

Some reflections on the influence of Chinese thought on Jung and his psychological theory

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Abstract: Jung claimed that Richard Wilhelm, whose masterful translations of Chinese wisdom literature into a European language (German) and thence into Western consciousness have brought Chinese modes of thinking to so many, was one of the most important influences on his own life and work. The contacts between the two men, which took place from the early 1920's until Wilhelm's death in 1930, were few but intense and for Jung decisive in several ways. Wilhelm's translations of the *I Ching* and *The Secret of the Golden Flower* opened new avenues for Jung that had far-reaching consequences on his research and writing after 1930. The latter opened the door to the study of alchemy as a key to the archetypal process of individuation as rooted in the collective unconscious. 'Synchronicity' is a term that grew out of his contact with Chinese thought, in particular with the *I Ching*. From his contact with Chinese thought, additionally, he received confirmation of the view, independently arrived at, that adult psychological development is not linear but rather circular and spiral-like. The letters between Jung and Wilhelm illuminate the great importance Jung ascribed to Wilhelm's contribution toward bridging East and West and the potential value of Chinese philosophy for psychotherapy.

Key words: alchemy, East-West dialogue, *I Ching*, individuation, mandala, psychotherapy, Self, synchronicity.

On influences

Many tributaries flow into the broad stream of Jung's thought. His psychological theory is a complex and finally global vision of the human psyche that contains an integrated combination of layers and levels of influence. It is unique because it blends such a generous diversity of sources into the singular worldview that we know today as Jungian and also because it is grounded in Jung's own first hand experience of his own and his patients' psyches. This combination is what constitutes its identity and guarantees its integrity.

In recent years there has been considerable scholarly interest in tracing these various sources (see, for example, Sonu Shamdasani's *Jung and the Making of*

Modern Psychology, 2003). Evident among them is the psychiatric layer, which is primary, with Eugen Bleuler as a key figure, followed strongly by Flournoy, Janet, and Charcot. Behind this is the general intellectual background of the European Enlightenment and 19th century thought—figures such as Kant, Schopenhauer, Goethe, Carus, and Nietzsche are referenced frequently in Jung’s published writings. It is evident that he read their works deeply and let them guide his thinking in many respects, even while repudiating some of their conclusions and methodologies. Freud also played a critical role in Jung’s formation as a psychological theorist, and the psychoanalytic influence remained important for Jung in spite of, or perhaps because, he rejected much of it decisively and went his own way after the break with Freud in 1913. One can speak of a psychoanalytic period in Jung’s life (1907–13), and he devotes an entire chapter to Freud in his autobiography. But it is equally important to realize why and to what extent he rejected Freudian doctrines and from what sources he forged his later and unique psychological theory.

Already in the Freudian period, a separate group of important tributaries begin to show up in his writing: in the references to anthropologists such as Lévy-Bruhl (whose concept of *participation mystique* would play an important role in Jung’s thought throughout); to the writing of psychologist and philosopher William James (with his non-judgmental approach to religious experience and his ‘radical empiricism’); to the images and ideas of ancient Gnostics, various Christian and pagan figures, scholars of mythology and religion, and thinkers from still other disciplines as well. Blended into the rich mixture even from the time of the publication of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* in 1912 was the (increasingly important) influence of non-Western sources—Egyptian, Indian, Tibetan, and most centrally for our purposes here Chinese. It is on this latter one that I want to focus, without giving it too much or too little weight, if this is possible. It is these Oriental sources that give Jung’s psychological theory and concepts a very particular transcultural character. Jung’s is not an exclusively Western and modern psychological theory similar to the others included in university textbooks. Essential aspects of it derive from, or rather incorporate and integrate, Indian (from the *Upanishads*, whence the central term and concept Self is derived) and Chinese perspectives (for instance, from the *I Ching*, which plays a central role in Jung’s theory of synchronicity, as I will show below). I will not write here of Jung’s continual insistence on ‘primitives’ and the importance he assigned to pre- and/or non-Enlightenment modes of experiencing.

