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I

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STAGES OF WOMAN'S DEVELOPMENT

In *The Origins and History of Consciousness*¹ we traced the development of the archetypal stages that lead to the formation of consciousness and of an ego that we designate "patriarchal," for the bearers of this predominantly occidental development are men with their characteristic values.

Although development of consciousness in a patriarchal direction is also necessary for the modern woman, her development follows an essentially different course. The normal development of the Western woman, as well as the psychological premises of her neuroses, form the empirical basis for the outline that we will attempt to present here.

The first stage of female as well as of male development is that of a psychic unity characterized by the symbol of the uroboros, the serpent forming a closed circle, the tail-eater. We prefer this symbol over the concept of the unconscious because the vitality and dynamic opposi-

"Die psychologischen Stadien der weiblichen Entwicklung," *Zur Psychologie des Weiblichen*. (See the editorial note, above.) Translated by Boris Matthews.

1. Original: *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (Zurich, 1949).

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tion of the processes are visible in it, qualities not conveyed by the notion of the unconscious.

In the original psychic situation a fusion or, better, a non-separation of the ego and the unconscious prevails. Here we are confronted with a pre-ego stage of the psyche that stands phylogenetically and ontogenetically at the beginning of the development of every individual consciousness. In this stage the ego of the female, like the ego of the male, relates to the unconscious as to a mother whose superiority is so great that we cannot yet speak of a separation between mother and child, unconscious and ego. To a certain extent the child is still unborn and contained in the maternal uroboros. Individually this situation is expressed in the child's lack of separation from the mother, just as it is exemplified collectively by the individual's containment in the supra-personal, maternally protective power of the group, the clan, or the family that to a great degree determines what the individual does or does not do.

Initially the unconscious appears as the good mother—that is, the child's primal relationship to her carries a positive accent, for the dependent, infantile ego is protected and nourished by the maternal unconscious. By "primal relation to the mother" we mean the totality of the infant's or small child's relationships with its mother before it has developed a delimited personality with an ego-centered consciousness. More transpersonal than personal factors are operative in the primal relationship since the child is subject to a preponderance of transpersonal, archetypal forces.

Archetypally the primal relationship—i.e., the total dependency of the ego and of the individual on the un-

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conscious and on the group—is experienced in projection on the mother who, despite her individuality, impresses the infant and the small child as the maternal uroboros and Great Mother.² The daughter's primal relationship to the mother differs fundamentally from that of the son, and understanding this difference makes an essential contribution to understanding the discrepancy between the psychology of women and of men.

If we say that, following a decisive point in his development, the male child experiences the mother as a “dis-similar thou” different from himself while the girl child experiences mother as a “similar thou” and not different, a question arises: In what sense do we mean this, and how is this sort of “difference” possible, since the infant cannot initially be aware—and indeed, as we know, is *not* aware—of any sexual differences?

The embryonic as well as the infantile relationship of the child to the mother is the prototype of all primary relationships. In this sense the primal relationship actually “originates” from the mother; that is, it is informed by the mother archetype, the psychic prototype of the maternal element living in the human psyche. However, this is not to say that the child's psychic reaction *arises* due to the effects of the primal relationship with the personal mother in the sense that, for example, psychoanalysis assumes the individual's unique personal experiences to be the cause of later developments. The embryonic and infantile relationship to the mother is the prototype of every instance of *participation mystique*, and the ego's

2. That we are dealing with a projection can be seen from the fact that even if another person—or even animal—takes the mother's place, it can assume the role of the projection carrier.

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“containment in the uroboros”³ is merely descriptive of this fact.

In the history of humankind the differentiation of man and woman belongs among the earliest and most impressive projections of opposites, and early humankind took the male and the female as the prototype of opposites in general. For this reason every archetypal opposition easily assumes the symbolism of the Masculine and the Feminine, and hence the opposition of conscious and unconscious is experienced in terms of this symbol, the Masculine identified with consciousness and the Feminine with the unconscious. This symbolic opposition is by no means limited to the secondary phenomena of anima and animus⁴ but arises from the original containment in the uroboros, the birthplace of “masculine” consciousness and the “maternal” unconscious. The objectivity of consciousness develops out of the non-differentiation of the unconscious in the course of human history through a symbolic “separation” of the Masculine from the Feminine. The male child experiences this principle of opposition between Masculine and Feminine within the primal relationship to the mother, a relationship that must be surrendered if the male child is to come into his own and find his identity as a male.

