias, Gerhard, 189, 189n334
- Zarathustra, 165, 165n216, 213n461
- Zeitwende* (newspaper), 150
- Zeller, Samuel Heinrich Ansgar, 278, 278n77
- Zen Buddhism, 204
- Zeus and Hera, 92
- Ziskind, Eugene, 240, 240n644, 241, 242, 243
- Zofingia student association, 10, 10n48, 12
- Zuckmayer, Carl, 133n82
- Zurich, Jung and Keller together in, 64–65
- Zurich Club, 240
- Zurich Group, 24, 26, 31n74
- Zurich Regional Group of IPA, 22
- Zurich school, 21
- Zweig, Stefan, 133n82