Jung and Wilhelm

One way to get one’s bearings with respect to the influence that Chinese thought had on Jung is to study the significance of his relationship with the most important European scholar of Chinese thought in his day, Richard Wilhelm. According to Jung (1961, p. 373), his contact with Wilhelm began in

the early 1920's at a meeting of the 'School of Wisdom' in Darmstadt, Germany. In the same time period, perhaps shortly after this initial meeting, Wilhelm lectured on the *I Ching* at the Psychological Club (in December 1921). In the second half of the 1920's, after returning permanently from China, he lectured several more times in Zürich (in 1926 and 1929). The relationship grew steadily in importance and intensity for Jung until Wilhelm succumbed to a surprising and early death in 1930. Thomas Kirsch, upon the occasion of a visit to China in 1994, in a talk entitled 'Jung and Tao', reminded the audience that Jung 'claimed that Wilhelm had influenced him more than any other individual in his life. This comes as a surprise to many who would naturally have thought that Freud was the most influential person in Jung's development' (1998, p. 1). I believe one must take this claim quite seriously. Here I would like to investigate what the nature of this influence from Wilhelm and Chinese thought was that had such a profound effect on Jung. It has several dimensions.

A brief exchange of letters, which is housed in the C.G. Jung Archives at the ETH-Bibliothek in Zürich, occurred between Jung and Wilhelm in the late 1920's. It is a small collection but revealing nevertheless. Some of Jung's letters to Wilhelm have been published in *C.G. Jung Letters: 1906-1950*, but not all of them and of course none of Wilhelm's letters appear there. While this was not one of Jung's major correspondences—it in no way rivals the extensive exchanges with Freud (which so graphically tells of the influence of psychoanalysis on Jung), or the one with Wolfgang Pauli (detailing the importance Jung gave to the relationship of analytical psychology with modern physics), or the late one with Fr. Victor White (in which he expounds upon his agreements and differences with Christian theology)—it is nevertheless highly instructive and provides an important glimpse into the significance Jung placed on Chinese thought for his sense of vocational mission and for his psychological theorizing.

A miniature portrait of Richard Wilhelm

Before entering into a discussion of the correspondence, let me introduce Richard Wilhelm. He was born on 10 May 1873 in Stuttgart, Germany. (He was therefore two years older than Jung.) His father was a craftsman and died when Richard was nine years old. After that his mother and grandmother raised him. In 1891, at the age of eighteen, he began theological studies at the University of Tübingen. In 1895, at the age of twenty-two, he was ordained and then became a pastor in Wimsheim in 1897. There he met his future wife, Salome Blumhardt. They were engaged in 1899 just before Wilhelm left for China to work in the East Asia mission (the *Allgemein Protestantischer Missionsverein*) in the German colonial city of Qingdao (Tsingtao). In 1900 Salome joined Richard in China, and they were married in Shanghai. Four children followed in quick succession.

From 1899 until 1920, with a couple of brief stints back home in Germany (in 1907 with his wife and four children; again in 1911 for health reasons—he had contracted amoebic dysentery in 1910), Wilhelm worked in Tsingtao. He had strong intellectual interests and quickly developed a fascination for Chinese culture and religion. The German Mission recognized his gift for languages, and he was consequently allowed to spend most of his time on linguistic and scholarly studies. In a short time he became fluent in the Chinese language and began translating Chinese texts into German. His first set of publications—seven in number, among them works by Confucius, Da Hūo, Tsai-Li-Sekte, and a Chinese astronomy text—date from 1905, the year his son, Helmut, was born. After World War I, in 1920, Wilhelm returned to Germany (it was in this period that he first met Jung), but two years later he was back in China, this time in Peking, where he served as scientific counsellor in the German embassy and taught at Peking University. Returning permanently to Germany in 1924, he became the honorary professor of Chinese history and philosophy at the University of Frankfurt and remained in this post until his death just shy of his fifty-seventh birthday in 1930.