The totality of the psyche, the center of which is the Self, exists in a relationship of identity with the body, the vehicle of the psychic processes. The physical changes from infant to boy, youth, man, and graybeard are also accompanied by psychic changes that differ greatly from

3. Neumann, *Origins and History*.

4. See Jung, “The Relations,” pars. 296ff. [See above, pp. xiiif. Abbreviated References.]

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the corresponding changes in the development of woman. Hence between the sexes we must assume a biospsychic difference that is manifested in archetypal and symbolic ways, even if it cannot be expressed in any strict characterological categories. Therefore the Self as the totality of the personality rightly carries secondary sexual characteristics, and both body and psyche are closely connected in their dependence on hormones.⁵

Even when, in pre-patriarchal societies, the male children long remain with the women's groups and are shaped by their *participation mystique*, the experience of dissimilarity is a given from the very beginning, or at any rate from the point at which they perceive differences between the sexes. But how and under which cultural conditions the Masculine-Feminine principle of opposites is manifested is unimportant. Nor does it matter that this difference has been wrongly interpreted and has led to incorrect conclusions owing to culturally conditioned patriarchal prejudices.

Since the male experiences the primal situation—identity with the mother, the Feminine other—as identity with a non-Self, it is only in a later phase of development that Self-discovery as a male⁶ is attainable, standing as it does in opposition to the primal relationship. Only the achievement of detachment from the primal relationship and an objective attitude toward it leads to male Self-discovery and stability. When this is not achieved, the

5. That this law is invalid at the beginning of the development of individuation need not concern us here.

6. This Self-discovery must not be confused with the Self-discovery of individuality in the second half of life. Initially it appears to be ego-discovery, but is the first stage of finding one-Self, which, in woman's individuation, we call attaining one-Self.

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male remains entrapped and castrated in uroboric and matriarchal incest,⁷ that is, he is inauthentic and estranged from himself. Elsewhere we have described this fundamental situation and the development arising out of it as depicted in myths where the first stages of the development of consciousness were interpreted as essentially the liberation of the Masculine from the Feminine, of the son from the mother.

It is a fundamental male experience that the primal relationship, the identification with a thou, turns out to be "false." The lasting effects of this experience appear in the male's tendency toward objectivity with the confrontation this necessitates, in his tendency to relate only from the distant, conscious world of logos, and in his unwillingness to identify unconsciously with a thou. This leads to the male's greater degree of isolation but equally to the intensified formation and solidity of ego and consciousness, all in a certain opposition to female psychology. As fear of relationship, this fundamental experience lurks in the background of many neuroses in men.

Since male Self-discovery is bound by its very nature to the development of consciousness and to the separation of conscious and unconscious systems, ego and consciousness always appear symbolized archetypally as masculine. This means that the male identifies his ego with consciousness and with his archetypally masculine role, and identifies himself with the development of consciousness in the course of human history. Individually he lives out the archetypal character of the hero and experiences his

7. *Origins and History.*

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Self only in his victorious battle with the dragon, i.e., the natural side of the unconscious that confronts him in the form of the primal relationship.

But for the woman the primary relationship has a completely different significance and effect. When the child—whether female or male—becomes conscious of the principle of Masculine-Feminine opposition in whatever form it appears, the primal relationship to the mother is relatedness itself. But for the girl all the complications that lie in the boy's experience of being different vanish. Even when she "comes into her own" as woman, identity with her mother in the primal relationship can continue to exist to a great extent, and her Self-discovery is primary since Self-discovery and primal relationship, in the case of the girl child, can coincide.

This means that a woman can continue in the primal relationship, expand in it, and come into her own without having to leave the circle of the maternal uroboros and the Great Mother. In so far as she remains in this realm she is, to be sure, childish and immature from the point of view of conscious development, but she is not estranged from herself. While a man in a similar situation is "castrated," i.e., robbed of his authentic being, the woman merely remains fixated, held fast in an immature form of her authentic being. Again and again we find that, even in the midst of an occidental, patriarchal culture, a woman can flourish as a natural whole in this psychologically undeveloped form—that is, without a corresponding development of consciousness—that would have caused a man long since to fail in society and to become neurotic. This basic situation in which Self-discovery and the primal

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relationship correspond gives women the advantage of a natural wholeness and completeness from the beginning that men lack.

The mother-child relationship is that of mutual identification, and the fact that Self-discovery (in which woman experiences herself as female) coincides with the primal relationship (in which she experiences mother as female) leads to a primary reinforcement of all those relationships that come into being through identification. This also contrasts with the experience of the male, who fundamentally prefers a form of relatedness based on juxtaposition.

While relatedness in opposition or juxtaposition is a culturally shaped, individual form of relatedness, the woman's natural ways of relating through identification derive from the blood bond of pregnancy, that is, from the primal relationship to mother with whom this relationship originates. For this reason the longing for relationships of identity accompanies a woman throughout her life and informs her tendency to create a similar situation again. But only as a grown woman, when she experiences pregnancy and becomes the bearer of the primal relationship for her child, does the matriarchally inclined woman's longing find fulfillment; then her ego, as subject, experiences the containment of the child and identity with it.

The symbolic relationship of Demeter and Kore, whose mythological significance Jung and Kerényi⁸ have elucidated, characterizes the phase of Self-conservation

8. C. G. Jung and C. Kerényi, *Essays on a Science of Mythology*. (B.S. XXII, 1949.) [Orig. 1941. Jung's essays are republished in CW 9.i.]

