Carl Gustav Jung’s university lectures, conducted in the winter semester of 1938/1939 (28 October–3 March) and the first half of the summer semester 1939 (28 April–9 June), and announced as “Introduction to the Psychology of the Unconscious,” were dedicated to the topic of Eastern spirituality. Starting out with the psychological technique of active imagination, he sought to find parallels in Eastern meditative practices. His focus was on meditation as taught by different yogic traditions and in Buddhist practice. The final four lectures of the summer semester 1939 (16 June–7 July) dealt with those meditative practices in Christianity that Jung saw as equivalent to the aforementioned examples from the East. Here Jung was particularly interested in The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, which formed the main topic of the following winter semester 1939/1940. Those four lectures will be published together with the lectures of 1939/1940 as volume 7 of this series.\(^\text{14}\) After a break over the summer of 1940, Jung restarted his lectures with a summary of the previous semesters. As Jung briefly returned to the topic of Eastern meditation as part of a summation, the first and second lectures of the winter semester 1940/1941 are published at the end of this volume.

Jung’s engagement with Eastern spirituality and yoga can, at least, be traced back to the time of Transformations and Symbols of the Libido\(^\text{15}\) (1912), which included a psychological reading of the Upanishads and the Rigveda.\(^\text{16}\) His acquaintance with John Woodroffe’s (aka Arthur Avalon)\(^\text{17}\) The Serpent Power – Jung owned a copy of the first edition of

\(^{14}\) In preparation.
\(^{15}\) Jung (1912).
\(^{16}\) For a detailed analysis of Jung’s reception of yoga and Eastern thought, see Shamdasani’s introduction to Jung’s seminar on Kundalini yoga (Shamdasani, 1996).
\(^{17}\) Sir John George Woodroffe (aka Arthur Avalon) (1865–1936), British Sanskrit scholar, expert on Hindu tantra, who served the British Indian legal system in different capacities for eighteen years—from 1915, including even as chief justice—before he returned to England in 1923 where he became a Reader for British Indian law at the University of Oxford. Under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon, he translated and edited many tantric texts
1919—which was basically a commentary on the Śaṭ Cakra Nirūpaṇa,18 gave Jung his initial knowledge of Kundalini Yoga. This interest in Kundalini and Tantric Yoga culminated in the seminar series by the Tubingen Sanskrit scholar Jakob Wilhelm Hauer19 in the Psychological Club Zurich in 1932. Hauer’s lectures were accompanied by a psychological commentary from Jung.20 At the same time Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn21 was organising the first Eranos conference which took place in her house near Ascona in the summer of 1933. The idea of dedicating this annual conference to the topic of the relationship between Eastern and Western philosophy and religion came from Jung himself. Consequently the first conference was on ‘Yoga and Meditation’ in the East and West.22 At Ascona in the 1930s Jung had the opportunity to discuss Indian thought and spirituality with scholars, colleagues, and friends such as the Indologist Heinrich Zimmer,23 the French Orientalists Paul Masson-Oursel,24 and the scholars of Buddhism Caroline Rhys Davids25 and Jean Przyluski26—to
mention but a few. And, finally, Jung experienced India at first hand when he was invited by the British government to take part in the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Indian Science Congress Association at the University of Calcutta. He left Zurich at the beginning of December 1937 together with Harold Fowler McCormick and travelled through India for three months. Afterwards he wrote two articles entitled “The Dreamlike World of India” and “What India Can Teach Us” (1939)—the latter being a clear reference to Max Müller’s 1883 article by the same title. Another text of Jung’s, published in Calcutta in 1936, was specifically dedicated to the topic of “Yoga and the West.”

In his lectures of 1938/1939, Jung chose three texts for introducing the audience to the practice of Eastern meditation: Patañjali’s Yoga Sūtra, the Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra from the Chinese Pure Land Buddhist tradition, and the Śrī-chakra-sambhāra Tantra, a scripture related to Tantric Yoga.

**Jung’s Reading of Patañjali’s Yoga Sūtra**

In the introductory lecture of 28 October 1938, Jung explained the technique of active imagination, pointing out the difficulties for the Western mind in allowing background images to occur while concentrating on a
particular object. The Western habit of discrimination has no equivalent in the East, where meditative practices allow the appearance of inner images instead of focusing on a single outer object.

The similarity between this technique which we use in a psychological way and Eastern Yoga should not be overlooked. The Western technique is a pitiful thing in comparison to what the East has to say about it. In any case, there exists a certain principal difference not only because the East surpasses itself with a rich literature and an exceptional differentiation of methods. Yoga as it is practiced now and has been practiced for many hundreds of years is a system. The Western technique is not a system, but a simple process. In the East, it is a technical system. As a rule, the revaluation or meditation object is prescribed there, which it is not in active imagination, where it arises quite naturally from a dream, from intimations that manifest in consciousness in a natural way.\(^{31}\)

This is the starting point for Jung’s introduction to this form of meditation, which was apparently unfamiliar to his audience. His first chosen text was the *Yoga Sûtra* by Patañjali, according to Jung the prime example of Eastern meditation. In the second lecture of the winter semester 1938/1939 he provided an introductory account of the *asthanga*, the eight limbs of yoga, and its aim, namely to reach the state of *samâdhi* or spiritual enlightenment, as well as an explanation of the concept of the *kleshas*,\(^{32}\) but he ended his analysis of the text somewhat abruptly after just one lecture.

He returned to the *Yoga Sûtra* only in the summer semester of 1939, when he apologized for the superficiality of his previous reading. The date of this lecture was 19 May 1939. The decision to return to the text might have been triggered by the visit of Surendranath Dasgupta\(^{33}\) in Zurich at the beginning of May 1939. The Indian scholar and author of *The Study of Patañjali* (1920) and *Yoga as Philosophy and Religion* (1924), while in Europe on a lecture tour, contacted Jung, whom he had met in Calcutta at the beginning of 1938.\(^{34}\) Jung organized a presentation in the Psycho-

\(^{31}\) Jung, ETH Lecture, 28 October 1938, pp. 10–11.

\(^{32}\) See note 117.