His intellectual production was prodigious and quite typical of German scholars of the time. His most important contributions, at least for Jung's purposes, lay in the area of translation of and commentary on Chinese texts. Between 1910 and 1930 he worked on translating and editing an eight-volume series of important Chinese works, entitled *Religion und Philosophie Chinas* (i.e., *The Religion and Philosophy of China*). For ten years he worked in close collaboration with the noted Chinese scholar and sage Lao Nai-hsuan to produce his masterful translation of and commentary on the *I Ching* (published in German in 1924 as *I Ging: Das Buch der Wandlungen/aus dem Chinesischen verdeutscht und erläutert*, von Richard Wilhelm. (Köln:Diederichs). After his return to Germany in 1924, he became widely recognized as 'the spiritual link between China and Europe' (Rennstich 1998, p. 1301). In the 1920's he lectured four times at the Psychological Club in Zürich: 15 December 1921 ('*Der I Ging*' ['The *I Ching*']); 27 May 1926 ('*Chinesische Jogapraxis*' ['Chinese Yoga Practice']); 28 May 1926 ('*Chinesische Seelenlehre*' ['Chinese Teaching on the Soul']); 19 January 1929 ('*Einige Probleme der Buddhistischen Meditation*' ['Some Problems of Buddhist Meditation']). He enjoyed friendly contact with numerous culturally prominent figures of his day—Rudolph Otto, Albert Schweitzer, Herman Hesse, Martin Buber, Rabindranath Tagore, Count Hermann von Keyserling, and, most importantly for our purposes, C.G. Jung. With Jung he became 'a friend' (see below).

The correspondence

The correspondence on file in the ETH archives extends over a brief period of some ten months and contains thirteen letters. It is evident from the contents

in this collection that some of the letters and other items that passed between the two men before and during this period are missing.

The first is a letter from Wilhelm to Jung dated 28 December 1928. The letterhead reads 'China-Institut, Frankfort a. M, Director: Prof. Dr. Richard Wilhelm'. In a formal and professionally correct style, Wilhelm asks Jung if he would be willing to let his name be used as a sponsor of the newly founded *International Institut für Buddhismusforschung* (International Institute for the Study of Buddhism). A committee at the Musée Guimet in Paris founded this Institute. S.E. Tai Hsü, the President of the Chinese Buddhist Union, had come to Europe to found this branch of the organization, which also had centres in Nanking and Singapore.

It is unclear from the available correspondence what sort of relationship Jung and Wilhelm had prior to this letter. Since they had met in 1921 and Wilhelm had already visited Zürich three times prior to the date of this letter to lecture at the Psychological Club, one can assume that quite a strong connection between them had by now grown up. It was in truth the case that in their previous encounters and discussions Jung had struck Wilhelm as someone with a deep interest in Eastern, and particularly in Chinese, thought and religion, otherwise Wilhelm would not have invited him to join this board. Also, it was of course a point that Jung's reputation and intellectual standing in Europe at the time was considerable, such that the leading European scholar of Chinese religion and philosophy would want him named as a sponsor of the new organization. We know from many sources that Jung had a voracious appetite for the study of religious symbols and concepts from all corners of the world.

The second letter in the collection, which is published in Jung's *Letters* (Jung 1973, Vol. 1, pp. 62–3), is dated 6 April 1929. Jung addresses Wilhelm as '*Mein lieber Professor*' ('My Dear Professor'), a somewhat more familiar form than the more usual formal German greeting, '*Sehr geehrter Professor*' ('Highly Esteemed Professor'), which implies that a certain degree of friendliness and familiarity had grown up between the two men by this time. His letter is casual in tone, and he says that he hopes Wilhelm is feeling better by now: 'It was the cold mayonnaise at the S's that caused the problem' (my translation), he writes. Wilhelm must have got indigestion after a meal with the S's, who were friends of Jung's and members of the Psychological Club. On 29 January Wilhelm had given a lecture to the Club on 'Some Problems of Buddhist Meditation'. Jung goes on in this letter to inform Wilhelm that he will be passing through Frankfurt on his way to Bad Nauheim for a Psychotherapy Congress (the 4th General Medical Congress for Psychotherapy, where he delivered the much referenced lecture, 'The aims of psychotherapy'—cf. CW 16; Jung 1931) and would like to meet with Wilhelm if possible, however briefly, while in town. He would have a three-hour stopover in Frankfurt between trains. He also mentions a joint project: 'I shall soon be able to make a start on our MS' (*Letters*, p. 63). This, it turns out, is a reference to the text that would eventually be published as 'The Secret of the Golden Flower' with

a psychological commentary by Jung. Wilhelm had sent this work, translated from the Chinese into German, to Jung sometime in 1928. So here we see that by this time Jung and Wilhelm have forged an intellectual partnership. They are working on a project together.

