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Introduction

JUNG AS A MEDICAL STUDENT

Gaia Domenici

Jung's Early Years

On April 18, 1895, Karl Gustav Jung was admitted to the Medical School of Basel University.¹ Years later, on November 15, 1913, he would attribute his decision to pursue medicine to a pair of formative dreams, stating that “a dream decided upon [his] career choice.” In the first dream, Jung found himself in a remote, overgrown place, where he came upon a still, dark pond. At its center

1. Although Jung was born and baptized (on August 29, 1875) as “Karl Gustav,” he adopted the older, more traditional spelling “Carl” of his first name at a young age. In Jung’s primary school years, all official school reports bear the spelling “Karl,” a convention that continues through the first four years of high school. However, in the upper levels of secondary education, the spelling “Carl” begins to appear in official documentation. Both variants are found in records pertaining to his university studies and medical examinations, though all professional certificates and references (e.g., from the Bürgerspital and the Burghölzli clinic) uniformly adopt the spelling “Carl.” Notably, in a letter to his mother dated July 1898, he signs as “Karl.” At the turn of the year 1900/1901, he signs simply “your son,” and uses “Carl” for the first time in a letter dated January 14, 1901. Despite this shift, members of his family—his mother and sister among them—continue to employ the K-spelling. In the letters to his future wife, Emma Rauschenbach, the spelling changes from “Karl”—used until 1899—to “Carl” in 1900. The same is true for the books in his library, where he marks new acquisitions with “K. Jung” until 1899, then changed to “C. Jung” in 1900. Bertha Rauschenbach, his future mother-in-law, while initially addressing him with the formal *Sie* [you], alternates between “Carl” and “Karl” on her envelopes until settling on the former consistently from 1901 onward.

swam an extraordinary creature, resembling a brilliantly colored jellyfish. The sight of it filled him with intense intellectual curiosity, and he awoke with his heart racing. Not long after, he had a second dream: this time, he was in a shadowy forest and discovered a small mound, like a charcoal burner's kiln. When he prodded it with his foot, he was astonished to uncover the bones of prehistoric animals inside. This discovery, too, stirred deep curiosity. These two dreams, he later claimed, awakened his interest in the natural sciences and ultimately led him to study medicine.²

Although, according to Jung, he had not consciously considered a medical career before these dreams, his choice was very much in keeping with his family background. After experiencing two stillbirths and the death of a newborn baby boy five days after birth,³ his mother, Emilie Preiswerk (1848–1923), wife of the pastor Johann Paul Achilles Jung (1842–1896), finally gave birth to the healthy boy in Kesswil on July 26, 1875. His parents named him after his paternal grandfather, Carl Gustav Jung (1795–1864), updating the spelling to the then-modern “Karl.”⁴ The name of Jung's grandfather was closely linked with that of the faculty of medicine at Basel University, of which he had been a well-known reformer. Originally from the German town of Mannheim, and a former student of Heidelberg University, Carl Gustav Jung senior converted to Reformed Protestantism and acquired liberal views, which contributed to his serving thirteen months in prison for possession of a geologist's hammer, deemed an “offensive weapon” following the murder of the poet August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue (1761–1819) by Jung's friend Karl Ludwig Sand (1795–1820)—who had indeed gifted Jung the hammer. Upon release, Jung was unemployable in the German Confederation and left Prussia for Paris,

2. *BB*, Book 2 [12/13], pp. 153–54. In his memoir, Jung will reverse the order of the dreams. See *MDR*, p. 85 and *JLW*, p. 62.

3. The three sad events happened in 1870, 1872, and 1873, respectively.

4. Interestingly, Jung's grandfather also adopted both “Carl” and “Karl” spellings. In her correspondence with him, this grandfather's mother used the spelling “Carl.” In official documents—Latin university records and French papers from Paris—his name appears in Latinized or localized forms such as “Caroli,” “Carolus,” or “Charles.” In later years, he appears to have alternated between “Karl” and “Carl,” though the chronology of this variation remains unclear. In letters from 1822 and 1829, he signs as “Karl”; however, upon joining the Akademische Zunft [Academic Guild] in 1836, his name is recorded with as “Carl.” Professionally, by contrast, he went by “K. G. Jung” (or “Jung”): in his medical publication *Über die seitliche Erhabenheit in dem Lateral-Ventrikel des menschlichen Gehirnes* (Schweighauser'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1843), the author's name appears as “K. G. Jung,” a form he continued to use in a subsequent work of 1845.

where he met Alexander von Humboldt.⁵ Humboldt wrote a recommendation letter to Basel's mayor Johann Heinrich Wieland, which helped Jung to find a position.⁶ At a time when reactionary European governments were expelling intellectuals, Basel became a refuge for scholars. Among them were also Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette⁷ and Friedrich Schleiermacher.⁸ De Wette, a friend of Schleiermacher and a former professor of theology in Heidelberg and then Berlin, was also indirectly tied to the murder of Kotzebue, as he lost his academic position after sending a letter of condolence to the mother of Karl Ludwig Sand. In 1824 Jung was appointed professor of surgery, anatomy, and obstetrics at the University of Basel. At that time, the city was regarded in Berlin as a center of political radicalism, prompting the Prussian government to issue a decree prohibiting its citizens from studying there. Soon after his appointment Jung hired more academic staff, expanding the faculty, and started to curate a significant collection of over three hundred anatomical and pathological specimens, beginning with only two incomplete skeletons. In addition to this he taught ophthalmology, and actively advanced the renovation and expansion of the Bürgerspital (now Basel University Hospital). Among his many contributions to the University of Basel, one of the most notable was the result of his active involvement during a crisis of 1831–1833, when the university came under threat following the cantonal split of Basel. The proposed division of property between the city and the surrounding region put the institution's collections at risk, and in response several faculty members—including Carl Gustav Jung senior—claimed ownership of their personal contributions. The matter was settled in the 1835 “University Trial,” which allowed the university to retain its holdings, though it was ordered to pay 331,451 Swiss francs in compensation to the rural canton. In 1856 Professor Jung contributed to the founding of the “zur Hoffnung” institution in Riehen,

5. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859): Prussian polymath, naturalist, explorer, and philosopher. The episode is also recalled in *JLW*, pp. 143–44.

6. Johann Heinrich Wieland (1758–1838): Swiss liberal jurist and statesman from Basel, who served as mayor of the city, finance minister of the Helvetic Republic, and Swiss envoy to the Congress of Vienna.

7. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849): German theologian and biblical scholar known for his contributions to historical criticism of the Old Testament. In 1822 he was offered the chair of theology in Basel, where he spent the rest of his life. See too below, note 449.

8. Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834): German theologian and philosopher; the author of works seminal to modern hermeneutics and liberal Protestant theology.

established to admit, care for, and educate forty-two feeble-minded children. He devoted the final years of his life to this cause.