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in which the female ego remains bound to the maternal unconscious and the Self. The importance of this mythologem for woman's psychology lies in this: here we find a matriarchal psychology that specifically determines the relationship of woman to the Feminine as well as to the Masculine. The effects of this sort of archetypally directed phase are almost always demonstrable in corresponding sociological constellations, while at the same time they rule the unconscious behavior of the individual woman. Consequently in our context it is of no importance to delimit the extent to which the psychological conditions affect the social situation or, vice versa, how far collective social conditions affect the psyche of the individual woman.

It is typical for the phase of Self-conservation that psychologically and often sociologically the woman remains in the women's group—the mother clan—and maintains her continuity “upward” in relationship to the group of mothers and “downward” to the group of daughters. Her solidarity with the proximity to women and the Feminine coincide with her segregation and sense of alienation from men and the Masculine.

The exogamous brother, with whom contact is strictly hindered by taboos from early on, assumes the role of spiritual authority and masculine leadership, even if, as in the exogamous clan, he lives elsewhere. On the other hand, the husband from the alien clan, with whom there is a sexual relationship, remains a foreigner in the women's group and is largely without rights or powers. The alien status of this man is often evidenced by the secrecy of his visits to his wife. The mother-in-law taboo—that is, the husband's anxious avoidance of his

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wife's mother—points in the same direction. This taboo is characteristic for the alienation, indeed the hostility, prevailing between males and females in this phase. For, psychologically speaking, the essence of the phase of Self-conservation lies in this: the dominance of the maternal element prevents any individual and complete meeting between man and woman, Masculine and Feminine. A part of this is, or is identical with, the woman's experience of the male and of the Masculine as a hostile subjugator and robber.

The phase of Self-conservation of the Feminine can last a long time since it makes healthy human existence possible for woman and for the group. While this phase is to be regarded as positive in terms of preserving life, it has a negative effect when related to the development of consciousness, which is hindered by the arresting power of the unconscious. From this angle, the Great Mother appears as terrifying and devouring, not only as good and protective.

In terms of woman's development, of course, the possibility that the phase of Self-conservation may last a long time does not mean that woman has not already come to terms with the Masculine and with the men with whom she has lived in the most intimate association from the beginning.

The fact that a "modern" married woman who has children and does not necessarily appear neurotic can live in the phase of Self-conservation means that, undisturbed by any conscious *Auseinandersetzung*, she exists in a state of unawareness about life and about living with another person. In this phase everything appears to her "obvious and natural," which often enough indicates that she is

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filled with her own unconscious notions about the character of the Masculine and of her own husband without her having experienced, as an ego and an individual, the Masculine in general and her husband in particular. For woman, however, the significance of the Masculine far transcends her relationship to her male partner, and a woman whose development is arrested in the phase of Self-conservation is, generally speaking, an incomplete person even if she does not become neurotic. The outer and the inner relationship to the Masculine—that is, to the external man and to the masculine principle at work within her—constitutes part of her wholeness just as a relationship to the outer and inner Feminine does for the man.

Apart from its significance in her own psychological development, a woman's persistence in the phase of Self-conservation also has negative consequences for her family. For the "phases" are not abstract phantoms of an historical past but rather images of unconscious constellations that are operative now as in earlier times, and necessary for the development of personality. Thus, for example, the matriarchal psychology of the maternal clan can still be dominant in an occidental, patriarchal marriage, and the mother-in-law taboo that still betrays its vitality in countless mother-in-law jokes can express the fact that the wife's mother still dominates her and her entire patriarchal-appearing family.

The negative significance of this phase finds expression in a number of marital disturbances or generally in disturbances in the woman's relationship to the Masculine. The alienation from men or hostility toward men prevailing in her often makes an inner relationship to a

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man impossible and thus becomes a source of frigidity, among other troubles.

Restriction of a woman's interest to her children, who are regarded as the proper meaning of marriage, belongs in the same category. Children's neurotic illnesses arising through this constellation can disappear in the early stages if the mother becomes normal.

But woman's psychology in this phase can also be determined by a relationship to man that is only sexual. This has its prototype in the emphasis on the phallic male found in the matriarchy and in the attendant "Amazon" psychology. While the purely phallic, unrelated, lustful character of sexuality predominates, myth relates that the Amazons used men only for begetting children. In these constellations women preserve the unity of the Amazonian women's group while they relate to the Masculine and to the man as toward something alien, in part hostile, in part "wholly other."

Among the negative effects of this phase we also find a situation in which the woman experiences herself masochistically as sufferer, and consequently she reduces the Masculine and men to the level of mere sadists. Quite often the archetypal constellation of the matriarchy lies behind this sort of "perversion," which, in a more general sense, is characteristic of a great number of women. But precisely this "masochistic" feature becomes understandable only in terms of the next stage of woman's development, which we designate the "invasion of the patriarchal uroboros."