In fact, studying this work of Chinese alchemy proved to be a critical turning point for Jung. In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, he writes: 'Light on the nature of alchemy began to come to me only after I had read the text of the *Golden Flower*, that specimen of Chinese alchemy which Richard Wilhelm sent me . . .' (1961, p. 204). Jung's profound and longstanding engagement with alchemy had its major point of origin, according to Jung's testimony, in this Chinese treatise, and he would spend the next twenty-five years deeply immersed in the study of this arcane science. The study of alchemy became one of the structural pillars of his later psychological writing and thinking. Why?

From at least 1910 forward, Jung had been searching for bedrock structure, for the deepest and most universal stratum of the human psyche. He was quite sure that Freud had not found it in his theory of the unconscious, with his emphasis on sexuality and the Oedipus complex. This quest for basic structures led Jung to postulate (eventually) the theory of archetypes, which he would later often refer to as the basic building blocks of the human psyche and which he considered to be common to all members of the species. What he found in the Chinese treatise that Wilhelm sent him was a description of images and spiritual experiences that paralleled what he had found in the analysis of his Western patients. Even more importantly, he glimpsed, perhaps for the first time, the dynamic movement common to East and West that identifies individuation (as Jung understood this process) to be the goal of psychological development. It was the prospect of studying the process of individuation ('transformation') as an archetypal process rooted in the collective unconscious and directed by the Self that drew him to alchemy. From this text of Chinese alchemy he would go on to a profound study of alchemical symbolism, primarily in Western sources, interpreting and translating them into psychological meanings, and relating these symbols and images to the deep unconscious structures, processes, and symbolic representations offered in the dreams of modern people in analysis.

The third letter in this correspondence—again travelling from Jung to Wilhelm—is dated 26 April 1929 and shows Jung in a rare (for him) apologetic mode. He wants Wilhelm to know that he is sorry for intruding on his privacy by barging in on him while passing through Frankfurt on his way to Bad Nauheim. (Apparently Wilhelm had not responded to the previous letter.) He says that he was worried about Wilhelm's health. As an experienced and highly intuitive physician, Jung must have sensed Wilhelm's physical fragility. Wilhelm would, after all, die less than a year from the date of this letter of the disease he contracted originally in China. Jung expresses his urgent concern by underlining the text: 'You are too important to our Western world. I must

keep telling you this. You musn't melt away or otherwise disappear, or get ill' (*Letters*, p. 63). And then he delivers some major news:

The result of my lecture at the recent Nauheim Congress of Psychotherapy is the decision of the society to invite you to give a lecture next year. This is historic! Think about what this means if medical practitioners, who reach the ordinary people directly in their most vulnerable areas, become inoculated with Chinese philosophy! I am thrilled and only hope that no devil will keep you away from this historic deed. This hits the bull's-eye. Medicine is powerfully converting itself to the psychic, and here the East must enter. Nothing will happen with theologians and philosophers because of their arrogance.

(my translation)

Here we can see the weighty importance for Western medicine and psychotherapy that Jung assigned to Wilhelm's presence in Europe and to his translations of Chinese texts. The transformation of medicine that Jung speaks of in this letter was a lifelong concern of his, namely (and more specifically) to shift the mental health professions in particular out of the dominant materialistic reductionism of the medical model (psyche=brain chemistry) onto a more psychological basis. For this project he had sought to enlist many disciplines in the previous thirty years, including psychoanalysis, and now in Wilhelm and Chinese philosophy he discovered a new and powerful resource. This perception that Chinese philosophy and religion would prove to be a potent and much needed tool in the transformation of Western medical psychology was founded on Jung's conviction that in its immensely long introspective tradition there could be found a vision of the human psyche in all its complexity and wholeness and that this would now be revealed to the West through such universal symbols as the mandala. To make this effective would of course take an immense amount of time and effort. Jung looked to Wilhelm to help him with this historic project. The East could help the West out of the trap of one-sided rationalism it had fallen into after the Enlightenment, but this would require a huge amount of integration.