According to his lifelong friend and fellow member of the Zofingia Society (see below), Albert Oeri, Jung the younger never seriously considered studying anything other than medicine.⁹ Another Zofingia companion, Gustav Steiner, agreed, observing that, although Oeri's recollection appeared to contradict Jung's own narrative, "the charm of different perspectives lies, not least, in their apparent contradictions."¹⁰ Yet, as Jung later recalled, his path to medicine was not so straightforward. In conversations with Aniela Jaffé he admitted to having considered other careers before settling on medicine. Early on he was torn between various possibilities, and felt a deep fascination for ancient civilizations such as those of Egypt and Babylon, even imagining a future as an archaeologist. However, lacking both the financial means and access to specialized training in Basel, he was forced to abandon any such aspiration. Instead, he briefly enrolled in "Philosophy II"—the branch of the faculty of philosophy devoted to the natural sciences—with the intention of pursuing studies in that field.¹¹ Though drawn to the study and interpretation of antiquity, he rejected the idea of becoming a teacher—an outcome he saw as inevitable on that academic path. His desire was instead to work directly with nature. Eventually, the two dreams described above helped clarify his direction

9. Albert Oeri, "Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen" [Some memories of youth], in *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von C. G. Jung* [The cultural significance of complex psychology: festschrift for the sixtieth birthday of C. G. Jung], ed. Psychologischer Club Zürich (Julius Springer, 1935), p. 526. Oeri (1875–1950) was a Swiss historian, journalist, politician, and long-term family friend of the Jungs. He was born in Schaffhausen and received his early education in Basel (he was a habitual visitor to Jung's house, and they were in the same class for a few years), before pursuing studies in classical philology and history at the universities of Basel, Göttingen, and Berlin. In 1899 Oeri was awarded a doctorate from the University of Basel. During 1900–1901 he taught at a secondary school in Gotha. Upon returning to Basel in 1901, he joined the *Allgemeine Schweizer Zeitung* as an editor, and from 1902 continued in this role at the *Basler Nachrichten*, which had absorbed the former paper, and of which he became editor-in-chief in 1925.

10. Gustav Steiner, "Erinnerungen an Carl Gustav Jung: Zur Entstehung der Autobiographie" [Memories of Carl Gustav Jung: on the origin of the autobiography], *Basler Stadtbuch* (1965), p. 120. Gustav Adolf Steiner (1878–1967) was a Swiss schoolteacher of German, as well as a historian, and a publicist. Remembered as one of Basel's most respected civic and cultural figures, he was active within the guild "Zum Goldenen Stern [Golden Star]," to which he belonged for nearly seventy years and as whose master he served from 1932 to 1965.

11. On the history and structure of Basel University, see below, pp. 10–11.

and pointed him toward medicine.¹² Altogether then, in retrospect it seems fair to say that Jung's childhood and early education were shaped by a wide range of interests and perspectives, with a pronounced inclination toward both the natural sciences and the humanities.

In the winter of 1876 the Jung family moved from Kesswil to Laufen, in the canton of Zurich, near the Rhine Falls. Three years later, in 1879, they relocated again—this time to Kleinhüningen, a village on the outskirts of Basel, where fishing and farming remained the main sources of livelihood. It was there that Jung's father took up a new position as a pastor. Jung received his early education in Kleinhüningen, attending primary school at Krautgasse 1 from 1882 to 1886. During this period, on July 17, 1884, his sister Johanna Gertrud ("Trudel") was born. From 1886 to 1891, Jung was a student at the *unteres Gymnasium* at Münsterplatz 15 in the city of Basel.¹³ He then continued his education at the *oberes Gymnasium* (formerly the *Pädagogium*) at Münsterplatz 14, from 1891 to 1895. This was a prestigious institution where notable figures such as Jacob Burckhardt¹⁴ and Friedrich Nietzsche¹⁵ had once taught. To attend school every morning, Jung would walk along the banks of the Rhine, a journey of approximately forty-five minutes. His school essays, in Oeri's recollection, were a pleasure to read, demonstrating both a sharp intellect and a

12. *JLW*, p. 62. See also *MDR*, p. 72.

13. Because of a fall and the resulting absences, Jung repeated class 2B during the 1888/1889 academic year. Later in life, he recalled that after being kicked by a classmate and hitting his head, he suffered concussion and soon began having fainting spells late in the morning. Doctors found no cause, eventually suspecting "traumatic epilepsy," which allowed him to leave school. Jung recognized instantly that the accident had given him an excuse to escape an environment he hated. Free from school, he spent his days drawing battles and grimacing faces, wandering in nature, and immersing himself in mysterious inner fantasies, though he felt a quiet guilt. Overhearing his father's deep worry—that the supposed illness threatened his future—shocked him. Determined to prove himself, he forced himself to study; when fainting spells came, he resisted them, and they quickly ceased. He interpreted the episode as a "neurosis" (*JLW*, pp. 63–64).

14. Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897): Swiss historian of art and culture, professor at Basel University, best known for his *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860): in English, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore (Phaidon Press, 1937). Thanks to his friendship with the Oeri family (see below, p. 11), Jung not only saw Burckhardt a number of times, but even learned confidential information on his private life (see *JLW*, pp. 154–57).

15. Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900): German philosopher and classical philologist. On the details of Jung's first encounter with, and impression of, Nietzsche's philosophy, see below, pp. 50–53.

striking capacity for self-expression. However, his mathematical skills were notoriously poor. According to Oeri, had academic standards required consistent proficiency across all subjects, Jung would not have passed his final exams.¹⁶ His report cards—still preserved in the Staatsarchiv Basel—support this assessment.¹⁷ Jung himself confirmed this weakness during a Zofingia Society meeting on January 28, 1899, where he argued that mathematics did not enhance intellectual ability, and openly admitted he could not grasp the subject. He viewed mathematics and the natural sciences as distinct fields and believed it was possible to study the latter without relying on the former; and for students who struggled with mathematics, he proposed that the subject be made optional.

As Jung recalled later in life, he was deeply interested in the natural sciences during his high school years. One particularly exciting moment was when he won Paul Wossidlo's *Textbook of Zoology* as a prize in a school competition.¹⁸ Earlier he had been given an illustrated atlas of prehistoric animals, which he had loved. Around the same time he also began reading Darwin.¹⁹ In the first term of his first year at the *oberes Gymnasium*, his natural history teacher was the Swiss mathematician and school principal (*Rektor*) Fritz

16. Oeri, "Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen," p. 525. Oeri goes so far as to state that Jung's difficulty with math was not due to lack of effort, but was a hereditary trait, as documented by his grandfather's diary, to which Oeri himself refers: see Ernst Jung, *Aus den Tagebüchern meines Vaters Karl Gustav Jung, 1795–1864* [From the diaries of my father Karl Gustav Jung, 1795–1864] (Geschw. Ziegler, 1910).

17. In the winter term of his last year at *oberes Gymnasium*, Jung's mathematics teacher, the famous meteorologist Albert Riggenbach (1854–1921), added an exclamation mark next to Jung's grade in the school report card ("2, 4!"), to emphasize the decline in his pupil's performance. Overall, Jung's grades were excellent throughout his school years; however, his grades in mathematics were rather below this level, with a couple of more pronounced drops, such as the one just mentioned.

18. Paul Wossidlo, *Lehrbuch der Zoologie für höhere Lehranstalten sowie zum Selbstunterricht* [Textbook of zoology for higher schools or for self-study] (Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886). Wossidlo (1836–1921) was a German biologist, schoolteacher, and author.

19. See *JLW*, pp. 68–69. Charles Darwin (1809–1882): English naturalist and biologist best known for his theory of evolution by natural selection. In his library Jung had the German translation of Darwin's *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (John Murray, 1871): Charles Darwin, *Die Abstammung des Menschen und die Zuchtwahl in geschlechtlicher Beziehung*, trans. David Haek, 2 vols. (Philipp Reclam jun., n.d.); and Ludwig Plate's *Selectionsprinzip und Probleme der Artbildung: Ein Handbuch des Darwinismus* [Principle of selection and problems of species formation: a handbook of Darwinism] (1899) (Wilhelm Engelmann, 1908).



FIGURE 1. Family portrait (ca. 1893). Left to right: Johann Paul Achilles Jung, Johanna Gertrud “Trudel” Jung, Emilie Preiswerk-Jung, Carl Gustav Jung.