At this level the original, uroboric situation still prevails. But the accentuation of the masculine-patriarchal element in the term "patriarchal" uroboros is intended to

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point out that here it is a question of a development in the direction of the patriarchy. Now the uroboric situation will be overcome and the archetype of the Great Father emerges. In the matriarchy—that is, under the hegemony of the Great Mother—the Masculine can be experienced only in a diminished form. The matriarchy regards the masculine side of the uroboros, which of course is bisexual, as part of the Great Mother, as her tool, helper, and satellite. The male is loved as child and as youth and used as her tool of fertility, but he continues to be integrated in and subordinated to the Feminine, and his authentic masculine being and uniqueness is never acknowledged.⁹

With the invasion of the paternal uroboros, however, something completely new happens to the woman. She is seized by an unknown, overwhelming power that she experiences as a formless numinosum. In the history of the development of consciousness, the encounter with an anonymous force of this kind is always an experience of the ego's limits, found not only among primitive peoples but also among persons of developed consciousness, for example in their experience of mysticism¹⁰ and of individuation. The ego's experience of its limits therefore does not always signify only that a primitive, easily dissolved ego has encountered the numinous in the likeness of its own formlessness. In transitional phases and in

9. Cf. Neumann, *Origins and History* and *The Great Mother*.

10. Cf. Neumann, *Kulturentwicklung und Religion* (U. d. M., vol. 1, 1953). [Including "Mystical Man," *EJ* 1948 (tr. in PEY, vol. 6), "The Psychological Meaning of Rituals," *EJ* 1950, and "The Mythical World and the Individual," *EJ* 1949 (tr. R. T. Jacobson in *Quadrant* 14 [1981]).]

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situations that transform the personality—whenever a new archetypal situation is constellated and for whatever reasons—the archetype, as something numinous and undefined, anonymous and transpersonal, overwhelmingly confronts ego consciousness. Consciousness first reacts, in the individual situation as in collective development, by feeling overwhelmed and defeated. Only gradually does it work out new forms of adaptation to the archetype that, at the subjective level, lead to development, enrichment, and extension of consciousness, and on the objective level manifest in ever more differentiated phenotypes or incarnations of the numinous.

Thus the overwhelming power not only of the anonymous numinosum but also of the numina and of the numen, of the divinity as a male figure, belongs to the paternal uroboric stage. This development commences in the matriarchy with the appearance of pluralistic power groups of a masculine, demonic character, such as the cabiri, satyrs, and dactyls, whose multiplicity still betrays their anonymity and formless numinosity. They are followed by the figures of the phallic-chthonic gods, who indeed are still subordinate to the Great Mother (as, for example, Pan, Poseidon, Hades, and the chthonic Zeus were in Greece), but whom woman can experience as the patriarchal uroboros. Typical deities who appear as the patriarchal uroboros are Dionysus and Wotan, as well as Osiris and, at another cultural level, Shiva, whose transpersonal form is enveloped by a palpable anonymity. Not only are most of these figures venerated orgiastically as fertility gods, but in woman's emotional and ecstatic relationship to them she experiences the unfathomable depths of her own nature.

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For woman, invasion by the patriarchal uroboros corresponds to an intoxicating experience of being overwhelmed, of being seized and taken by a "ravishing penetrator" whom she does not experience personally in relation to and projected onto a concrete man, but rather as an anonymous, transpersonal numen. Both impersonality and being overwhelmed are essential constituents in the experience of this stage.

In mythology we find this stage represented in the relationships of the matriarchal "virgin" not to the husband but to a god who overpowers her, now as cloud or wind, as rain, lightning, gold, moon, sun, and so on, or again as a numinous phallus in animal form that penetrates her, be it as serpent or bird, as bull, goat, horse, etc.

Indeed, unconditioned as it is by anything from the outer world, the archetypal character of the experience in this phase is so clear that we must ask what inner experience of the woman we are confronting here. Unconscious inner forces and transpersonal contents whose energetic charge greatly exceeds that of woman's consciousness break into the personality with the emergence of the paternal uroboros. Because the power of the unconscious penetrates and overwhelms, woman experiences it as something Masculine that sweeps her away, seizes and pierces her, and transports her beyond herself. Consequently the movement of the unconscious is always felt to be numinous and creative, since its invasion "fructifies" and changes the personality it seizes.¹¹

This pleromatic experience—pleromatic because a nu-

11. We cannot here enter into a discussion of the male's anima experience, which, in the case of a creative and religious man, is completely analogous to woman's experience.

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minous divinity is experienced in its formless indeterminateness even when it may transitorily assume form—fills the woman with mortal fear. An obvious symbol of this is the mythologem of the death-marriage in which the masculine energy as robber and ravisher can become Hades, the god of death, who abducts the woman, as Kore, into his realm.