At the end of this letter Jung states in passing: 'The Lamaic mandala has been copied. I will send back the original soon' (*Letters*, p. 64). In *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, Jung comments on the importance that this mandala image held for him. He relates that as a part of his self analysis and inner work in the years 1927-28, he painted a couple of images that he would later call mandalas: the first he titled 'Window on eternity' (which is reproduced in several places, e.g., in 'Concerning mandala symbolism', Jung 1950b), and the second he says had an odd Chinese quality to it (1961, p. 197). Shortly after this, he writes,

I received a letter from Richard Wilhelm enclosing the manuscript of a Taoist alchemical treatise entitled *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, with a request that I write a commentary on it [this letter is not included in the correspondence in the ETH archives]. I devoured the text at once, for the text gave me undreamed of confirmation of my ideas about the mandala and the circumambulation of the center. That was the first event which broke through my isolation... In

remembrance of this coincidence, this ‘synchronicity,’ I wrote underneath the picture which had made so Chinese an impression upon me: ‘In 1928, when I was painting this picture, showing the golden, well-fortified castle, Richard Wilhelm in Frankfurt sent me the thousand-year-old Chinese text on the yellow castle, the germ of the immortal body’.

(1961, p. 197)

This gift from Wilhelm provided a way for Jung to understand the meaning of what he had been doing spontaneously for about ten years in drawing mandala images (see *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (Jung 1961)). The mandala represents circumambulation of the Self, and therefore the individuation process. The Chinese text taught him—or rather confirmed for him—that psychological development is not linear but rather ‘circular’, the emergence of a psychic centre: ‘There is no linear evolution; there is only circumambulation of the self. Uniform development exists, at most, only at the beginning; later, everything points toward the center’ (1961, pp. 196–97). This understanding of individuation as circumambulation of an unconscious psychic nucleus until it emerges into view, so consistent with a Chinese perspective, would become a key feature of Jung’s theory of psychological development in the second half of life. It was precisely the absence of commitment to linear thinking in Chinese philosophy that impressed Jung. His theory of synchronicity would also gain impetus from this. Important developmental shifts in the individuation process often happen by synchronicity, suddenly, not by planning and not incrementally.

At the time of the correspondence, Jung could have had only a slight inkling of how important the long-range influence and effect of Wilhelm’s friendship and gifts would be for him. His intuition led him, however, to use the word ‘historic’ when speaking of Wilhelm’s potential contribution to medical psychotherapy. This is because he sensed the great potential of Chinese thought to balance the one-sided rationalism of Western medical science, with its strictly causal explanations and exclusively linear perspective on growth and development. Chinese thought, as delivered by Richard Wilhelm, would further an historic transformation of Western attitudes. With respect to Jung’s own thinking, at least, this seems to have been the case.

The next letter in the correspondence, dated 25 May 1929, is short but quite moving, and it marks a definite turning point in the personal relationship between the two men. Again a letter from Wilhelm to Jung seems to be missing from the extant correspondence, since Jung writes that he is thrilled to receive Wilhelm’s acceptance of the invitation to deliver the lecture proposed by Jung a month earlier. For the first time in the correspondence he addresses Wilhelm as ‘Dear Friend’. He writes: ‘Dear Friend, It is lovely to hear the word ‘friend’ from you. Fate seems to have assigned us the role of being two pillars that support the weight of the bridge between East and West. I thank you with all my heart that you have agreed to give the lecture’ (*Letters*, p. 66, with my

alterations). The absent letter from Wilhelm, it seems, opened up this new level of closeness between them—now friends, not only collegial professors—and Jung responded with reciprocated feeling and the image of a joint mission: jointly to support the dialogue and exchange between East and West. The remarkable thing is that Jung locates himself in this way. It was obvious that Richard Wilhelm was such a mediating figure for Europeans. But why Jung?