\(^{33}\) Surendranath Dasgupta (1887–1952), Indian philosopher and Sanskrit scholar from Bengal. After several posts at Indian universities he held a lectureship in Bengali in Cambridge, followed by a professorship in Calcutta; Mircea Eliade was also one of his students. He is best known for the five volumes of *A History of Indian Philosophy* (1922–1955).

logical Club Zurich; furthermore he invited Dasgupta to speak at the ETH as part of his Friday lectures: “I shall also try to arrange for a lecture at the Federal Polytechnicum, where I am professor . . . The lecture in the Psychological Club will take place on Saturday, May 6 at 8 p.m. The lecture at the Federal Polytechnicum will be on Friday, May 5 at 6 p.m. We should be much obliged to you if you would give us a talk about the relation of mind and body according to yoga in your Saturday lecture at the Psychol. Club. As a theme for the lecture at the Polytechnicum I would propose Psychology or Philosophy of Yoga (especially Patañjali Yoga Sūtra).”

Dasgupta did indeed give a presentation at the Psychological Club in Zurich on 3 May 1939. The title of his lecture was “The Relation of Mind and Body According to Yoga,” but the envisaged ETH-lecture on the Yoga Sūtra did not take place. In fact, it was Jung himself who lectured on Friday 5 May, and returned to Patañjali’s text two weeks later.

During his lecture series, Jung used different German translations of the text. The two translations that Jung referred to as authoritative were the ones by Jakob Wilhelm Hauer and Paul Deussen. Hauer’s translation of the Yoga Sūtra was first published in the journal Yoga in 1931. The text was reprinted in Der Yoga als Heilweg (1932). Jung had copies of both in his library. Deussen’s translation was published in part three of the first volume of Die allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie (1984–1917). Although in his lecture of 19 May 1939 Jung called Hauer’s translation more modern and psychologically differentiated than Deussen’s, in his lectures he preferred Deussen’s translation for its clarity. In addition, Jung owned a German copy of Vivekananda’s book on Raja-Yoga, which included another translation of the Yoga Sūtras rendered by Emma von Pelet, a collaborator with Jung, who belonged to the Eranos circle in Ascona, where she shared the house next to the Casa Gabriela

---

36 Hauer (1931).
37 Hauer (1932).
39 Lecture of 19 May 1939, p. 216.
40 Emma Hélène von Pelet-Narbonne (1892–1967), writer and translator, left Germany after Hitler came to power. In 1937 Pelet purchased the Casa Shanti, the third of the Eranos buildings, from Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, where she lived together with Alwine von Keller. They shared a common fascination for Jungian Psychology—both underwent analysis with Jung—and India. She translated works by Vivekananda (1896/1937; 1943), Ramakrishna (Pelet, 1930), and Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki (1957). On Pelet see Bernardini, Quaglino, and Roman (2011).
with Alwine von Keller. These translations were frequently compared with each other throughout Jung’s lectures on the Yoga Sūtra and, where necessary, contrasted with additional renderings. For instance, when Jung discussed the concept of the gunas as presented by Patañjali in YS 3.35, he also provided the audience with the translation of the passage by M.A. Oppermann and came up with his own suggestion for an adequate translation.

When the Yoga Sūtra was written its author could draw on a variety of ancient Indian traditions of yoga, Buddhism, and sāmkhya philosophy. Indian folklore has it that Patañjali, the author of the Yoga Sūtra, was identical with the author going by the same name who wrote the Mahābhāṣya, a commentary on Panini’s grammar Astha-Adhyāyī. If this were true, the Yoga Sūtra would have been written in the second century BCE. Jung followed this argument in his lecture and dated the Yoga Sūtra at around the same time. However, this theory is dismissed by most commentators and scholars today. Recent historical critical research dates the writing of the Yoga Sūtra to the beginning of the fifth century CE.

The 196 aphorisms of the text have certain features in common with sāmkhya philosophy. In his discussion of the text Jung referred to Richard Garbe, who in his books Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie (1894), of which Jung had the 1917 second edition in his library, and Sāmkhya und Yoga (1896) introduced Patañjali’s Yoga Sūtra as the main text of sāmkhya philosophy. Though yoga, according to Patañjali, shares with sāmkhya philosophical aspects such as the division between the transcendent Self (purusha) and material nature (prakriti)—the latter being composed of

---

41 Alwine (Alwina) von Keller (1878–1965): New York-born German psychotherapist and pedagogue. In the 1930s she left Germany for England and Switzerland, where she lived together with Emma von Pelet (see note 40) in the Casa Shanti next to Casa Gabriela, where the Eranos meetings took place. Fascinated by India and its culture—she visited India in 1929—she translated yogic texts from Sri Aurobindo (1943 and 1945) and Swami Vivekananda (Keller, 1944). On Keller see also Bernardini, Quaglino, and Romano (2011).

42 On the gunas see n. 235.

43 Oppermann (1908), p. 67.

44 Lectures of 19 May 1939, pp. 216–218, and 26 May 1939, pp. 219–220.

45 Lecture of 10 October 1938, p. 11.


47 Sāmkhya, or sānkhya, meaning “number,” is one of the six (original) schools of Hindu philosophy. It is said to have been founded by the sage Kapila.

three distinct qualities (gunas): sattva (i.e., the pure principle), rajas (i.e., the dynamic principle), and tamas (i.e., the principle of inertia). Yoga does not adhere to the atheistic nature of sâmkhya. Opinions about the relation between sâmghya and yoga are divided. What lies at the heart of this debate is the question whether yoga has a philosophical system of its own or whether sâmghya is identical with yoga. Jung’s collaborator in matters of yoga in the 1930s, Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (and more recent commentators like Georg Feuerstein), rejected the later theory, viewing this connection as a later development forced upon yoga. It is difficult to say where Jung stood in this debate; however, especially his discussion from May and June 1939 indicated that he was mainly interested in those aspects of the Yoga Sûtra that were identical with sâmghya. This gave him the opportunity to compare it with the mystical writings of Meister Eckhart.

What sâmghya and yoga do have in common is “a protracted history whose beginnings cannot be precisely determined.”49 The spiritual practice of yoga long predates Patañjali’s Yoga Sûtra: commentators even link archaeological findings from the Indus River culture from the third millennium BCE to some form of yoga.50 Ascetic practices of mastering the limitation of the physical body can already be found in the Rigveda (1000 BCE). Of special importance to the composition of Patañjali’s text is the first sermon of the Buddha as we know it from the Pali canon from the sixth century BCE. “The Yoga Sûtra was certainly composed much later, but the elements that it shares with Buddhism may come from a common store of contemplative practice that was incorporated into Buddhism and developed there. The important role of Buddhist technical terminology and concepts in the Yoga Sûtra suggest that Patañjali was aware of Buddhist ideas and wove them into his system.”51

It is perhaps this link between yoga and Buddhism that led Jung to a rather unusual choice for the second text of the lecture series.