Burckhardt²⁰. In the following years, his teacher for physics and chemistry was Friedrich Tschopp, who had also taught him mathematics in his first year and had been a member of the Basel's *Naturforschende Gesellschaft* (Naturalists' Society) since 1886.

Jung's keen interest in the humanities grew and developed in the same years, stemming from a combination of environment, school curricula, and independent readings. In his final semester at the *oberes Gymnasium*, he had prestigious teachers, such as Rudolf Stähelin-Stockmeyer (1841–1900), teacher of religion and professor of theology at the University of Basel, and Johann Jakob Oeri (1844–1908), Albert Oeri's father, a philologist, teacher of Latin and German, and nephew of Jacob Burckhardt himself. In addition to this, by the time Jung approached his final exams, he had already engaged with a wealth of classical Greek, Latin, and German texts, including those of Homer,²¹ Ovid,²² Cicero,²³ Caesar,²⁴ Catullus,²⁵ and Goethe.²⁶ Although philosophy was not part of Jung's school curricula, over the years he had also read and analyzed excerpts from philosophers such as Xenophon²⁷ and Plato²⁸ in some of his

20. Karl Friedrich (Fritz) Burckhardt-Brenner (1830–1913): Swiss mathematician, educator, and politician. He studied mathematics and physics at the universities of Basel, Geneva, Karlsruhe, and later became a teacher and school principal. From 1875 to 1902 he served as head of the *Gymnasium am Münsterplatz*.

21. Homer (trad. 8th–7th century BCE): the name traditionally given to the archaic Greek poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, foundational epics of the Western canon and the oral-formulaic tradition. Jung had the works in his library (see below, note 280).

22. Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BCE–17/18 CE): Roman poet.

23. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE): Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher. In “Notes on Readings” Jung noted down citations by Cicero found in Joseph Ennemoser, *Geschichte der Magie* (Brockhaus, 1844), cited below as Ennemoser, *History of Magic*, trans. William Howitt, 2 vols. (Henry G. Bohn, 1854) (see below, § 403).

24. Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE): Roman general, statesman, and author of war diaries.

25. Gaius Valerius Catullus (ca. 84–ca. 54 BCE): Roman lyric poet.

26. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832): German poet, playwright, novelist, scientist, statesman, and leading voice of Weimar Classicism alongside Friedrich Schiller (see below, note 167).

27. Xenophon (ca. 430–354 BCE), Athenian soldier, philosopher, and historian.

28. Plato (ca. 428–348/347 BCE): Athenian philosopher, founder of the Academy, and author of several dialogues. In “Notes on Readings” Jung noted down a citation by Plato found in Carl du Prel's *Die Philosophie der Mystik* (Ernst Günthers Verlag, 1885 [1884]), cited below as Du Prel, *The Philosophy of Mysticism*, trans. C. C. Massey, 2 vols. (George Redway, 1889). On Carl du Prel, see below, note 74.

Greek and French classes.²⁹ Lastly, as he later recalled to Jaffé, Jung's mother insisted that he read Goethe's *Faust* when he was sixteen, and that that reading "made the greatest impression" on him.³⁰ Around the same time, he also began reading about the history of philosophy, finally discovering Schopenhauer³¹ and Kant.³² Jung's first encounter with Kant's philosophy occurred in his father's library, through Wilhelm Traugott Krug's *General Handbook of the Philosophical Sciences*.³³ However, his true interest in him arose when, studying and admiring Schopenhauer, he "became increasingly impressed by [the latter's] relation to Kant," and he started to study the *Critique of Pure Reason*.³⁴ To a student at the Jung Institute in the 1950's Jung once exclaimed, "Kant is my philosopher," and Kant's critique formed the basis for his understanding of the boundaries of knowledge.³⁵

Returning, then, to the question of Jung's chosen path of professional study, it seems that medicine may well have appeared to him a natural choice, as it offered a way to integrate his interest in the natural sciences with his growing passion for the humanities.

29. School curricula from the *oberes Gymnasium*, SB.

30. JLV, p. 166. See also MDR, p. 60.

31. Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860): German philosopher renowned for his pessimistic worldview and contributions to metaphysics and epistemology. His dissertation *On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason* (1813) examined the fundamental principle underlying all human knowledge. His magnum opus, *The World as Will and Representation* (1819; revised edition 1844, expanded in 1859), presents a vision of reality as driven by an irrational and blind force he termed "will to live." Jung came across Schopenhauer in his "thirteenth and fourteenth years" (JLV, p. 59).

32. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804): German philosopher of the Enlightenment, from Königsberg/Kaliningrad (then in East Prussia/Germany, now part of Russia), who developed a comprehensive system spanning epistemology, ethics, and aesthetics, synthesizing elements of rationalism and empiricism and marking a major turning point in Idealism and modern philosophy more generally.

33. Wilhelm Traugott Krug, *Allgemeines Handwörterbuch der philosophischen Wissenschaften* [General handbook of the philosophical sciences] (F. H. Broadhaus, 1827–1834); the second edition (1832–1838) remains in Jung's library. Krug (1770–1842) was a German philosopher aligned with the Kantian school of logic, known for his psychological method and empiricist critiques of German Idealism. He succeeded Kant as professor of logic and metaphysics at Königsberg in 1805, and from 1809 was professor of philosophy at Leipzig, where he remained until his death.

34. MDR, pp. 88–89.

35. Jung to John Phillips, cited in Sonu Shamdasani, *C. G. Jung: A Biography in Books* (W. W. Norton, 2012), p. 22.

A Brief History of Basel University

The University of Basel, considered the oldest such institution in the Swiss Confederation, was officially founded on April 4, 1460, by Pope Pius II. However, its origins go back to the Council of Basel (1431–1449)—in which, as Aeneas Piccolomini, Pius II had been a participant—and a temporary institution that operated during that period, first as a council university (1432–1440), then as a curial university (1440–1448). The statute of the University of Basel was openly modeled on that of the university of Bologna, and presented similarities to those of the universities of Pavia and Erfurt. Bologna inspired Basel particularly in terms of its academic freedoms: these can be traced back to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's (1122–1190) 1158 Roncaglia decree, which placed students and scholars under imperial protection and granted them legal autonomy. As the first institution to claim these privileges, Bologna became symbolic of academic liberty; and Basel's own charter of May 28, 1460 echoed these rights, though now granted by the city itself rather than an emperor. While other universities, such as Pavia, were occasionally mentioned in the statute, Bologna remained the dominant reference.

Thanks to its commitment to academic freedom and its strategic geographical location, the University of Basel quickly became a magnet for both Swiss and international students, as well as a safe haven for religious and political dissidents. However, Basel only welcomed refugees who brought either capital or specialized skills. As a result, those who chose to settle there played a direct role in the city's economic, cultural, and political development, and many of the families who would later form the Basel patriciate migrated during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. By the mid-seventeenth century the University of Basel had entered a period of decline, with only its school of mathematics maintaining a strong reputation. Yet in the nineteenth century, it experienced a revival, largely due to its openness to liberal refugees. Taking advantage of the repressive political climate in Europe more broadly, the university actively recruited displaced scholars to restore its faculties of law and medicine, and it was this development that led Frederick William III of Prussia (1770–1840) to issue his notorious decree forbidding Prussian citizens from enrolling at the University of Basel. Given Basel's comparatively small size and limited Prussian enrollment, however, the decree remained largely symbolic.