Jung's role would be quite understandably different from Wilhelm's. The Wilhelm 'pillar' would be on the Eastern end of the bridge, whereas Jung's would be on the Western side. For Jung it was invariably necessary to begin his reflections and interpretations of non-Western materials from the viewpoint of the embedded Westerner, using his own first hand experience as the primary reference for his contributions. Whereas Wilhelm had lived and worked in China for some twenty-five years, Jung was a Western psychiatrist who spent his entire adult life in Zürich, Switzerland. Jung's method of mediating East and West called for him to remain close to the Western psyche and from there to find points of commonality with Eastern thought as stated in its classic texts. Wilhelm, on the other hand, was a Western Christian missionary who had so deeply immersed himself in Chinese thought that he was able to engage the West from a Chinese perspective. In a sense, he was a missionary who had 'gone native'. (He is supposed to have once boasted to Jung that during his twenty years as a missionary in China he had never baptized a single Chinese!) Knowing the philosophy and religion of both sides so well, he could critique his own original religious tradition from a Chinese perspective. Moreover, his translations of Chinese texts into German are more than mere literary translations; they transform the content in such a way that it can be effectively communicated to Western readers. This has of course been a point of severe criticism from some quarters: his translation of the *I Ching*, for example, is not literal and exact enough. But Wilhelm's transformation of texts also makes them much more accessible. One has only to compare his marvellous translation of the *I Ching* with others' efforts to understand its advantage for the general reader. Wilhelm was a hermeneut, more a transformer than a mere translator.

In this same letter Jung again expresses his concern about Wilhelm's health. Given that Wilhelm had agreed to give the lecture the following year to the Medical Psychotherapy Society, Jung wanted to be sure that he would follow through. (In fact, he would not be able to deliver that lecture. He died a couple of months before it was to be presented.) Jung also apologizes for not yet completing his commentary on *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. He writes: 'No harm has been done by my putting it off, because I have had a number of experiences that have given me some very valuable insights' (*Letters*, p. 66).

In the months following this letter, Wilhelm underwent treatment for his health problems, and the correspondence turns to the minutiae of publishing—contracts, fees, deadlines, and so forth—while some further projects are being planned. On 10 September 1929, Jung writes from his tower at Bollingen and

announces that the commentary 'is more or less finished' (*Letters*, p. 67). It is longer than expected 'because it represents a European reaction to the wisdom of China. I have tried my hand at interpreting Tao' (*ibid.*). In the commentary, Jung offers a rich and nuanced psychological interpretation of the Chinese alchemical text and relates his own and his patients' inner development to the processes described in it. In both the Chinese text and the psychotherapeutic work of Western patients, he writes, the goal of the work is consciousness and wholeness, i.e., realization of the Self. With respect to the key concept of Tao—while acknowledging the several ways in which it has been translated, as 'way', 'meaning' (Wilhelm), 'God' (Jesuits), 'providence'—Jung puts the emphasis in his commentary decidedly upon *living* the Tao (the Self) in all of its paradoxicality rather than only interpreting it intellectually. Jung's essay is a *tour de force* and must be ranked as one of his most brilliant and inspired works. The careful methodology he lays out and employs here is one that he will carry forward in the decades to follow. While Wilhelm throws a bridge from China to Europe with his translation, Jung receives it from the European side with his psychological commentary. Between them, they did truly lay down a splendid avenue of exchange and discourse between East and West. It is genuine and betrays neither side but meets in the middle.

In the penultimate letter of the correspondence, dated 24 October 1929, Wilhelm suggests some minor changes in Jung's text and in the contract with the publisher. He also confirms that the German title of the book will be *Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte* ('The Secret [or Mystery] of the Golden Flower [or Blossom]'). A Chinese editor had previously changed it to *The Art of Prolonging Human Life*, but they decided to go back to the original title.

In the final letter, the thirteenth in this collection, which is dated 28 October 1929, Jung states his agreement with the changes and expresses his warm approval of changing the title back to what it was previously. He also says that he is preparing a series of mandalas drawn by patients: 'The pictures complement one another and reveal in their complexity an excellent picture of the efforts of the European unconscious spirit to grasp the Oriental eschatology' (my translation). What Jung means by 'Oriental eschatology' is the goal of the individuation process: wholeness and conscious realization of the Self, as imaged by 'the diamond body' in Chinese alchemy. He closes the letter with this enigmatic and perhaps prescient sentence: 'At any rate you must never forget to care for your body, since the spirit has the unfortunate tendency to want to devour the body' (my translation). The book was published at the end of 1929. Wilhelm died on 1 March 1930.