**Jung’s Reading of the Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra**

In the spring of 1943, Jung spoke before the Swiss Society for the Friends of Eastern Asian Culture (Schweizerischen Gesellschaft der Freunde Ostasiatischer Kultur) on the Psychology of Eastern Meditation.52 In his

---

51 Ibid., p. 9.
52 Jung (1943). He held the same presentation on 8th May at the Psychological Club Zurich.
Jung set out to specify the characteristics that differentiate the Eastern world view from that of the West. According to Jung, these differences become most obvious in the religious practices: whereas the Western religions, especially Christianity, tend to go outward (love your neighbour, God in heaven, etc.), the Eastern turn inward, and its devotees renounce the outer world as mere appearance. Indian yoga, where the practitioner aspires to reach the state of samādhi (higher consciousness) through dhyāna (meditation), serves as Jung’s prime example for such kinds of religious practice.

Given the expertise that Jung had gathered on the topic of Indian yoga, it was rather surprising that, in his presentation of 1943, the text he chose to introduce as a main example for the practice of yoga was not Indian, but Chinese, and not Hindu, but Buddhist. It was the Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra,53 which can be translated as the sūtra of Amitābha meditation. In his lecture, Jung gave some brief information about the text largely following Max Müller’s introduction to the first English translation of 1894, published in volume 49 of The Sacred Books of the East.54 Then he outlined the narrative frame of the sūtra, where Shakyamuni, or Gautama Buddha, appeared to the princess Vaidehī in prison, teaching her sixteen meditations on how to reach the Western Kingdom of Amitābha. Jung gave certain examples from the text by way of emphasizing the meditative focus on the sun and the blue water. He called those meditations a yoga exercise [Yogaübungen], the aim of which was to reach samādhi.

Although it appears exceedingly obscure to the European, this Yoga text is not a mere literary museum piece. It lives in the psyche of every Indian, in this form and in many others, so that his life and thinking are permeated by it down to the smallest details. It was not Buddhism that nurtured and educated this psyche, but Yoga. Buddhism itself was born of the spirit of Yoga, which is older and more universal than the historical reformation wrought by the Buddha.


54 Sacred Books of the East, in the following abbreviated as SBE, was a book series of 50 volumes published by Oxford Clarendon Press between 1879 and 1910. The series was edited by Max Müller (1823–1900), the founder of the academic disciplines of indology and comparative religion. The SBE series comprised the main texts of Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, and Islam in English translation. Jung’s library catalogue shows that he had the entire series of 50 volumes at his disposal (of which 4 volumes went missing). See n. 151.
Anyone who seeks to understand Indian art, philosophy, and ethics from the inside must of necessity befriend this spirit.\textsuperscript{55}

\[\text{Unser Text ist insofern kein bloßes literarisches Museumsstück, als er in dieser und in vielen anderen Formen in der Seele des Inders lebt und dessen Leben und Denken durchdringt bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten, die dem Europäer so überaus fremdartig vorkommen. Es ist nicht etwa der Buddhismus, der diese Seele formt und erzieht, sondern der Yoga. Der Buddhismus selber ist eine Geburt aus dem Geiste des Yoga, der älter und universaler ist als die historische Reformations Buddhas. Mit diesem Geist muß sich derjenige wohl oder übel befreunden, welcher danach strebt, indische Kunst, Philosophie und Ethik von innen her zu verstehen.}\]

In a final twist, Jung compared the Eastern symbolism of the sun and the water with Christianity, where similar symbols could be found. Although the similarities were striking, they would point in different directions: whereas Western faith aimed at an outward elevation, Eastern spirituality sought revelation inside through meditation. The only Western equivalent to yogic meditation could be found in the \textit{Exercitia Spiritualia} of Ignatius of Loyola, but this would be of limited relevance for today’s Western society. According to Jung, it was modern science, which had supplied the analogue by finding another way of dealing with the \textit{kleśhas} \text{[obstacles]}, in the form of the psychology of the unconscious as shown in Freud’s findings.

This is where Jung’s lecture ended in 1943. Even if one assumes that the audience at the Society of the Swiss Friends of Eastern-Asian Culture may have been slightly familiar with some of the topics, the density of Jung’s lecture must have been overwhelming, to say the least: yoga, Buddhism, a Chinese Mahâyâna \textit{sûtra}, archetypal symbolism, psychology of the unconscious, Jesuit contemplative practice \ldots and so on. But what the baffled audience—and today’s reader with them—could not know was that this presentation was more or less a brief outline of Jung’s university lectures at the ETH delivered four years earlier. In order to understand Jung’s 1943 reading of the \textit{Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra} it is important to put it in the wider context of the lecture series, which this edition will do.

In both instances, Jung did not provide his audience with historical and scholarly details about the \textit{sûtra}, which undoubtedly was completely new.

\textsuperscript{55} Jung (1943), § 933.
to most of the participants. The Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra\(^\text{56}\) is one of the three major sūtras of Pure Land Buddhism, a brand of Mahāyāna Buddhism that is particularly strong in East Asia, especially in Japan, where it is known as Jōdo-shū.\(^\text{57}\) Pure Land Buddhism developed in China in the fourth and fifth centuries BCE. Usually 11 September 402 BCE is given as the founding date of the Pure Land sect, the day when Hui-yüan assembled monks and laymen on Mount Lushan in order to make a vow in front of an image of Buddha Amitābha. They committed themselves to be reborn in sukhāvati (Land of Bliss), the western part of the universe where the Buddha Amitābha resided. They would also return to show the others the path to the Pure Land. This kind of Buddhism is therefore closely related to the worship of the Buddha Amitābha, the Buddha of infinite light. The mere evocation of the Buddha’s name would lead the devotee to the western paradise, where he would remain until the final enlightenment.

The Buddha Amitābha himself is the Buddha reincarnation of the monk Dharmakāra. His story is told in the first of the three main sūtras of Pure Land Buddhism, which is the Sūtra of Immeasurable Life or the larger Sukhāvativyuha.\(^\text{58}\) According to the text, Dharmakāra vowed to create a Buddha land for all those who would invoke his name, do good deeds, and concentrate on enlightenment. The second sūtra, the Amida Sūtra or smaller Sukhāvativyuha Sūtra, states that it suffices to invoke the Buddha Amitābha at the time of death. Buddha Amitābha is accompanied by the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, representing infinite compassion and pity, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the power of wisdom.