Associated with this overwhelming and huge masculine presence or force is the woman's transpersonal feeling of inadequacy—that is, a feeling of inferiority that has its impersonal and archetypal basis here. Vis-à-vis the Masculine, the woman feels herself too small. Understandably it is as fear that she experiences her inability to take into herself the whole phallus of the godhead.

We find the Masculine as serpent, dragon, and monster in a large number of women's sexual anxieties and neurotic behaviors that hinder her relationship to men. However, in the feminine Self-surrender of acceptance of this situation and in her letting herself be overpowered, the woman is led to victory over fear and her anxiety is transformed into intoxication and orgasm. In this transformation (whose significance we can only mention here) the dragon figure of the patriarchal uroboros assumes, for example, the likeness of a god, and Heraclitus's statement proves true that Hades and Dionysus are one and the same figure in the mysteries.¹²

Seized with total and profound emotion by the Masculine, woman overcomes the stage of Self-conservation and arrives at a new phase of her experience, that of Self-

12. Heraclitus of Ephesus, fr. 15, in K. Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (1948).

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surrender. Although it is also expressed in the body, her profound orgasmic emotion has a spiritual character. This spiritual character, however, has nothing to do with the abstract logic of the masculine, patriarchal spirit but belongs to a specific, feminine form of spiritual experience that is often associated with the symbol of the moon in mythology.¹³

The connection between spiritual emotion and bodily orgasm is still expressed in modern woman; her spiritual excitement can be so intense, for example with music, that she can reach orgasm, and her "understanding" of spiritual contents can be connected with physical sensations. This means that, speaking symbolically, she does not understand with her head but with her entire body; for her, spiritual-emotional and physical processes are bound together in a manner quite foreign to the average man.¹⁴

But the relation to the patriarchal uroboros also has negative effects if the woman gets caught in it. In contrast to the stage of "Self-conservation," in which woman did not experience the Masculine in its authenticity, the new element in this phase is the overwhelming quality of the Masculine. Where a male consciousness would demand this experience be worked through, for example as "as-

13. See below, essay II, "The Moon and Matriarchial Consciousness."

14. On the other hand, much evidence attests that, for both good and ill, the creative person is more keenly aware of his or her dependency on the body than is the average person. There is no doubt that this is due to a greater degree of sensitivity to and a more acute consciousness of intimately linked processes. But even here, consistent with its development, patriarchal consciousness has the tendency to commence as if free and to deny its dependency on processes of the unconscious and the body.

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simulation of the contents invading consciousness,” for the woman both the overwhelming character of the event and the process of working through her experience of it is made more difficult since for her the Masculine remains numinous, anonymous, and transpersonal.

A human tendency working unconsciously toward formation of the personality, which we have called centroverson,¹⁵ forces the woman—as it does the man—to pass through all the phases necessary for individual development. And tarrying in one phase that progressively must be traversed means a regression in respect to the development of personality.

The positive and the negative figures of the patriarchal uroboros provide one of the essential motifs for problems that, on the personal level, psychoanalysis has described as the woman’s experience of the Oedipus complex. But this Oedipus complex is often only “secondarily personalized”;¹⁶ that is to say, it is the foreground expression of an archetypal constellation. Frequently the relationship to the patriarchal uroboros stands behind the fantasy of incest with the personal father, but the archetypal image with which the woman experiences the liaison surpasses the features of the personal father and often completely excludes them. However, being held captive by the patriarchal uroboros—as an archetypal constellation—is not restricted to the psyche of the child; rather, it remains a continuing problem also for the adult woman who has not overcome this stage.

One of the characteristic forms in which the patriarchal uroboros operates as a danger—but by no means

15. *Origins and History*, index, s.v. centroverson.

16. *Ibid.*, s.v. Oedipus complex.

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the only one—is that of the fascinating spirit-father. The workings of this form constellate the figure of the “daughter of the eternal father,” i.e., a woman who as “virgin” remains bound to the spirit-father in visible or invisible form. The woman as prophetess and as nun, as “genius” and as “angel,” can be an expression of her fixation in this archetypal phase in which she relates via an intuitive connection to a transpersonal spiritual force whose transpersonal magnitude appears either within a religious framework as the godhead or personalized as the great man, artist, visionary, poet, etc., to whom the woman is bound. In this case she leads her life as the man’s “anima,” that is, as his inspiratrix, and consequently can forfeit her individual life that also has earthy, maternal, and other qualities that ought to be developed. She “lives beyond her means” and is inflated;¹⁷ she is identified with an archetypal feminine figure that far exceeds her merely human limits and who as Sophia is the female partner of the Spirit-Father. A variant of this constellation is the “Woman without a Shadow”¹⁸ who is unfruitful because she has split herself off from her earthly, shadow side.