In memoriam

In May 1930 Jung delivered the principal address at a memorial service for Richard Wilhelm in Munich (this talk is published in CW 15, Jung 1930,

paras. 74–96). In this heartfelt oration, Jung expresses his deep gratitude for what he received from Wilhelm:

Wilhelm's life-work is of such immense importance to me because it clarified and confirmed so much that I had been seeking, striving for, thinking, and doing in my efforts to alleviate the psychic sufferings of Europeans. It was a tremendous experience for me to hear through him, in clear language, things I had dimly divined in the confusion of our European unconscious. Indeed, I feel myself so very much enriched by him that it seems to me as if I had received more from him than from any other man.

(1930, para. 96)

Jung continues and explains why he thinks Wilhelm's contribution is so important: his translation of and commentary on the *I Ching* provides 'an Archimedean point from which our Western attitude of mind could be lifted off its foundations' (ibid. para. 78). This point is the principle of synchronicity. This 'has inoculated us with the living germ of the Chinese spirit, capable of working a fundamental change in our view of the world' (para. 78). The principle of synchronicity, first named in relation to Wilhelm ('I first used this term [i.e., synchronicity] in my memorial address for Richard Wilhelm...—1952, para. 866, n. 59) fed, in Jung's view, directly into his psychological work with European patients and further into his theory of the timeless and unbounded dimensions of the unconscious. Jung would add synchronicity to the principle of causality in his final quaternarian model of the Self (see 1951, paras. 408–20), thus building the Chinese perspective on reality into the heart of his psychological theory.

The relationship with Wilhelm and the integration of his contributions from Chinese culture and philosophy helped Jung to anchor himself even more profoundly than before in his own thinking. It also importantly contributed to his firmly distancing himself from other exclusively Western modern psychologies and psychotherapies. Perhaps more than anyone else, Wilhelm helped Jung to cement into place his differences from Freud and psychoanalysis (which for him represented the one-sided rationalism of the Enlightenment and of outmoded scientific reductionism) and to confirm his own creative and divergent ideas. From contact with Wilhelm flows Jung's induction into the study of alchemy, which for him grounded his psychological theory in archetypal certainty. Development as circular and synchronicity as fundamental principle of reality were two essential ideas Jung drew from Chinese thought and adapted in his own theorizing about the psyche and the nature of the human mind. The treasures that Jung found in Chinese thought, thanks to the labours of Richard Wilhelm, continued to influence him for the rest of his life. What began as their joint mission—holding up a bridge between East and West—resulted on Jung's part in the creation of a complex psychological theory that combines Western linear, causal, scientific methods and perspectives with Eastern (i.e., Chinese) non-causal, synchronistic, holistic aspects. In such late

works as 'On the nature of the psyche', *Aion*, 'Synchronicity: an acausal connecting principle', and *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, Jung proposes a view of reality that is as compatible with Chinese thought as it is with a European scientific world view (or, said another way, perhaps equally incompatible with both). It is a middle way, a third path, which attempts to unite the polarities represented by Eastern and Western ways of thinking into a unified *Weltanschauung*.

In his personal life, too, Jung himself attempted to unite the opposites, East and West. As testified by many who knew him well and in his autobiography, he did strive to live the Tao and not only to think and write about it. The influence of China entered into the bloodstream of his everyday life as well as into his psychological theorizing. I believe this same attempt to unite these polarities has continued, to some extent at least, in the clinical practice that is so much a part of analytical psychology, but to explain this will require another paper or perhaps even a book.