After the post-Napoleonic territorial and political reconfigurations, Basel faced a choice between two educational models: that of the French *grandes écoles*, which prioritized professional training, and the Humboldtian model,

which focused solely on the ideal of *Bildung* (“education,” in the sense of cultural development of the individual). It opted for the latter. In 1820 a series of reforms was introduced with the aim of overcoming the insularity of the academic sphere and fostering greater engagement with the local citizenry. As part of these reforms, professors were required to dedicate a portion of their contracted teaching hours to public lectures and to offer additional courses or seminars at the *Pädagogium*. It is in this climate that intellectuals such as Jacob Burckhardt, Johann Jakob Bachofen,³⁶ and Friedrich Nietzsche rose to prominence in Basel. It was also within this cultural milieu that Jung was raised and began his university studies. Being close to Oeri and his family, he had the pleasure of gleaning personal information about Burckhardt from the illustrious scholar’s own relatives. Bachofen, on the other hand, remained less approachable; both, however, through their intellectual legacies, came to represent a status of which every academic in Basel strove to be worthy. Jung recalled later in life,

I saw both of them as a schoolboy. I often came across both. Burckhardt also taught at the Gymnasium; I came across him daily. He shuffled so and looked rather awkward; he was not exactly dressed very elegantly. He wore a large cravat and high collar. Bachofen, on the other hand, traveled in a wonderfully elegant coach. He was rich; he had nine million! That was some money back then! He was the owner of the famous White House and I saw him there very frequently.³⁷

Jung’s Medical Curriculum in Basel

Jung passed the examination in natural sciences on October 17, 1896. As part of his academic training, he took numerous courses in scientific disciplines beyond the scope of strictly medical studies. From its founding, the University of Basel was organized, like other medieval and early modern European universities, around four principal faculties: theology, law, medicine, and the faculty of arts (which encompassed the seven liberal arts). Over time, the faculty of arts evolved into the faculty of philosophy, designed to provide students with a foundational education before advancing to the study of theology, law, or medicine. This four-faculty structure had remained largely

36. Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887): Swiss jurist, historian, and anthropologist, professor in Basel and judge at the Basel Supreme Court. Bachofen is mainly known for the theory that early human societies were originally matriarchal.

37. *JLW*, pp. 154–55.

N° 1.

An den Ortspräsidenten zu Basel
A M. le Président local à _____

Anmeldungsgesuch

zu
den am 12. October beginnenden
mathe.-naturwissenschaftlichen Prüfungen.
(Art. 90 et 94 du règlement.)

Demande d'inscription

pour
les examens
commençant le 18

1. { Name und Vorname } Jung, Karl
Nom et prénom

2. { Geburtsjahr } 1875
Année de naissance

3. { Heimatort (und Kanton) } Basel
Lieu d'origine (et canton)

4. { Wohnort (Adresse während der Prüfung) } Wille, Bruner, bei der Rothmingerstrasse, (von 7^{ten} bis 9^{ten})
Domicile (Adresse pendant l'examen) Bis zum 7. October; Briefadresse 19 Klein-Hüningen.

5. { Angabe ob, wann und wo sich der Candidat zu der betreffenden Prüfung schon ein- oder mehrmals angemeldet hat und in welcher Weise diese Anmeldungen erledigt worden sind. } Bis jetzt noch nie angemeldet.
{ Indiquer si le candidat a déjà présenté sa demande d'inscription pour l'examen en question une fois ou plusieurs fois, quand et où il l'a présentée et de quelle manière il a été répondu à cette demande. }

Klein-Hüningen den 9. September 1896

{ Bellagen } Collegienbuch und Maturitätszeugnis.
{ Pièces justificatives }

Die Ausweisschriften sind in Enveloppen einzuliefern.
Les pièces justificatives seront remises au président local sous enveloppe.

Direktion - Juli 96. - 1060.

FIGURE 2. Registration form for the examination in natural sciences on October 12, 1896.

unchanged for centuries, but the nineteenth century saw increasing specialization and diversification. Nonetheless, the natural sciences continued to form part of both philosophical and medical curricula. In his first year as a medical student in Basel, Jung focused heavily on the natural sciences, which served as a propaedeutic to medical training. During the summer semester 1895 he attended courses in special botany, the natural history of invertebrate animals, experimental physics (I), inorganic chemistry, osteology and systematology, and zoology and zootomy, as well as nineteenth-century culture.

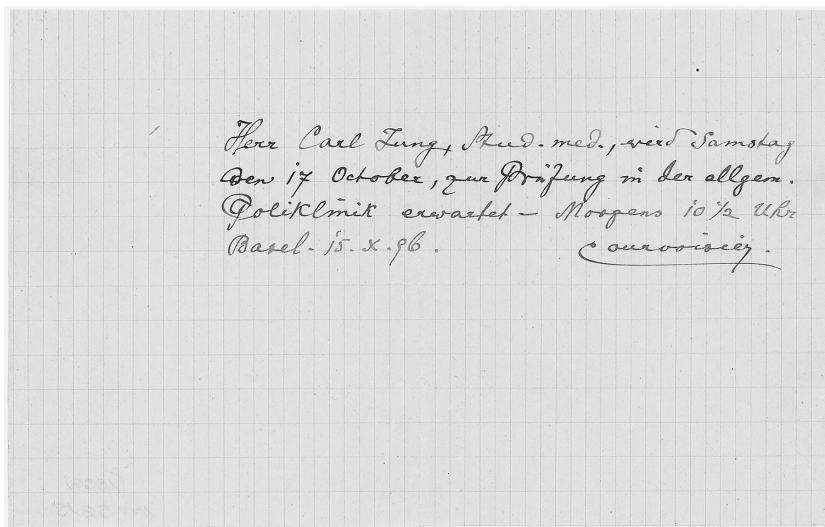


FIGURE 3. Summons to an examination on Saturday, October 17, 1896, at 10:30 a.m., at the General Polyclinic, signed by Professor of Surgery Ludwig Georg Courvoisier (1843–1918).

In the following winter semester his coursework included systematic anatomy, dissection practice, general botany, the natural history of vertebrates, continued studies in zootomy, organic chemistry, and experimental physics (II). By the summer semester of 1896, he had begun to shift toward more medically focused instruction, both practical and theoretical. His classes included anatomy of the nervous system and sense organs, brain physiology, and a microscopy practicum. He also enrolled in a physics review course. In the summer of 1897 he was approved for a course on the history and critique of Darwinism, although this was never marked as completed in his university record book.³⁸

Jung's professor of physiology was Gustav von Bunge,³⁹ under whom he studied brain physiology during the summer semester of 1896. That same

38. Records of Jung's lectures and exams are kept in his notebooks and student record book (JFA).

39. Gustav von Bunge (1844–1920): German-Swiss physiologist renowned for his work in biochemistry and nutrition. A professor at the University of Basel, he made significant contributions to the understanding of mineral metabolism, particularly iron and salt, and was among the first to emphasize the nutritional needs of the working class. Bunge was also known for his critiques of alcohol consumption, which he linked to social degeneration and heredity, aligning him with early

semester, Bunge offered three courses: physiological-chemical exercises for beginners (Mondays and Tuesdays, 2–5 p.m.); daily physiological work for advanced students; and a public circle on recent physiological research for advanced students, lasting two hours. In the winter semester of 1896–1897 Jung attended two further courses with Bunge: selected chapters from the physiology of vegetative functions (Mondays and Tuesdays, 3–4 p.m.) and a practical course in physiological chemistry for beginners (Wednesdays and Thursdays, 2–5 p.m.). Bunge’s winter offerings also included a circle on recent physiological research for advanced students (two hours) and daily laboratory work for advanced students. Sometime in 1898 Jung transcribed excerpts from Bunge’s *Textbook of Physiological Chemistry* as part of his collection of transcriptions and commentaries initiated in 1897, and titled “Philosophica.”⁴⁰ He also referred to Bunge and his vitalistic views in two Zofingia Society contexts: his lecture “Reflections on the Nature and Value of Speculative Research” (May 21, 1898), and in a comment on Hans Burckhardt’s lecture “A Few Aspects of Physiology” (November 19, 1898).