According to Max Müller, the large Sukhāvativyuha Sūtra was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Sanghavarman in 252 BE, and the Amida Sūtra or small Sukhāvativyuha Sūtra was translated by Kumārajīva in 400 BE.\(^\text{59}\) The Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra or Visualisation Sūtra is the youngest. It was translated by Kālayasas in 424 CE. As the original Sanskrit text was missing, Müller decided to have the text translated from Chinese into English by the Japanese Sanskrit scholar J. Takakusu:

> Fortunately at the last moment a young Japanese scholar who is reading Sanskrit with me at Oxford, Mr. J. Takakusu, informed me

---

\(^{56}\) On the Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra see Tanaka (1990).


\(^{58}\) Sukhāvati, Sanskrit for Land of Bliss; Vyuha, Sanskrit for “magnificent display.”

that he possessed the Chinese translation of this Sūtra, and that he felt quite competent to translate it. It so happens that the style of this Sūtra is very simple, so that there is less fear of the Chinese translator, Kālayasas, having misunderstood the Sanskrit original. But though I feel no doubt that this translation from the Chinese gives us on the whole a true idea of the Sanskrit original, I was so much disappointed at the contents of the Sūtra, that I hesitated for some time whether I ought to publish it in this volume.\(^\)60

Jung obviously did not share Müller’s reservations, for he chose precisely this sūtra for his lecture in 1938. Of course, Jung was mainly interested in the question of dhyāna or meditation, and the Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra was known in the English-speaking world as the Meditation-sūtra. This view originated from a not entirely correct translation of the Chinese term “kuan,” which is better rendered as “recollection through visualization.” Thus, the correct title would translate as “The Sūtra of Visualizing the Buddha of Infinite Life and Light.” Nevertheless, for Jung this sūtra presented a prime example of yogic meditation, as his introduction to the text on 4 November 1938 made obvious:

Now I would like to give you an insight into the nature of developed yoga, i.e., how it developed within Buddhism and how it has throwbacks to the purely philosophical Hinduistic yoga. Here certain texts come into consideration which are perhaps hard to locate, for the classical books about yoga do not mention this. The last of these is perhaps the Yoga Sūtra, but it is difficult to understand and not much commented upon. You will hear very little about the later texts because they play host to a kind of symbolism which only the specialist treats in some journal or other, but which does not see the light of day for the ordinary mortal.

For this purpose, I have selected one text which has not survived even in Sanskrit. It was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in 424 CE, for at that time Mahāyāna Buddhism migrated to China. It can be found in an English translation in The Sacred books of the East in the 49th volume. The title for this sūtram reads Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra. Buddha Amitāyus\(^\)61 is a Bodhisattva.\(^\)62 He is the Buddha of

---

\(^{60}\) Ibid., pp. xx–xxi.

\(^{61}\) Buddha Amitāyus (‘endless life’) is another name for the Buddha Amitābha (“endless light”).

\(^{62}\) See note 158.
immeasurable life who has his kingdom in the western realm of the world, thus “The Book of the Meditation about the Amitâbha. 63

[Ich möchte Ihnen nun einen Einblick geben in das Wesen des entwickelten Yoga, d.h. wie er sich innerhalb des Buddhismus entwickelt hat und wie er so zurükwirkte auf den rein philosophischen hinduistischen Yoga. Da kommen nur Texte in Betracht, die man nicht leicht zu Gesicht bekommt, denn die klassischen Bücher über Yoga erwähnen das nicht. Das letzte ist vielleicht noch das Yoga-Sûtra, aber es ist schwer verständlich und kaum kommentiert. Von den späteren werden Sie sehr wenig zu hören bekommen, weil dort eine Summe von Symbolismen hineinkommt, die dann nur der Spezialist irgendwo in einer Zeitschrift kommentiert hat, die aber der gewöhnliche Sterbliche überhaupt nicht zu Gesicht bekommt.


Jung had abandoned further elaborations of Patañjali’s Yoga Sûtra in order to introduce the (to this audience) almost unknown Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra, which he announced as a Buddhist text that could show how yoga had striven and developed in Buddhism—and how, in reverse, the Buddhist development had influenced the “purely philosophical” yoga of Hinduism. This mingling of yoga, Hinduism, and Mahâyâna Buddhism leads to a number of questions about Jung’s approach to, understanding of, and differentiation among Eastern religions. In order to clarify Jung’s syncretism as presented in these lectures it is first of all necessary to have a closer look at the content of the sûtra.

The story takes place in the city of Râjagrha, today’s Râjgîr, Bihâr state, during the Buddha’s stay on the nearby Mount Grharakûta together with 1250 monks and 32,000 Bodhisattvas. The crown prince Ajâtasatru had had his father Bimbisâra arrested and locked into a cell behind seven walls. He intended to starve his father to death, but the king’s main consort

63 Jung, ETH Lecture, 4 November 1938.
Queen Vaidehî remained loyal to her husband and smuggled food and drink into his cell, thus keeping him alive. When her son, the crown prince, learned of her betrayal, he set out to kill his mother, and refrained from his deed only when his ministers threatened to abandon his court. Instead of killing his mother, the prince had her imprisoned as well.

This is the moment to mention that this sūtra, so important for Japanese Buddhism, did not escape the careful gaze of the early psychoanalysts. The Japanese psychoanalyst Heisaku Kosawa (1896–1968) used the figure of Prince Ajātasatru and his wish to kill his mother to develop the concept of a specific Japanese Ajātasatru complex [Ajase complex] that could be seen as an Eastern equivalent to the Oedipus complex. He wrote his text on the Ajase complex in Vienna in 1932. He discussed it with Freud, suggesting that the scenario described in various Buddhist sūtras would be more in tune with Japanese society than would the tragedy of Sophocles. As the Japanese father would be largely absent during the developmental years of the child, the main complex would be acted out between the mother and the child only. The Ajase complex would find its expression in the son’s feeling of guilt for his matricidal wish.64

The story continues with the isolated queen praying to Sākyamuni Buddha residing close to the city:

When Vaidehî raised her head from her obeisance, she saw Sākyamuni Buddha the World-Honored One, purpled-tinged golden, seated on a lotus flower made of a hundred treasures. He was attended by Mahāmaudgalyāyana on His left and Ānanda on His right. In the sky stood the Brahma-kings, the god-king Sakra, the four god-kings who protect the world, and other gods, and they showered celestial flowers everywhere as an offering to the Buddha.

