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One

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[1] 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,[2] 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."[3] 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.

[1] Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930).

[2] Julius Wilhelm Martin Kaftan (1848–1926), theology professor in Basel, located in Berlin from 1883.

[3] 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.[4] 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.[5] 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.[6] 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.[7] 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:[8] in his head he was a "pagan," in his heart a "Christian."[9] Although skeptical, he felt he resonated with the lectures of the moderately liberal Old Testament scholar Bernhard Duhm,[10] 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,[11] deplored the ongoing theological infighting, and

[4] See letters 24 and 26 below.

[5] 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.

[6] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*

[7] Jung similarly, see below I, 1b) footnote I, 55.

[8] See pp. 3–4, above.

[9] Keller, *Curriculum vitae*, 1896 (T30a, 16, national archive, Zurich).

[10] Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), see II "On the Letters," p. 101 and letter 59.

[11] 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.[12]

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."[13] The Keller's oldest daughter writes that her parents were genuine in their religion, not sanctimonious, "simply—real."[14]

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."[15] 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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[12] 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.

[13] 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.

[14] Doris Sträuli-Keller, *Erinnerungen—und jetzt*, typescript 2000, 2 (Sulzberg Institute archive, Winterthur).

[15] Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität. Psychoanalyserezeption 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:[16] 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.[17] 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[18] 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"[19] 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."[20] It

[16] 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.

[17] See Jung, re. *Answer to Job* in the correspondence, letter 42, and in II, "On the Letters," p. 92.

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

[19] 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.

[20] 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/Gottfried 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."[21] 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[22] 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[23]. 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.[24] In collaboration with William James, he established the psychology of religion.[25] James was one of the first to speak of the "unconscious mind," and along with John Dewey[26] he is considered the father of American Pragmatism.[27] Flournoy gave lectures lasting two hours on "experimental

[21] 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].

[22] See below, I, 1b) p. 13.

[23] Théodore Flournoy (1854–1929).

[24] 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."

[25] William James (1842–1910), American philosopher.

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

[27] 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.[28] On a smaller scale, he offered "special research and practical exercises in the experimental psychology laboratory," in which Keller also participated.[29] 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."[30]

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"[31] 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."[32] 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.[33]

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

[28] Cf. "Course Program of the University of Geneva," 1904–1907 (Archive of the University Library, Geneva).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Keller: *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 49f.

[31] Ibid., p. 49.

[32] Ibid., p. 54.

[33] 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."[34] Jung writes of "good parents."[35] 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."[36] While Jung experienced his father as kind and generous, he found his faith legalistic, unreflective, stifling, derivative, ultimately inauthentic.[37] "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."[38] He had a strong, if partly problematic, relationship with his mother; he once wrote of his "mother complex."[39]

"Theology had alienated my father and me from one another."[40] The church became a source of "torment" for the youthful Jung.[41] 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."[42] In retrospect Jung writes: "I began my career with repudiating everything that smelt of belief."[43] 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."[44]

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[34] Jung: *MDR*, p. 91.

[35] Ibid, p. 54.

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

[37] Jung: *MDR,* pp. 94ff.

[38] 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.

[39] 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

[40] Jung: *MDR*, p. 93. See Sonu Shamdasani, Introduction to *The Red Book,* p. 196.

[41] Jung: *MDR*, p. 45.

[42] Ibid., pp. 39–40.

[43] 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.

[44] Jung to Albert Oppenheimer, 10 October 1933, *C. G. Jung: Letters,* vol. I, pp. 128–129.

The *anima naturaliter religiosa* was a lifelong preoccupation of Jung's.[45] "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.[46]

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.[47] And here, in the *Zofingia,* the student Jung gave a series of extraordinary lectures on philosophical, psychological, literary, but especially religious themes.[48] 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,[49] and the theology of Albrecht

[45] 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.

[46] 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

[47] 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.

[48] 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).

[49] 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.[50] 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."[51] 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:[52] "Science has not actually explained anything."[53]

> 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*.[54]

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.[55] 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."[56]

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.).

[50] Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), leading Protestant theologian.

[51] Jung, "Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity," in Jung: *The Zofingia Lectures,* para. 237.

[52] Jung, *Zofingia Lectures,* para. 43 (first lecture: November 1896).

[53] Ibid., para. 59.

[54] 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.

[55] Ibid., para. 33. On Jung's comparable motif of the "Night Sea Journey" see below I, 2c) p. 30, footnote 67.

[56] 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."[57]

> "[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.[58]

In the Middle Ages, the focal point of existence was located in the "inner life" of man; what counts today is unfortunately the external.[59]

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."[60] 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."[61] Jung had been fighting with all his might against this "Ritschlisation," which had

[57] Ibid. para. 138.

[58] Ibid. [para 138] "On the "Prophet" see above I, 1a) p. 5 and below I, 3b), p. 70.

[59] Ibid., para. 168.

[60] Jung: *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity,* ibid., para. 251. Von Hartmann had already stated this.

[61] "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.[62] 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?"[63]

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.[64] 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*.[65] 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."[66] At the suggestion of Eugen Bleuler,[67] 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,[68]

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[62] Ibid., para. 271.

[63] Ibid., para. 278. This is largely consistent with Karl Barth's critique of Ritschl and the concerns of dialectical theology. See below I, 3b.

[64] According to Susanne Heine, Jung oscillated between ontological and empirical statements: *Grundlagen der Religionspsychologie*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005, p. 273 & p. 275.

[65] Jung mentions Burckhardt in *Symbols of Transformation*, CW 5, para. 45 (on Goethe's *Faust*) and paras. 21 & 107 (on Petrarch & St. Augustine).

[66] 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.

[67] Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939).

[68] 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."[69] Jung speaks of Flournoy as his "revered and fatherly friend."[70] 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."[71] It made sense that he would set his sights on psychiatry, despite being a promising young internist.[72] 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*.[73] 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.[74] For him, though, what mattered was the wholeness of being.[75] 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."[76] 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.[77] It was Jung who introduced psychoanalysis to the Burghölzli, with some of the young doctors analyzing

[69] C. G. Jung, *MDR*, Appendix, as from the 1971 German edition only, 379 ("aber nicht geklärt:" I saw but undiscerningly).

[70] Ibid., p. 162.

[71] Jung, *MDR*. p.119.

[72] Ibid., p. 107.

[73] Ibid., p. 112.

[74] Ibid., p. 114ff.

[75] Ibid., p. 117: "In therapy the problem is always the whole person. . . . We must ask questions that challenge the whole personality."

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 73. See also Jung: *MDR*, p. 150.

each other. Jung also wrote his groundbreaking study on "dementia praecox" during this period.[78]

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.[79] Evidently, both of the non-psychiatrists had been introduced to the Society by Ludwig Binswanger.[80] 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.[81] 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.

[78] Jung, "The Psychology of Dementia praecox," *New York Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 1909. Cf. Annatina Wieser, Ibid., p. 47.

[79] Wieser, ibid., p. 56ff.

[80] 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.

[81] Jung, *MDR*, p. 131.

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