Later in his studies, Jung began participating in public “clinical circles.” In the summer semester of 1899 he attended a circle led by his professor of surgery, Ludwig Courvoisier,⁴¹ for which he gave a presentation on wound infections. This was followed by two additional practical circles: one in internal medicine with Müller during the winter semester 1899–1900, and another in surgery with Otto Hildebrand⁴² in the summer semester of 1900. In the 1899 circle

advocates of public health reform. Together with psychiatrists Auguste Forel (1848–1931) in Zurich and Karl Graeter (1874–1947) in Basel, he was a founder of the Swiss temperance movement.

40. Gustav von Bunge, *Lehrbuch der physiologischen und pathologischen Chemie: In neunund-zwanzig Vorlesungen für Ärzte und Studierende* [Textbook of physiological chemistry: in twenty-nine lectures for doctors and students] (F.C.W. Vogel, 1898). See below, § 371.

41. Ludwig Georg Courvoisier (1843–1918): Swiss surgeon and professor in Basel, one of the first doctors to remove gallstones from the common bile duct, and formulator of Courvoisier’s law, which states that painless enlargement of the gallbladder is unlikely to result from gallstones. Educated in Basel, Göttingen, London, and Vienna, Courvoisier held a professorship in surgery at the University of Basel from 1888. At the time that Jung was a student, Courvoisier was teaching two courses: in the winter semesters, he taught a review course in specialized surgery (three hours a week, Monday and Thursday, late afternoon and early evening); in the summer semesters, he taught a course on hernias (two hours a week, days and times not known).

42. Otto Hildebrand (1858–1927): German pathologist and surgeon. He studied at the University of Jena and worked under Franz König (1832–1910), before becoming head of the surgical polyclinic at the Berlin-Charité in 1896. In 1899 he was appointed professor of surgery at the University of Basel, where he remained until 1904, when he returned to Berlin to succeed König at the Charité.

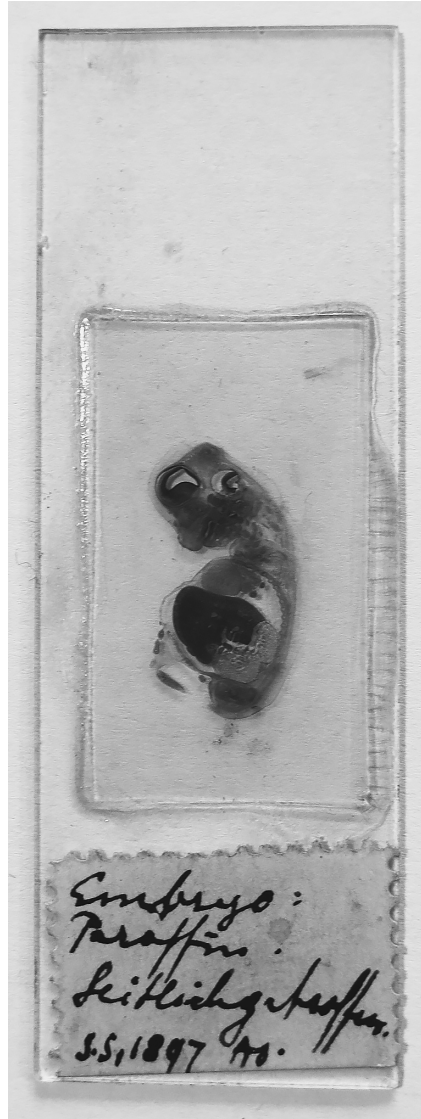


FIGURE 4. Paraffin-embedded embryo. Microscopic histology exercise, summer semester 1897.

Courvoisier was acting as Hildebrand's assistant, as noted in Jung's university record book in reference to the surgical clinic course he attended that semester.⁴³ Both Hildebrand and Müller held their circles every Tuesday at 7 p.m.

43. Courvoisier was not listed as leading any circles in the lecture catalogues for those years.

In his 1899 lecture, Jung discussed the third part of Konrad Brunner's *Experiences and Studies of Wound Infection* (1899),⁴⁴ which examined the ongoing debate over pyemia and septicemia—two types of systemic infection marked by significant confusion in both terminology and understanding. Although bacteriology had begun to shed light on the causes of these conditions, their classification and naming remained contentious. Scholars were divided between those such as Carl Gussenbauer, Theodor Billroth,⁴⁵ and Ernst Ziegler⁴⁶ who sought to distinguish infections caused by pus-forming bacteria (pyemia) from ones caused by putrefactive toxins (septicemia), and those such as Robert Tillmanns⁴⁷ and Hermann Lossen⁴⁸ who argued that such distinctions were outdated and should be abandoned altogether. Others redefined sepsis solely via bacteriological findings, ignoring clinical signs—an approach Brunner criticized as impractical and misleading.

Around the same time, Jung composed the text for a self-selected presentation on Franz Tuczek's *Clinical and Anatomical Studies of Pellagra* (1893).⁴⁹ Drawing on Cesare Lombroso's vivid descriptions, he portrayed pellagra as a progressive and ultimately fatal disease, primarily affecting impoverished rural populations in regions such as northern Italy, Spain, and Romania. He adopted the conventional medical framework of a three-stage progression: beginning with gastrointestinal symptoms and skin lesions, advancing to neurological disturbances, and culminating in severe physical and mental deterioration—often including psychosis in the later stages. Neurologically, Jung followed Tuczek in emphasizing consistent degenerative changes in specific spinal tracts, lending support to contemporary theories of systematic neural vulnerability. He also engaged with the social and environmental dimensions of the disease, underscoring its close association with poor living conditions and inadequate agricultural practices—particularly the improper drying and storage of Quarantino maize in the damp northern climate. While acknowledging a range of competing etiological theories—including

44. Conrad Brunner, *Erfahrungen und Studien über Wundinfektion und Wundbehandlung* [Experiences and studies of wound infection and wound treatment] (Verlag von J. Huber, 1899).

45. On Gussenbauer and Billroth, see below, note 1104.

46. On Ziegler, see below, note 1107.

47. On Tillmanns, see below, note 1108.

48. On Lossen, see below, note 1109.

49. Franz Tuczek, *Klinische und anatomische Studien über die Pellagra* [Clinical and anatomical studies of pellagra] (Fischer, 1893). On Franz Leonhard Tuczek, see below, p. 409. On Cesare Lombroso, see below, note 178.

malnutrition, poverty, and heredity—Jung ultimately sided with Lombroso's view: that pellagra was caused by toxic substances produced by fungal and bacterial contamination in spoiled maize, a conclusion supported by experimental evidence.

Jung's active participation in these clinical circles, along with the knowledge he demonstrated in both presentations, reflects his early interest in internal medicine. His fascination with the natural sciences was deepened through his medical studies. At the same time, however, he had a persistent thirst for philosophical understanding that could only be quenched through his participation in extracurricular debates with his peers, such as those offered by a fraternity.