Hearing the queen’s wish to be born in Amitābha Buddha’s Pure Land, Sākyamuni revealed to her the way to enter the land of Sukhavati, by way of achieving three meritorious works: (1) honouring one’s parents, serving one’s teachers and elders, cultivating loving kindness by not killing sentient beings, and doing ten good karmas; (2) taking and upholding the Three Refuges (Buddha, dharma or the teachings, and sangha or the community); and (3) activating Bodhi mind, deeply believing in causality, and reading and reciting Mahāyāna Sūtras. Then the Buddha taught the queen

---

how a sentient being is able to see Amitâbha’s Pure Land, which can be done by way of sixteen visualisations:

1. Contemplation of the setting sun
2. Contemplation of an expanse of water
3. Contemplation of the ground in the Pure Land
4. Contemplation of jewelled trees in the Pure Land
5. Contemplation of the pond waters in the Pure Land
6. Contemplation of the towers and surroundings in the Pure Land
7. Contemplation of the lotus-flower seat of the Buddha
8. Contemplation of the image of Amitâbha Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas
9. Contemplation of the body of Amitâbha Buddha
10. Contemplation of the sublime body of Avalokiteśvara
11. Contemplation of the sublime body of Mahâsthamapâra-pâta Bodhisattva
12. Contemplation of the rebirth in a lotus flower in the Pure Land
13. Contemplation of the image of Amitâbha and the two Bodhisattvas
14. Contemplation of rebirth in high rank
15. Contemplation of rebirth in middle rank
16. Contemplation of rebirth in low rank

Having listened to the Buddha’s words, Vaidehî “immediately saw the wide-ranging features of the Land of Ultimate Bliss and saw that Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas. With such joy, never experienced before, she came to a great realization, achieving the Endurance in the Realization of the No Birth of Dharma.”

It was in the three lectures on 11 and 25 November, and 2 December 1938 that Jung spoke in detail about the Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra. In contrast to his presentation of 1943, he focussed not only on the first two meditations on the sun and water, but also gave a brief overview of most of the contemplations. To Jung the sûtra was an example of the Eastern ability to shift the focus of attention inside through meditation: Queen Vaidehî was taught by the Buddha to escape our earthly prison and flee to the Amitâbha-Buddha land through techniques of inner concentration.

According to some commentators, Pure Land Buddhism strikes a typically Chinese note of longing for immortality, which has its origins in the Taoist tradition. Shoji Muramoto writes about the first patriarch of Pure Land Buddhism, Tan-Luan (476–542), that “his quest for longevity, a typically Chinese concern, is not to be overlooked. So the Taoist paradise
where Xians live and the Buddhist Pure Land are likely to be connected, at least psychologically."

This suggested link with Taoism came in handy for Jung, whose interest in Taoism was first aroused during his work on *Psychological Types* between 1915 and 1920. There Jung writes about the unifying symbol in Chinese philosophy, quoting extensively from the *Tao te ching* (Jung, 1921, §§ 358–369). He links the Tao, as the middle way between the opposites, to his concept of psychological wholeness. This understanding of the Tao as the middle way crept into his interpretation of the *Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra* when he quoted from another Buddhist text, the *Dhamma-Kakka-Pavattana Sutta* (Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness), in which Buddha teaches the middle way as the avoidance of the two extremes:

3. There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata [1]—a path that opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, that leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna!

4. What is that middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which ‘leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvâna? Verily! it is this noble eightfold path[,] that is to say
   Right views;
   Right aspirations;
   Right speech;

---


66 In the 1920s the contact and friendship with Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), who had translated the *Tao te ching* (Wilhelm, 1911), further increased his interest in Taoism. The *I-Ching*, translated by Wilhelm in 1924 (Wilhelm, 1924), inspired Jung’s concept of synchronicity (see Jung’s eulogy to Wilhelm [Jung, 1930]). He asked Cary F. Baynes to provide an English translation, which was finally published in 1950, and to which Jung provided a foreword (Jung, 1950). Wilhelm gave also a lecture on Chinese Yoga at the Zurich Psychological Club in 1926. The highlight of Jung’s collaboration with Wilhelm was his psychological commentary on a book on Taoist yoga entitled *The Secret of the Golden Flower*—also translated by Wilhelm (Wilhelm & Jung, 1929; Jung, 1929). As recent commentators have pointed out, Taoist thinking was instrumental in the development of Jungian concepts such as the “Self” and “synchronicity” (Coward, 1996). Jung’s library contained several editions of the *Tao te ching*: (1.) Lao-Tse: *Le Tao Te King. Le Livre de la Voie et de la vertu* (1842), (2.) Lao-Tze’s *Tao-Teh-King*. Chinese-English (1898), (3.) Lao-Tzu: *Tao Teh King* (1922), and (4.) *Tao Te Ching*: A new translation by Ch’u Ta-Kao (1937). Jung also owned a copy of Wilhelm’s *Lao-Tze und der Taoismus* (Wilhelm, 1925). For further reading on Jung and Taoism, see Khong/Thompson (1997).
Right conduct;  
Right livelihood;  
Right effort;  
Right mindfulness;  
and Right contemplation.

This, O Bhikkhus, is that middle path, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathâgata—that path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, . . .

In China the close similarities of Taoist and Buddhist concepts have caused controversies about the originality of Buddhism from its first introduction onwards, for instance, the hua hu theory, which claims that Buddhism is a doctrine taught by Lao-tzu to the barbarians after his departure to the Western Region. However, Jung was not concerned with those debates, but was impressed by the similarities. Not only that, the Chinese Pure Land teachings could even work as an example for the kind of meditation known as Tantric Yoga. In his lectures, Jung had no problem in placing the Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra between Patañjali’s Yoga Sûtra and the Sbî-chakra-sambhâra Tantra, a text from the Kundalini Yoga tradition, which Jung was acquainted with via Avalon’s edition of Tantric texts and Heinrich Zimmer’s Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred Images of India (1926).

And it is this latter book by Zimmer that Jung drew on heavily in his interpretation of the sûtra. In the 1943 lecture, Jung even opened his presentation with a reference to his friend Heinrich Zimmer, who had recently died of pneumonia on 20 March 1943 in New Rochelle, forced by the Nazis to leave Germany due to his criticism of the regime and the fact that he had a Jewish wife, the daughter of the Austrian writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Though Jung did not refer to Zimmer in the course of his interpretation of the sûtra at the ETH, his preparatory notes indicate that Jung had used Zimmer’s Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred Images of India to support his argument. A closer look at Zimmer’s text makes obvious how much Jung’s argument owes to Zimmer.