This constellation retains the intoxicating component in the relationship of the small female to the great male, and hence a certain infantility and daughterliness is never overcome. When the intuitive captivity in the patriarchal uroboros leads to the loss of the earth—that is, to a loss of relationship to concrete reality—the Spirit-Father often appears as a sorcerer who negatively fascinates the

17. Jung, “The Relations.”

18. See Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1919), libretto, rewritten later as a prose tale.

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woman and holds her prisoner. Simultaneously, however, the hostility of the Great Mother forms an alliance with the woman's captivity in the patriarchal uroboros and with the concomitant loss of her connection to the earth.

The necessary development from the mother-bound stage of Self-conservation to surrender of Self to the patriarchal uroboros also includes a certain degree of hostility to the mother, for the transition to a new phase always has to contend with the resistance of the phase to be overcome, a resistance determined by the inertia of the psyche. Consequently the tenacious power of the mother, who now appears terrible, works against the transition to the patriarchal uroboros. But like all corresponding resistances that arise due to the archetype of the phase to be overcome, this does not lead to illness but rather to conflict. However, if a fixation characterized by the dominance of the patriarchal uroboros develops in this phase, there now appears, alongside the negative figure of the father as sorcerer, also a negative form of the Great Mother, who avenges the daughter's betrayal. The figure of the Great Mother regresses to that of the mythological witch who, for example in fairy tales, casts a spell over the daughter and imprisons her.

In the phase of Self-conservation, woman can fully function in a feminine and natural way dominated by the bond to mother, the unconscious, and the body. With the invasion of the patriarchal uroboros, she enters not only a new phase of experiencing herself as a woman but arrives at the experience of the spirit. But if she falls under the sway of the patriarchal uroboros, she becomes spirit-possessed and so estranged from herself that she loses even her physical relationship to her femininity.

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For woman the positive bond to the Great Mother is also always the prerequisite psychologically for becoming a mother, for being fertile, and for having a healthy relationship to her own body and to the earth. On the other hand, being estranged from the Great Mother leads to the inability to develop the maternal and fruitful qualities of her feminine nature and consequently to the typical symptoms of hysteria, of estrangement from body, indeed even of sterility.

Often a woman's neurotic animus-possession is the expression of her inability to differentiate her Self from the Masculine. The woman becomes the victim of her tendency to identification and alienates herself from her own nature by over-developing the masculine, animus side. This identification with the spiritual and Masculine can find expression in truly tragic conflicts. By identifying with the transpersonal Masculine that takes the place of authentic surrender and devotion, the woman relinquishes her own earth nature¹⁹ and thus becomes a helpless victim of masculine powers. This danger, which may lead even to psychosis, is also occasioned by the fact that in her extreme surrender of Self the woman never gets to the point of assimilating the masculine side, which lives not only in her partner but in her own psyche, and hence never develops an autonomous personality in her own right.

Nature has granted the mystery of the Feminine its fulfillment both in the primal relationship and in pregnancy, a fulfillment that ever and again comes to pass

19. In this connection, consider the problem of the "negative spirit" in my "The Mythical World and the Individual" (see above, n. 10).

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even without consciousness and even if it is not expressed in ritual; the male mystery is the deed and something to be earned.²⁰

Although woman's Self-discovery as feminine is an original condition in contrast to the male's experience, the woman who wants to become conscious must also attain to the experience of otherness and dissolve her original totality. Otherwise she would remain "only" herself and would never experience the Masculine, the conscious side of her personality, and her human development.

When we speak of consciousness, we mean a consciousness centered in the ego and largely separated from the unconscious, whose archetypally masculine, independent development we have presented elsewhere. But his form—which has been manifested in patriarchal consciousness, the basis of occidental scientific thinking—is an extreme case. Beside it we find living transitions between the unconscious and consciousness, such as matriarchal consciousness, especially characteristic for women.²¹

For women, relationship to the whole is normally never replaced completely by conscious relatedness. In addition to identifying her ego with the midpoint of consciousness, woman always experiences the female Self—representing a point of view embracing the totality of the psyche—as powerful and convincing at a feeling level, while the male more fully identifies ego with consciousness, and his awareness of the primal relationship falls largely into the unconscious.

20. *Origins and History*, especially Part I, "The Mythological Stages in the Evolution of Consciousness."

21. See below, essay II.

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Hence the male tendency leads from dissolution of the bonds of the primal relationship toward the establishment of the archetypal Masculine as his authentic element. By contrast, female development, leading away from the primal relationship toward consciousness, takes place initially by way of the male "Thou," which plays the role of the redemptive consciousness for the woman, whether it is experienced transpersonally or personally, externally or internally.

Consequently in the life of a woman, her relationship to the Masculine is decisive, but in a way different from a man's relationship to the Feminine. Aside from certain modern vicissitudes, woman's development of conscious and assimilation to culture is most closely associated with the archetypal Masculine. Affiliation with the patriarchal form of our culture has made it possible for woman to separate herself from the state of nature in the primal relationship and has led to her relationship to the Masculine as father and husband, animus and guide.