The Zofingia Society

A Brief Introduction to the Zofingia

On May 18, 1895, Jung joined a color-bearing society, of which his father had also been a member. As Jung later recalled, early that year his father accompanied the fraternity on an outing to a wine-growing village in the German region of Markgräflerland, by the Black Forest. There, he gave a lighthearted and whimsical speech, briefly rekindling the cheerful spirit of his own student days. For Jung, it was a revealing moment. He suddenly saw with painful clarity that his father's inner life had stopped evolving after graduation: once, his father too had been a spirited and hopeful freshman, just as he himself was currently—filled with the same sense of promise, the same awe at the vast world of knowledge unfolding before him. Later that same year, his father's physical condition deteriorated, he became bedridden, and he died few months afterward.⁵⁰

The society in question was the Zofinger Society, commonly known as Zofingia: the oldest and largest student fraternity in Switzerland, founded in 1819 in the town of Zofingen (canton Aargau). The Basel section, one of the oldest branches, was founded in 1821. As a non-duelling men's association, the Zofingia grounded its values on sociability, academic engagement, and the cultivation of cultural and historical traditions. Annual gatherings were held in Zofingen; members received printed songbooks, and were encouraged to take an active interest in public discourse—even as the society itself refrained from aligning with political parties. Its organizational structure was

⁵⁰. *MDR*, p. 95.



FIGURE 5. Zofingia Centralfest group photograph (1895). Jung is very possibly the man standing third from the right.

semi-centralized: while the main administration remained based in Zofingen, each local branch, or section, maintained its own leadership, with officers elected on a termly basis. A rotating central committee, drawn annually from one of the sections, ensured that each branch periodically contributed to the society's overall governance.

The official journal and main communication channel of the Zofingia Society was the *Centralblatt des Schweizerischen Zofingervereins*. It first appeared in 1867–1868, and quickly became the society's main voice, publishing a wide range of content, from essays, poems, and speeches to reports from local chapters and obituaries. It also recorded the proceedings of the annual national gatherings and annual celebration, and included contributions from guests outside the fraternity (although the journal was not for sale or external circulation). In its early years, the Zofingia Society communicated through official correspondence read at meetings. Over time, various sections began publishing their own journals, including *Le Zofingien* (1850–1852), *Zofinger Blatt* (1850–1854), and *Année Zofingienne* (1861). In 1861, prompted by the St. Gallen section, the *Centralblatt des Neu-Zofingervereins* was launched. This publication ran until 1867 and is considered the predecessor of the *Centralblatt des Schweizerischen Zofingervereins*, which officially began with the 1867–1868 (1868) issue.

Among the earliest branches of the Zofingia was the Basel section, established in 1821. In 1895 the section was housed in the historical building of the Brauerei zum Löwenfels, an antique brewery, once renowned for producing “the strongest beer,” then closed down in 1875. The society, however, had already used the site since 1851. The brewery was colloquially called “Breo,” a nod both to the Brändlin family (its historical owners) and to the German term for breweries. Its rowdy atmosphere often disturbed neighbors, with loud drinking contests audible even from the nearby market square.⁵¹ Many important meetings took place there, and recognizing this is crucial to understand the camaraderie that accompanied the serious discussions held at these gatherings. The society also met during the Christmas holidays and on *Fasnacht*, the traditional Basel carnival. In 1896 the close connection with the *Fasnacht* tradition in Basel became manifest through the founding of the Breo-Clique. This

51. The venue was destroyed by a fire in 1919. The home of the Zofingia section of Basel was eventually moved to Nadelberg 12, near the university. The “Breo” now consists of two apartments and a club room linked to a vaulted cellar. Although access is normally limited to members, each year during the *Basler Fasnacht*, it is temporarily repurposed as a *Fasnacht* pub.

was established by young members of the student association “Amicitia,” the gymnastics club of the Zofingia Society, who were also regular patrons of the “Breo.” The clique brought together drummers, piccolo players, and lantern-carriers, and took part in the *Fasnacht* procession as well as related events, performing traditional marches in elaborate costumes and masks.

On Wednesday, October 27, 1897 Jung was elected president of the Basel section for the winter semester 1897–1898. He delivered his inaugural address on November 6, betraying for the first time, however, ambivalent feelings towards the society. His speech was distinctly critical of the Zofingia, likening it to a tower in a fortified city—impressive from the outside, but internally unstable due to its lack of cohesion and uniformity. Later, in a letter to his fellow Zofingian and president of the central committee at the time, Andreas Vischer,⁵² dated August 29, 1899, Jung expressed deep disillusionment with the other members. He recounted suddenly grasping the group’s overall hostile atmosphere, following internal misunderstandings that involved a cousin of Jung’s, also a member of the fraternity, who had accused Jung of plotting against him. Apparently Jung felt despised, betrayed, and hurt by the profound lack of understanding on the part of the fraternity in recent times. Vischer, despite his honesty, seemed only to be tolerated—according to Jung’s perception—thanks to his name and financial prospects. Feeling alienated and redundant, Jung declared his role in the fraternity to be at an end:

I’ve long known that I am met only with incomprehension, but I never would have expected them to treat me like this. I don’t know if I can bear to spend another hour with them. People sicken me, I fear their baseness.

52. Andreas Vischer (1877–1930): surgeon, brother-in-law of Albert Oeri (see above, note 9). Trained in Basel, earning his medical doctorate in 1904 and his habilitation in 1918, Vischer went on to become director, in 1905, of the German Mission Hospital in Urfa (now in Turkey), which had been established in 1897. From a wealthy family, Vischer was elected president of the Basel section of the Zofingia in the summer semester 1898, and president of the central committee for the academic year 1898–1899, though in a letter from April 1898 Jung had warned him against this: “I have now spoken with people round the beer table a few times. As far as I can tell, most of them want you to become president in the summer semester. A few even think that I should do it again. Of course there’s no question of that. At any rate, I will recommend your election to the committee in some form, because you must serve once; this idea will not seem strange to you. It’s your duty. But I believe being central president is not your duty. For that we need to find someone for whom it would be an honor.” Jung to Vischer, April 1898, Vischer Family Papers, SB.



FIGURE 6. Zofingia group photograph. Jung sits in the middle row, third on the left.



FIGURE 7. Zofingia group photograph. Jung is the first on the left, standing.



FIGURE 8. Zofingia Songbook (1861), inside cover. The Latin motto translates as, “So let us rejoice, while we are young.”

I have realized that my purpose and work at the Zofingia are over. I hoped to plant a budding shoot that would blossom for many springs to come; the epoch is done, finished, the work is irretrievably lost. I am now mummified. What am I still doing in the Zofingia? They don’t need me. They’ll be happy if I leave. I feel like leaving. The thought that you too will lose faith in my intentions fills me with horror.⁵³

53. Jung to Vischer, August 29, 1899, *ibid.*

Nonetheless, he remained a member, and participated in the discussions as intensely as ever, showing a different, more convivial, side. As Oeri later recalled, Jung—nicknamed “Walze” (meaning “barrel” or “roller,” as in “steam-roller”) by his Zofingia friends—was a cheerful and spirited member who often mocked the more disciplined fraternity brothers, referring to them as the “League of Virtue.”⁵⁴ Although he rarely drank, when he did, it was loudly and memorably, as confirmed by the official minutes of the Zofingia meetings. For instance, on February 18, 1899, the Saturday before *Fasnacht*, Jung had a few too many drinks and “tried to initiate a debate about unresolved philosophical questions,” and ultimately “blathered on endlessly.” At the following meeting on February 25 Jung requested that the phrase “blathered on” be amended to “talked.” Steiner later recalled in this instance having no objection to Jung’s suggestion of replacing the offending term with a bland one; however, he later wrote him a letter that amounted to a reckoning. He “reproached him for the fact that the discussions, though sometimes impressive, were ultimately nothing but unproductive dialectic,” offering no ideals or goals. Jung, he argued, “had passed on nothing positive, nothing to strive for,” his worldview being shaped largely by Schopenhauer’s pessimism. Steiner also noted Jung’s hesitancy with respect to Nietzsche at the time, and described his own stance through quotations from *Zarathustra*. He concluded by urging Jung to present an ideal, insisting that “discussions merely for the sake of discussing are meaningless.”⁵⁵