First, there is Jung’s constant treatment of the Buddhist Amitâyur-Dhyâna-Sûtra as a yogic text. Though it is not wrong to emphasise the

69 On Jung and Zimmer, see the forthcoming Philemon publication Jung and the Indologists, which contains Jung’s correspondence with Wilhelm Hauer, Heinrich Zimmer, and Mircea Eliade.
contribution of Buddhism to yoga – one may consider the specific forms of yoga that developed in Buddhism, for instance, in the Mahāyāna Buddhist yogacara School or the Tantric traditions of Tibetan Buddhism – and vice versa—there remains a significant difference with respect to their spiritual goals: the Buddha’s eightfold path aims at enlightenment and nirvana, while yoga pursues a higher state of consciousness. Feuerstein summarizes the relationship of Buddhism to yoga as follows: “The Buddha’s teaching can be styled a pragmatic type of Yoga which in metaphysical matters favours agnosticism rather than atheism, as often held.”

According to Zimmer’s understanding, which Jung followed in the ‘30s, the differences were merged in the common ground of Tantric practice:

The tantric world of thought and artistic forms dominates one whole age of the India spirit and, as an expression of the orthodox Brahman Weltanschauung, it has influenced and shaped the faith and modes of life of those heterodox Buddhist and Jaina sects that flourished and declined in the midst of orthodox Hinduism. Co-existing for centuries, both doctrines took over from late tantrism ideas of God, sacred forms, and symbols, and during this protracted process of amalgamation Buddhism in the Indian subcontinent essentially lost its own peculiar stamp until it was, in the end, completely obliterated. For all these reasons, what the orthodox Brahman tantric texts have to say about the meaning and function of the sacred image finds parallels in Buddhist literature, and may properly serve as guide for understanding the general formal aspect of Buddhist sacred images. It appears legitimate to assume that, historically, the sacred image and its worship gained entry into the Buddhist world after it had appropriated tantric concepts into its ascetic doctrine of release and after it had transformed its own worthies and saints into godlike beings modelled on the great Hindu divinities.

Zimmer’s argument is entirely based on Tantric Yoga as he knew it from Avalon’s publication of the tantras. Though it is possible to argue that the amalgamation of Buddhism and orthodox Hinduism via orthodox Brahman Tantric texts took place within certain branches of Buddhism, for instance Tibetan Buddhism with its Tantric Yoga practices and the emphasis on yantras, the linkage of Tantric Yoga to the Mahāyāna sūtras of the Pure Land tradition might stretch the argument too far. One could

---

71 Zimmer (1926), p. 23.
also add that Zimmer’s theory of amalgamation, while it might be true 
for India, might not hold for the development of Buddhism in China, 
which was not threatened with infiltration by orthodox Brahmanism. In-
terestingly enough, Zimmer quoted the large Sukhāvatīvyuha Sūtra as an 
example of the internal vision of the Eastern meditative practice, though 
he did not view it as a yogic text as Jung did with the Visualisation Sūtra.

The other point where Jung relied on Zimmer’s argument is his descrip-
tion of Western outward sight versus Eastern inward vision. Zimmer 
 wrote a chapter in his book on that topic, opposing the Western outward 
gaze that discriminates objects and needs a focus to the Eastern medita-
tive practice of internal visualisation:

The peculiar type of visualisation that fills up the entire field of view 
and that is in every detail equally clear and self-contained, is as an 
entirety more than a mere collection of individual parts: it is a spe-
cific product of inward sight. Our physical eye, constantly in mo-
tion, can never see anything remotely similar. This quite particular 
kind of visualization, which combines two opposites—the image’s 
broad surface together with a clear focus on a single point on it—
and is totally motionless, is the mental yet visible content that I pro-
jected upon the sacred image during the act of devotion. . . . Given 
the nature of that visualization, the peculiar quality of the figura-
tive sacred image can never be understood: the quality that causes 
the Westerner, again and again, to turn from it with awed feelings 
of estrangement, unless his senses have become dulled to it by long 
familiarity with the material and individual examples of it. 72

In his differentiation between the religious and spiritual practices of the 
West and the East Jung followed Zimmer’s dichotomy of outward sight 
and inward vision. The Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra provided him with a per-
fect example of the Eastern sacred image and its visualization as a medi-
tative practice. That he tied this aspect of meditation in the East solely to 
the Tantric Yoga practices was due to his reading of Zimmer, relying on 
an oversimplified argument to which Jung would not have had to com-
mit without reservation.

However, Jung’s psychological intention went beyond that of Zimmer, 
so much so that when he read Jung’s commentary on The Secret of the 
Golden Flower in 1929 Zimmer was apparently so outraged that he threw

72 Zimmer (1926), p. 61.
the book at the wall.73 It took him a while to realize the merit of a psychological take on these ancient texts and the useful implications for today’s psyche in the West. And this is why Jung’s interpretation in the ETH lectures reaches further than these first scholarly Western interpretations of yoga by Avalon, Zimmer, or Hauer. It is here that Jung first clarified his concept of active imagination against the background of Eastern as well as Western meditative religious and spiritual practices and suggested the psychology of the unconscious as their twentieth-century equivalent.

**Jung’s Reading of the Shri-Chakra-Sambhāra Tantra**

The entries in Jung’s *Black Book* of 17 and 18 April 1917 describe how his soul retrieved the image of a castle with three towers that rests on fire clouds in the blue skies.74 Red gates, white columns, the three gates of power, splendour and glory: “Thrice five towers surround the castle. Thrice six gates are in the walls. Thrice seven great halls are in the castle. The green stream flows below. The dark cloud is above, over it the fire, the eternal one that you drew. There are caves in the mountain, there lies the stacked gold, the solidified fire.”75

In his lecture on 15 November 1940, Jung spoke about a similar stream of images experienced as part of the meditative path of yoga: First, there is an image of a mountain, which emerges during the process of contemplation. Once the entire attention world has been drawn from the external world and the focus is concentrated at one point, the yogin is raised to the top of a mountain of accumulated perceptions. That way his inner being is contrasted against the overflow of impressions from the external world.