To exaggerate: for woman, the Masculine characteristically presses forward; for man, the Feminine characteristically holds back. (Both find expression in the process of individuation in the second half of life.) For woman, the Masculine signifies redemption to consciousness; for man, the Feminine means redemption from consciousness. Woman's seemingly greater neediness in her relationship to a man and the Masculine and the man's seemingly greater independence from woman and the Feminine are related to this basic situation, even if the projection of a woman's masculine side onto a man plays a greater role in the development of her consciousness than does the man himself.

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Although woman's consciousness differs in nature and emphasis from that of man, woman is forced into Self-alienation in the service of the development of consciousness. She is compelled to develop the masculine side, too, without which cultural achievement is not possible.²²

In the mythological prototype of psychological processes, the liberation of the Feminine from the power of the patriarchal uroboros is the task of the male hero, who must redeem the captured virgin from the dragon. In contrast to the patriarchal uroboros, the archetypal Masculine now appears in individual and personal form and conducts the Feminine—as woman or as anima liberated from the powers of the patriarchal and of the matriarchal uroboros—into his own domain, that of the patriarchate.

Aside from the countless examples in the fairy tales of all peoples, we find this mythological constellation in, for example, the story of Perseus' victory over the dragon and the liberation of Andromeda, or Siegfried's liberation of Brünhilde. In the latter instance, the fixating power is characterized by two symbols. One is Wotan, who as patriarchal uroboros spellbinds his captive; the other is the *Haberlohe*, the wall of flames, that, as uroboric circle, surrounds the sleeping Brünhilde, which the hero must overcome.

The hero, the liberating Masculine, is both an "external" and an "internal" force. This means that the process can run a course in which a "real" man and partner assumes the liberating role of the light of consciousness

22. Jung, "The Relations"; Emma Jung, "On the Nature of the Animus," in *Animus and Anima* (Analytical Psychological Club of New York, 1957); M. Esther Harding, *The Way of All Women* (New York, 1933).

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and dissolves the old form of captivity in the unconscious or, alternatively, it can be an "inner" Masculine, a force of consciousness in the woman herself, whose act of liberation is successful. Usually both take place simultaneously in that the woman's own inner quality of archetypally masculine consciousness is at first projected on an external man. But in any case, for the woman's ego this masculine "agency" appears as something "external," "stronger," and independently autonomous. The female ego has the absolute and, in a certain sense, correct conviction that it cannot accomplish this act by the strength of her "own ego" but is dependent on the help of archetypally masculine power. Just as the woman depends on the intervention of the Masculine to "open her" psychically in the death-marriage with the patriarchal uroboros and physically in the actual marriage with a man, so too her liberation to consciousness is bound to the person of the hero. Only in later and higher forms of development can this archetypally masculine force be experienced and known for what it is, as something inner, to the degree that the woman attains to her "autonomy," i.e., to a relative independence from her external male partner.²³

In the transition from the phase of the patriarchal uroboros to that of the patriarchate, the masculine hero therefore appears to be necessary and a step forward for the development of consciousness. The development of consciousness presented in *The Origins and History of Consciousness* takes place within a tension of opposites created by the ego and the unconscious through which the ego can grow stronger, the conscious system can be

23. See below, pp. 56f.

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formed, and the personal sphere can be delimited from the impersonal. This is why in this confrontation there is a devaluation of the archetypal Feminine which, from the masculine viewpoint, appears to be bound to and identical with the powers of the unconscious. The patriarchal development from moon to sun mythology—just as the shift from the position of the Feminine as goddess by whom the earth and the fertility of living things are sheltered to that as spouse who governs only the narrowest family circle, as well as the change from the predominance of the female in the group to the male state—cannot be achieved unless the Masculine places a negative accent on the Feminine.

Mythologically this process corresponds to the phase of the hero's battle with the devouring uroboric monster; sociologically and politically it is expressed in the development of a patriarchal culture and leads, in the relationship between men and women, to the patriarchal marriage as the basis of the family and of patriarchal life.

The patriarchal line of the development of consciousness leads to a condition where patriarchal-masculine values are dominant, values that are often conceived in direct opposition to those of the archetypal Feminine and of the unconscious. This development, directed by the archetypally conditioned cultural canon and impressed upon the development of every male or female child in Western cultures, leads to the separation of consciousness from the unconscious, to the evolution of the independent conscious system with a masculine ego as the center, to a suppression of the unconscious, and to its greatest possible repression from the ego's field of vision.

We are using "patriarchal" and "matriarchal" as psy-

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chological terms that are to be applied only secondarily to political conditions, spheres of influence, etc. Hence a "patriarchal" culture and its values stand in opposition to the values and attitudes valid for a "matriarchal" consciousness which itself is a "primary" form of all consciousness and whose preferred representative is woman. In this sense, it is a step forward in development when a patriarchal replaces a matriarchal consciousness. But when one knows of the psychological weaknesses and dangers of patriarchal culture, whose extreme form in the contemporary West has led to a crisis endangering the whole of humankind, one will avoid the error of regarding "matriarchal consciousness" as only an archaic legacy and the archetypal Feminine as "relatively undeveloped."