Finally, as recalled by Oeri, after a typical night at the “Breo,” Jung disliked making the long walk through the eerie “nightingale woods” to the Bottminger Mühle, where he lived. To avoid going alone, he would begin telling one of his companions something especially interesting as they all left the tavern, and without noticing it, the listener would accompany him all the way to his door. Along the way he might interrupt the story to remark, “This is where Dr. X was once murdered,” or something similar. At parting he often entrusted a friend with his revolver for his own walk home.⁵⁶ Similarly, Steiner recalls the long walks from the “Breo” to Jung’s house, and the deep conversations about spiritualism, that he found fascinating; however, another friend of theirs, a student of theology, became anxious when Jung tried for months to convert him to his

54. Oeri, “Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen,” p. 526.

55. Steiner, “Erinnerungen an Carl Gustav Jung,” pp. 160–61.

56. Oeri, “Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen,” p. 528. On the Bottminger Mühle, see below, p. 41.



FIGURE 9. Punting expedition with two friends. Jung is furthest forward (first on the right).

spiritualistic convictions. One night, Jung's forceful talk about demons terrified the young theologian, who fled back to the city lights.⁵⁷

"Patriae, Amicitiae, Litteris"

At the fifth regular meeting of the Basel section of Zofingia, held on May 16, 1896, Gustav Senn⁵⁸ delivered a presentation on the central discussion theme for the summer semester: "Does the Zofingia fulfill the duties imposed on it by the motto *Scientia*, and how can more vigorous scholarly activity among all members be achieved?" The Latin motto of the Zofingia Society, "*Patriae, Amicitiae, Litteris*," exhorts discussion of three main subject areas: national identity (*patria*, "fatherland"); members' internal affairs, including organizational and administrative matters (*amicitia*, "friendship/personal relations"); and scholarly research across a range of subjects (*litterae*, "scholarship"). In his talk, Senn drew a distinction between *litterae* and *scientia*, emphasizing that, unlike the narrower focus of the latter term, *litterae* signified the promotion of the general education of members. This was to be achieved through well-prepared lectures in which speakers were encouraged to present personal perspectives on a broad range of topics, allowing members to gain insight into subjects beyond their own fields.⁵⁹ The seriousness with which both the structure and the subjects of the lectures were discussed by the Zofingians is key to understanding Jung's lectures and contributions.

Between November 1896 and January 1899 Jung delivered four lectures and one presidential address to his fellow Zofingians. In addition, from February 1896 to June 1900, he participated in nineteen discussions—most of them after his final lecture. Altogether, during his time as a member of the Zofingia, he contributed on at least twenty-four occasions. In contrast to those of his fellow medical students, however, his contributions were very rarely on medical subjects; on most occasions, he discussed philosophical matters, questioning, in most cases, the epistemological framework of the academic class.

57. Steiner, "Erinnerungen an Carl Gustav Jung," pp. 144–45.

58. Gustav Senn (1875–1945): student of philosophy, then Swiss botanist and historian of botany. A pupil of Georg Klebs (1857–1918), he conducted research on chloroplast movement and morphology, and also published studies on the ancient Greek botanist Theophrastus (ca. 371–ca. 287 BCE).

59. Protocols of the Zofingia Society, SB.

Jung's first lecture, "On the Fringes of Exact Science,"⁶⁰ was delivered on November 28, 1896. In the abstract reported in the minutes, he wrote, "The purpose of the paper is to show the connections between spiritualism and the exact natural sciences, and the intellectual possibilities therein, and not to make any declarations about the nature of spiritualism." The lecture itself was an epistemological manifesto against materialism, mechanicism, and anti-vitalistic academic dogmatism, and in favor of scientific self-reflection and openness to metaphysical inquiry. Jung argued that core scientific concepts—such as ether, gravity, atoms, and life—rest on metaphysical assumptions, despite their claim to empirical objectivity. Drawing on physics, chemistry, and biology, he contended that foundational phenomena cannot be explained without unverifiable premises. Rather than rejecting such limits, Jung advocated for a more expansive, metaphysically aware science. The lecture was warmly received and praised for its clarity and relevance. After the discussion, the paper was unanimously recommended for submission to the *Centralblatt*, although it was never published.⁶¹ The urge to discuss anti-materialistic subjects in academia would recur not only in Jung's next two lectures, but also in his contributions to later discussions. The debate around science and vitalism extended beyond the Zofingia, as seen in the rectoral address, "The Problem of Life," delivered by Professor Ernst Bumm on November 10, 1899.⁶²

On May 15, 1897 Jung delivered his second lecture, "A Few Thoughts Regarding Psychology." In this, he broadened his critique of academic scientific dogmatism by attempting to incorporate phenomena such as telepathy, clairvoyance, telekinesis, and premonitions into a proposed "empirical psychology," aimed at supporting the existence and immortality of the soul. As later recalled

60. See below, §§ 19–84.

61. The annual report of the Basel section for the year 1896–1897 denounced ongoing issues with the editorial board of the *Centralblatt*, with several submissions being rejected, and others returned with offensive marginal comments and corrections regarding the authors (the dispute eventually led to a change in the journal regulations to prevent further quarrels). Nonetheless, the Basel section was often praised in the journal as one of the most active.

62. Ernst Bumm, *Das Problem des Lebens im Lichte der Naturwissenschaften des XIX. Jahrhunderts: Rectoratsrede gehalten am Jahresfeste der Universität Basel den 10. November 1899* [The problem of life in in light of the nineteenth-century natural sciences: rector's inaugural address given at the annual celebration of Basel University, November 10, 1899] (Druck der Kgl. Universitätsdruckerei von H. Stürtz, 1900). Ernst Bumm (1858–1925) was a German gynecologist and obstetrician, professor of gynecology in Basel from 1894 to 1901, and rector of Basel University in 1899.

in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (hereafter *Memories*; *MDR* in note references), six weeks after his father's death, Jung dreamed that his father stood before him, saying he had returned from a holiday, recovered, and was coming home. Expecting reproach for having taken over his room, he was surprised by his father's indifference. Yet he felt ashamed for having believed him dead. The dream recurred two days later, with the same message and self-reproach. This vivid experience led him, for the first time, to reflect on life after death.⁶³ Driven by this motif, Jung engaged with the contemporary debate around vitalism and spiritualism, and sided with figures such as Friedrich Zöllner,⁶⁴ Alfred Russel Wallace,⁶⁵ Sir William Crookes,⁶⁶ and Gustav Theodor Fechner,⁶⁷ against Emil

63. *MDR*, pp. 96–97. See also *JLW*, pp. 81–82.

64. Johann Karl Friedrich Zöllner (1834–1882): German astrophysicist who undertook spiritualist experiments with the medium Henry Slade. Zöllner had also had a correspondence with Jung's grandfather.

65. Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913): English naturalist and co-formulator of the theory of natural selection, who sought to provide scientific explanations for spiritualistic phenomena.

66. Sir William Crookes (1832–1919): English chemist and physicist, member of the Royal Society and discoverer of cathode rays. Crookes conducted sittings with the American medium Daniel Dunglas Home (1833–1886), and became convinced of the authenticity of spiritualistic phenomena. He claimed to witness in Home's presence an accordion being played without being touched, and people levitating. To explain these occurrences, he posited the existence of a psychic force, which some people possessed as a native endowment. Most controversial were his seances with the medium Florence Cook, and his claim to have witnessed the materialization of the being known as Katie King. His researches met with a great deal of opprobrium. See William Crookes, *Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism* (J. Burns, 1874).

67. Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–1887): German philosopher, physicist, pioneer in experimental psychology and cofounder of psychophysics, the discipline providing a quantitative investigation of the relationship between stimuli and sensations or perceptions. In 1839 Fechner suffered a breakdown after damaging his eyes while studying afterimages by staring at the sun. He withdrew from the world for three years, during which his interest in philosophy deepened. He embraced an animistic world view, believing that all things have a soul, and that mind and matter are two aspects of the same reality. Fechner published on these themes under the pseudonym "Dr. Mises." Jung particularly valued these works, and discussed them in 1933 in his ETH lectures (vol. 1, pp. 29–31). In his library, Jung had a copy of Fechner's *Das Büchlein vom Leben nach dem Tode, mit einem Geleitwort von Wilhelm Wundt* [The booklet on life after death; with a foreword by Wilhelm Wundt] (Im Insel-Verlag, 1900 [1836]).

Heinrich du Bois-Reymond,⁶⁸ Carl Ludwig,⁶⁹ Wilhelm Wundt,⁷⁰ and Hermann von Helmholtz.⁷¹ By proving the scientific validity of spiritualistic phenomena, the immortality of the soul could also be proved. Jung's preparation for this lecture was extensive: on July 3, 1896 he borrowed the first two volumes of Zöllner's four-volume *Scientific Treatises*, followed by the remaining two on July 11.⁷² On January 16, 1897 he took out the German translation of Wallace's book *The Scientific Aspect of the Supernatural*,⁷³ and between January 30 and May 4 he borrowed Kant's *Lectures on Psychology* twice.⁷⁴ On May 4 he also

68. Emil Heinrich du Bois-Reymond (1818–1896), anti-vitalist professor of physiology at the University of Berlin, the city of his birth. He is considered the founder of electrophysiology; indeed, he was the first to study the effects of electricity on nerves and muscle fibers. He also collaborated with the German physiologist and physicist Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), and both of them with the German physiologist Carl Ludwig (1816–1895). The three together had a great impact on European biology, in terms of their efforts to link physiology with applied physics and chemistry. In 1847, together with Ernst von Brücke (1819–1892) (under whom Sigmund Freud [1856–1939] studied), they vowed to base physiology on a purely chemico-physical foundation, eschewing all recourse to vital forces.

69. Carl Ludwig (1816–1895): German physiologist and strong opponent of vitalism, known for his work on blood circulation, kidney function, anesthesia and the development of physiological research methods, including the invention of the kymograph, a device for recording physiological processes. Ludwig was awarded the Coplay medal in 1884.

70. Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920): German physiologist and philosopher, often considered the father of German experimental psychology, following the foundation of his Institute of Experimental Psychology in Leipzig in 1879.

71. Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand Helmholtz (1821–1894): German physician, physicist, and physiologist whose research spanned optics, acoustics, electrodynamics, thermodynamics, and the physiology of perception. He is renowned for formulating the law of the conservation of energy (1847), pioneering work on the speed of nerve conduction, and inventions such as the ophthalmoscope (1851).

72. Johann Karl Friedrich Zöllner, *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* [Scientific treatises], 4 vols. (Verlag von Staackmann, 1878–1881).

73. Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Scientific Aspect of the Supernatural: Indicating the Desirableness of an Experimental Enquiry by Men of Science into the Alleged Powers of Clairvoyants and Mediums* (F. Farrah, 1866), translated into German as *Die wissenschaftliche Ansicht des Uebernatürlichen, welche eine experimentelle Untersuchung über die vorgeblichen Kräfte von Hellsehern und Medien durch Männer der Wissenschaft wünschenswerth erscheinen lässt*, trans. Gregor C. Wittig, ed. Alexander Aksakov (Oswald Mutze, 1874).

74. Carl du Prel, *Vorlesungen über Psychologie; mit einer Einleitung: Kants mystische Weltanschauung* [Lectures on psychology: with an introduction: Kant's mystical worldview] (E. Günter, 1889). This edition by Carl du Prel sought to establish the kinship of Kant with Swedenborg's (see below), and ultimately du Prel's, views on the mind–body relationship and

borrowed Schopenhauer's *Parerga and Paralipomena*.⁷⁵ These readings converged in the lecture: with Kant and Schopenhauer providing the theoretical framework, Jung cited names such as Swedenborg,⁷⁶ Crookes, Zöllner, and Wallace to denounce the spiritual apathy of modern academia and the moral decline it engenders, urging instead a spiritual renewal grounded in transcendental truths and empirical evidence. The lecture was received by his fellow

life after death. Baron Carl du Prel (1839–1899) was a German philosopher and spiritualist, who sought to combine Kantian idealism with the new psychology. In *The Philosophy of Mysticism* he proposed a transcendental psychology in which altered states revealed the constitution of the psyche. He conceived of dreams as symbolic self-representations of the psyche in a dramatic form, which established the atemporal and aspatial existence of the soul and had a healing function. In Jung's library is a copy of Carl du Prel, *Das Rätsel des Menschen: Einleitung in das Studium der Geheimwissenschaften* [The riddle of the human being: introduction to the study of the occult sciences] (Philipp Reclam jun., 1892). As reported by Stefanie Zumstein-Preiswerk, on New Year's Day, 1897 Jung gave his cousin Louise "Luggi" Preiswerk (1874–1957) a volume containing that book along with du Prel's *Der Spiritismus* [Spiritualism] (Philipp Reclam jun., 1893), with the dedication, "For his dear cousin Luggi, a little book which deserves the attention of a fine soul." Stefanie Zumstein-Preiswerk, *C. G. Jung's Medium: Die Geschichte der Helly Preiswerk* [C. G. Jung's medium: the story of Helly Preiswerk] (Kindler Verlag, 1975), p. 142. In a letter to his future mother-in-law in 1899 Jung wrote, "As a further item, I am sending you du Prel's pamphlet in place of Schopenhauer's *Parerga*. [...] I think it will interest you." Jung to Bertha Rauschenbach, July 21, 1899, JFA. The Reclam edition of du Prel's book was also recommended to Emma Rauschenbach in a letter in 1902, in case she found an interest in "the physical phenomena of [the medium] Eusapia Palladino." Jung to Emma Rauschenbach, February 5, 1902, JFA.

75. Arthur Schopenhauer, *Parerga and Paralipomena: Short Philosophical Essays* (1851), 2 vols.: *Volume 1*, ed. and trans. Sabine Roehr and Christopher Janaway (Cambridge University Press, 2014); *Volume 2*, ed. and trans. Adrian Del Caro and Christopher Janaway (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

76. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772): Swedish scientist and Christian mystic. In 1743 he underwent a religious crisis, which is described in his spiritual diary. In 1745 he had a vision of Christ. He then devoted his life to relating what he had heard and seen in heaven and hell and learned from the angels, and in interpreting the internal and symbolic meaning of the Bible, arguing that it had two levels of meaning: a physical, literal level, and an inner, spiritual level. These were linked by correspondences. He proclaimed the advent of a "new church" that represented a new spiritual era. According to Swedenborg, from birth one acquired evils from one's parents which are lodged in the natural man, who is diametrically opposed to the spiritual man. Man is destined for heaven, but he cannot reach it without spiritual regeneration and a new birth. The means to this lay in charity and faith. In *Memories*, Jung recalled, "Names like Zöllner and Crookes impressed themselves on me, and I read virtually the whole of the literature available to me at the time [...]. Kant's *Dreams of a Spirit-Seer* came just at the right moment, and soon I discovered Karl du Prel [...]. I dug up Eschenmeyer, Passavant, Justinus Kerner and Görres, and read seven volumes of Swedenborg." *MDR*, p. 117. See also *JLW*, p. 74.

(continued...)

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