This is represented by the city which is especially emphasized by the enclosing wall. This is the fortified place which is protected by walls of four layers to the outside in which all the people who were previously dispersed are now drawn together. All the former diffuseness which belonged to the yogi due to his brokenness and fragmentation in the world is now heaped together here within this wall and in the centre of this marvellous fortress. In fact this is not only a

---

73 Jung (1962), pp. 385–86.
75 Jung, 18 April 1917, *Black Books*, vol. 6, p. 287.
Buddhist idea, but also ancient Hindu: the city of the Brahman, the city of the world being. Within this is the great treasure, depicted by the varja. This fortress is like a treasure vault. 76

On top of the mountain, in the center of the castle, in a treasure box, lies the four-headed varja, the “diamond” or “thunderbolt.” According to Jung, this symbol represented the accumulated psychic energy that had previously been dispersed through the external world. The similarity with the “solidified fire” in Jung’s earlier vision of the castle in the Black Book is striking.

The text from which Jung deduced this insight into the meditative practice of yoga was the Shrî-chakra-sambhâra Tantra, a Tibetan Tantric text first published in English in 1919 as volume seven of Arthur Avalon’s Tantrik Text series, hence two years after Jung’s entry in the Black Book. It was translated and edited by Kazi Dawa Samdup. 77 Jung had a copy of the entire series (1914–1924) in his library, but it is not known when exactly he read this text for the first time. Surely he must have seen the similarities between his own vision of 1917 and the images in the ancient Tantric text as a confirmation of his theory about the repetition of collective mythological material on an individual level, first presented in Transformations and Symbols of the Libido (1912). 78 Borrowing a phrase from Jacob Burckhardt, Jung called these “primordial images,” a term that he used in Psychological Types (1921) to describe a collective image distinguished by its mythological quality—the term that was replaced by the now more familiar “archetype.”

In his lectures Jung frequently used material from his 1921 monograph, especially from the chapter “The significance of the uniting symbol.” 80 The lecture from 2 June and 9 June drew largely on the same passage from the Upanishads and Meister Eckhart that he had used in 1921, albeit in extended form and with further elaboration. However, one text never mentioned in Psychological Types was the Shrî-chakra-sambhâra Tantra. Given the significance Jung attributed to this text in 1939, it is astonishing that he did not mention this prime example of symbolic imaginary in the chapters on the unifying symbols in 1921. One can assume that Jung either had not read the text at that time or did not attribute the same importance to it as at

76 See p. 279.
77 See n. 238.
78 Jung (1912), §§173ff.
79 Jung (1921), § 731.
80 Jung (1921, §§ 318 433.)
the end of the 1930s. What finally might have drawn Jung’s attention to the
text was the publication of Zimmer’s Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred
Images of India in 1926.81 There Zimmer praised the Šrī-chakra-sambhāra
Tantra as a unique source for scholarship: “The most complete directions
for developing before the inner eye linear yantra with figurative decoration
that is alive with the dynamics of enfolding and unfolding can be found,
among the presently known sources, in the Śrīcākasambhāra Tantra, a Ti-
betan (Lamaist) text.”82 In reply to a question at the seminar on Kundalini
Yoga in 1932 Jung reiterated the unique importance of this text for his
psychological understanding of the mandala: “Our idea of it would come
nearest to Lamaism, the Tibetan religion, but this is hardly known, and its
textbooks have been translated only very recently, hardly ten years ago.
One of the fundamental sources is the Šrī-Chakra-Sambhāra, a Tantric
text translated by Sir John Woodroffe.”83
In his study, Zimmer gave a detailed account of the Tantric meditation
similar to Jung’s description in his lectures thirteen years later, for instance,
on the understanding of the vajra:

The diamond (vajra) is the symbol for what is eternally Unchange-
able, which is, in the impenetrability of its nature, indestructible and
unassailable. From time immemorial in India, the vajra, as the name
of a weapon shaped like a thunderbolt, was the symbol of supreme
divine power. The earliest “Father of Heaven” (Dyaus pitar, Zeus
pater, Diespiter) bequeathed it to his sons, the heirs of his supremacy
over all the other gods: Mithras in Persia, and in India, Varuna.
In India, he evolved into Indra when, in later times, Indra became
the king of gods, overshadowing the earlier king of all the gods, Var-
una. In Buddhism, the diamond is the symbol for the sphere of ab-
solute Being. This is the reason why the vajra, the thunderbolt-like
implement, is a favorite among artistic symbols used to represent the
realm of pure Emptiness.84

Another example, where Jung’s reliance on Zimmer’s research becomes
clear, can be seen in his explanation of the mystic syllables yam (air), ram
(fire), vam (water), and lam (earth) in the lecture of 10 February 1939.85
Zimmer gave the following explanation in his book:

83 Seminar of 12 October 1932 (Jung, 1932, p. 12).
84 Zimmer (1984), pp. 88n89.
85 See pp. 123–125.
They emerge from within the inner image of syllables, just as, from the syllable *sum*, the radiant manifestation of the gods’ Mount Sumeru emerges—the axis of the Cosmic Egg, whose four-faceted crystal-, gold-, ruby-, and emerald-jeweled torso sparkles in the colors of the four points of the compass. A devout Hindu would perceive on its peak the palatial court of Indra, the king of the gods, and his Celestial Ones—Amarāvatī, the “Home of the Immortals.” In lieu of this palace, the adept of the Buddhist mandala develops a temple cloister (*vihāra*) as the only fitting surroundings for the Buddha: a rectangular building made of jewels with portals on each of the four sides, enclosed by magical wall of diamond (*vajra*). Its roof is a peaked dome similar to those earthly stupas which, as mausoleums, testify to the completed Nirvāṇa of the Enlightened Ones. At its central point inside, there is a circle containing an unfolded lotus, its eight petals pointed in the different directions of the compass (the four cardinal points and the four intermediate ones). The worshipper envisages himself standing in the flower’s center as the figure of the Mahāsukha embracing the female figure. As the “Supreme Bliss of the Circles” (*cakramahāsukha*), he sees himself as being four-headed and eight-armed, and is, in his contemplation, conscious of his essence. His four heads signify the four elements—earth, water, fire, air—in their immaterial, supra-sensory state; they simultaneously designate the four eternal feelings (*apramāṇa*) which, as they become part of the adept’s substance through constant practice, constitute his ever-increasing maturation towards Nirvāṇa: . . .