TRANSLATIONS OF ABSTRACT

Jung affirme que le travail de Richard Wilhelm de traduction de la sagesse et des textes chinois en un langage et des formes de pensées européens a été une des influences les plus importantes dans le développement de sa propre pensée psychologique. La relation entre les deux hommes dans les années 20 a été brève mais intense et pour Jung décisive de différentes manières: Wilhelm l'a incité à étudier les parallèles entre l'alchimie et la psychologie, ce qui l'a occupé dans tout le reste de sa vie; et les traductions du I-ching et du secret de la fleur d'or ont ouvert de nouvelles voies dans la pensée de Jung qui ont eu des conséquences vastes dans ses recherches et ses écrits après 1930. 'Synchronicité' est un terme qui émergea de son contact avec la pensée chinoise, ainsi que de son intuition que le développement de la psychologie adulte ne se faisait pas de façon linéaire. La correspondance écrite entre Jung et Wilhelm montre l'importance accordée par Jung à la contribution de Wilhelm dans le rapprochement entre l'occident et l'orient, ainsi que la valeur de celle-ci pour la psychothérapie.

Jung behauptet, dass Richard Wilhelms Arbeit als Übersetzer von Chinesischen Texten und Chinesischer Weisheit in eine europäische Sprache und Gedankenwelt einen äußerst wichtigen Einfluss auf sein eigenes psychologisches Denken hatte. Die Beziehung zwischen den beiden Männern in den späten Dreißiger Jahren war kurz aber intensiv und für Jung in mehrfacher Hinsicht entscheidend: Wilhelm regte ihn an, die Parallelen zwischen Alchemie und Psychologie zu studieren, was ihn für sein ganzes weiteres Leben beschäftigen sollte; seine Übersetzungen des I Ging und 'Das Geheimnis der goldenen Blüte' öffnete neue Wege für Jungs Gedanken, was weitreichende Konsequenzen für seine Forschungen und für sein Schreiben nach 1930 hatte. 'Synchronizität' ist ein Begriff, der aus seiner Beschäftigung mit Chinesischen Gedanken erwuchs, ebenso wie die Einsicht, dass die Psychologische Entwicklung der Erwachsenen nicht linear verläuft. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Jung und Wilhelm erhellt die große

Bedeutung, die Jung Wilhelms Beitrag für die Annäherung von Ost und West, als auch seinem Wert für die Psychotherapie zuschreibt.

Jung dichiarò che il lavoro di Richard Wilhelm come traduttore della saggezza e dei testi Cinesi in un linguaggio e in forme di pensiero europee fu tra le più importanti influenze sul suo stesso pensiero psicologico. La relazione fra i due uomini alla fine degli anni '30 fu breve, ma intensa e per Jung decisiva da molti punti di vista: Wilhelm lo stimolò a studiare i paralleli fra alchimia e psicologia, che lo avrebbe occupato per il resto della vita, e le sue traduzioni de *I Ching* e de "Il segreto del fiore d'oro", aprirono nuove vie di pensiero per Jung che dopo il 1930 si era già spinto molto avanti nei suoi scritti e nelle conclusioni della sua ricerca. "Sincronicità" è un termine che si sviluppa dal contatto con il pensiero Cinese, così come dall'intuizione che lo sviluppo psicologico di un adulto non è lineare. L'corrispondenza tra Jung e Wilhelm illustra la grande importanza attribuita sia al contributo di Wilhelm nell'avvicinare Oriente ed Occidente quanto al valore per la psicoterapia.

Jung decía que los trabajos de Richard Wilhem como traductor de los textos de sabiduría China a las formas de lenguaje y pensamiento Europeo fueron una de las influencias mas importantes en el desarrollo de su pensamiento psicológico. La relación entre ambos hombres a finales de 1930 fue breve pero intensa y para Jung decisiva en diversas formas; Wilhem lo estimuló a estudiar los paralelismos entre psicología y alquimia, lo que lo ocoará por el resto de su vida, y su traducción del *I Ching* y 'El Secreto de la Flor de Oro' abrieron nuevas vías de pensamiento para Jung las cuales tuvieron consecuencias trascendentes en sus investigaciones y escritos posteriores a 1930. 'Sincronicidad' es un término que surgió de su contacto con el pensamiento Chino, así como el descubrimiento de que el desarrollo psicológico adulto no es lineal. El intercambio de correspondencia entre Jung y Wilhem ilustra la gran importancia que Jung da a la contribución de Wilhem para unir Oriente con Occidente, así como su valor para la psicoterapia.

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