However, we can penetrate the complex problem of modern occidental consciousness in its patriarchal form only when we have recognized the necessity for the development of consciousness to the "patriarchal extreme" and its opposition to "matriarchal consciousness." Only then can we also grasp the significance of that which, symbolically described as "masculine" and "feminine" psychology, determines the normal as well as the abnormal development of modern persons of both sexes.

As we discuss in the next essay, for the woman the central figure of matriarchal consciousness is the patriarchal uroboros as moon that compels her Self-surrender, that is, her renunciation of Self-conservation in the primal relationship to the mother. But while this Self-surrender brings woman to her own experience of a deep level of the Feminine, the "hero's liberation of the captive," her liberation from the dominance of the patriarchal uroboros by the man, nevertheless again endan-

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gers her essence in spite of being a necessary development. This is the danger of loss of Self.

Regardless whether the patriarchy is primitive or highly civilized, when woman is integrated into it and subordinated to its values, the male becomes the representative of consciousness and of the development of consciousness for woman. This grants the male a psychological preponderance that determines the “phenotype”²⁴ of the patriarchal marriage as much as it does woman’s place in life.

Marriage in the patriarchal era, which for the sake of brevity we shall call “patriarchal marriage,” embraces a number of psychic situations in which the sexes relate to one another. Under the guise of patriarchal forms, a multitude of emotional complications are concealed in these marriages, complications that lie at the root of a great number of modern difficulties in marriage and in child-rearing.

The fact that the varieties of patriarchal marriage have preserved their form for millennia proves that, in a certain way, they offer emotionally viable ways of life both for men and for women. Although the patriarchal marriage presents a not inconsiderable danger for the woman’s development, her chances of realizing her inner necessities within it—even if secretly—are great enough. For this reason the patriarchal form of marriage has not been obviously shaken until modern times. Often enough, however, it turns out that, on closer inspection, the patriarchal appearance constitutes only the external form, so

24. In this context, “phenotype” refers to the external appearance, in contrast to “genotype,” which designates the actual psychic structure.

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to speak the persona, of a marriage behind which are concealed forms of marital relationship that deviate from or even directly oppose the patriarchy.

Patriarchal marriage is a collective solution in which man and woman, Masculine and Feminine, unite in a state where each props up the other, so that they achieve a symbiosis that forms the backbone of patriarchal culture. Preservation of this more transpersonal institution—i.e., that of patriarchal culture, and the security of the individual embedded in it—stands as a transpersonal meaning above the relationship of the parties involved. Mythologically the stability of patriarchal culture is reflected in the relationship of heaven and earth in their mutual interdependence, the certainty of which assures the continued existence of the world. Marriage partners are supposed to correspond to this constellation, the man symbolizing the sky or heaven, woman the earth, as not only myth but rite also clearly reveal in countless marriage customs. In order to make this symbolic identification, each of the partners must surrender his or her natural psychological bisexuality, whose existence in modern persons is shown, among other things, in that the man's feminine side constellates as anima and the woman's masculine side constellates as animus.²⁵ The male's identification with the structure of consciousness and of the ego, leaving his feminine side unconscious, psychologically facilitates this sort of one-sidedness.

The male's connection to woman is now determined in a characteristic manner: his *purely masculine* consciousness relates only to the femininity of woman upon whom

25. Jung, "The Relations."

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he projects his own unconscious femininity in the form of the anima. Likewise the woman consciously relates as *purely feminine* to the man's masculinity and projects onto him her own unconscious masculine side in the form of the animus. The fact that this division of roles appears in myth signifies that the patriarchal culture canon, according to which every boy and girl is reared, gives central position and special honor to this limited range of the possible archetypal modes of relating. This sacred, archetypal background imparts to the social institutions erected in accord with it the self-evident inviolability necessary for its continued existence. This means that a "feminine" man and a "masculine" woman—contrary to the actual psychic structure of a multitude of individuals—are now regarded as repulsive forms of human existence that are suppressed from early on, and these individuals themselves strive to conceal their own deviant natures as best they can.

The result of this situation is a polarization of the Masculine and Feminine, man and woman, that appears to create an unequivocal situation. This unequivocalness leads to the feeling of security regarding the orientation of consciousness within patriarchal culture in which Masculine = man and Feminine = woman, and which demands as its ideal that man and woman identify themselves in terms of this unequivocality.

This symbiotic structure forms the foundation of the family and of patriarchal culture, for it guarantees not only security and unequivocalness but also an inherently fertile tension of opposites between the Masculine and the Feminine, man and woman. However, thanks to this collective solution that may well have been originally

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