This passage from Zimmer’s book is also interesting for another reason. Karl Kerényi quoted it in the introduction to *Essays on a Science of Mythology*, the book he co-authored with Jung in 1941. His intention was to demonstrate the mythological parallels between the external use of a mandala, for instance, as part of the foundation rite of a city—Kerényi gave the founding myth of Rome as an example—and the psychological foundation and inner reorganization of man. Although Kerényi featured as the author of the 1941 introduction, the reference to Zimmer’s interpretation of the *Śrī-chakra-sambhāra Tantra* looks like an addendum by Jung whose ETH lectures came to an end about the same time as the book was published.

---

87 Jung and Kerényi (1941), pp. 23–24.
Also around that time, Jung reworked and extended his 1935 Eranos Lecture on “Dream Symbols of the Process of Individuation” for his book *Psychology and Alchemy*. In his introduction on the symbolism of the mandalas, he recalled his meeting with Rimpoche Lingdam Gomchen in the Tibetan monastery Bhutia Busty, near Darjeeling, on 1 January 1938. Here, Jung credited the Lamaist monk for sharing his wisdom that not the external, but the internal image was the true mandala. But surely Jung would have gathered such knowledge already from Zimmer’s informative book. In *Psychology and Alchemy* he did not fail to mention the *Sri-chakra-sambhara Tantra* as a text, which gave directions as to how to create such internal images.

From 26 June to 1 July 1933, Jung held an acclaimed seminar series in Berlin with Heinrich Zimmer. On this occasion he showed a number of pictures to the audience, among them the Lamaist Vajramandala, that he had used as frontispiece for *The Secret of the Golden Flower* in 1929. In his lecture of 2 December 1938, he presented the same mandala to his audience at the ETH. Here is what Jung said about the mandala in the seminar:

> The mandalas that we know chiefly from Lamaist tantrism are mostly Tibetan in origin. Thus, they are circular images that always contain a very specific symbol, namely the symbol of this temenos, i.e., this sacred precinct, a wall that sets apart a precinct. Within is a temple. This contained area is the temenos, thus an antechamber. In the Tibetan or Lamaist mandala this space within is a cloistered room, a rectangular enclosed room with four portals, precisely like the Roman castrum, and these four portals are distinguished by four qualities. This is the temenos itself: rectangular, but around the perimeter burns a circle of fire and this fire is in turn encircled by a circle of suffering, of the torments of hell and of the burial ground, of the field of the dead where the souls and the bodies of the dead are torn to pieces by demons, in line with the Buddhist idea that the fire intensifies suffering and causes death and every torment of hell. This circle of fire, this protective magic circle, has been endowed with many symbols of tantrism. It has the classical form of the thunderbolt, the shaft of lightning or the diamond wedge. This is

---

88 Jung (1943), § 137. See also Sengupta (2013), p. 127.
89 Jung (1943), § 137.
90 The seminar will be published as part of the Philemon series (Jung, 1933).
91 See p. 57.
probably the same word, simply expressing the intensely concentrated energy. It forms a magic circle and protects the yogi from the fire of desire, which brings on all impure admixtures and for this reason must be eradicated above all else.  

In this seminar, Jung placed much the same emphasis on the *vajra* as he did later in the ETH lecture of 1939. According to Jung in both cases, it was a symbolic representation of the energy accumulated by the yoga adept during the process of meditation. But the seminar, in contrast to the later lecture, symbolically locates this accumulated energy chiefly in the protective ring of fire around the yogi, whereas in the 1939 lecture Jung centers the *vajra* power in the castle’s treasure chest. Nevertheless, as Jung’s scheme of 28 April 1939 makes clear, the four-headed *vajra* is not the treasure itself, but only a link in the chain in the process of individuation: from the *vajra* arises the lotus, or in alchemical terms, in the *quaternarium* of the *castrum* grows the golden flower.

The parallel with the alchemical process played an important role in the ETH lectures. Jung dedicated the entire winter semester 1940–41 and summer semester 1941 to the topic of alchemy. In his lecture series on Eastern meditation, alchemy served mainly as a comparative model of the individuation process, paralleling the yogic way of reaching enlightenment. But this emergence of alchemy as a Western equivalent to Eastern meditation also provides a clue as to why Jung was so fascinated with the *Shri-chakra-sambhâra Tantra* that he dedicated an overwhelming part of his lecture series to this rather obscure text. In *Psychology and Alchemy* Jung followed the passage where he mentioned the *Tantra* with the following remark:

*I have observed these processes and their products for close on thirty years on the basis of very extensive material drawn from my own experience. For fourteen years I neither wrote nor lectured about them so as not to prejudice my observations. But when, in 1929, Richard Wilhelm laid the text of the Golden Flower before me, I decided to publish at least a foretaste of the results.*

*The Secret of the Golden Flower*, this Chinese alchemical treatise, helped Jung process the visionary experiences he had experienced from 1913 onwards. The text gave him the opportunity to amplify this personal

---

92 Seminar of 29 June (Jung, 1933).

93 Jung (1944), §126.
material and opened up the possibility of introducing a methodological comparative approach to psychology. Furthermore, when Jung received the text from Wilhelm, he was working on the image of a castle for the Liber Novus, as the text beneath the painting suggests: “1928. When I painted this image / which depicts the golden well-fortified castle / Richard Wilhelm from Frankfurt sent me the Chinese, / thousand year old text of the yellow castle, / the nucleus of the immortal body. Ecclesia catholica et protestantes et seclusi in secreto. Aeon finitis.” The Secret of the Golden Flower mentions a Book of the Yellow Castle, to which Jung referred in the lecture of 5 May 1939: The place where the union of the opposites occurs needs to be protected “as if in a cloister or a building, a treasure house, where the precious substance is enclosed and concealed.” The painting of the castle obviously corresponds to Jung’s internal visionary images of 17 and 18 April 1917, even though these sequences never made it into the Liber Novus. And according to Jung’s afterword to the Liber Novus it was his acquaintance with alchemy in 1930 and the affirmation of his own experiences by The Secret of the Golden Flower in 1928 that brought Jung’s work on the Liber Novus to a halt. Once Jung had abandoned this work, he was open to explore the vast material provided by alchemy, mythology, and religion for finding parallels to his own experiences: from the “solidified fire” in the castle to the “precious substance” in the yellow castle, from the “four-headed vajra in the treasure chest” to the “quaternarium and the golden flower,” all became the expression of the same archetypal experience and corresponded to steps in the process of individuation as Jung had experienced it for himself. Thus, the ETH lectures on Yoga and Eastern Meditation present a prime example of Jung’s application of his comparative method, while at the same time they tell the story of Jung’s personal history and psychological development.

---

95 Jung (2009), p. 163.
97 See p. 193.