



# Opicinus de Canistris: some notes from Jung's unpublished Eranos Seminar on the medieval *Codex Palatinus Latinus 1993*

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[Translated by Vincent Marsicano]

**Abstract:** Jung held an informal seminar for a limited number of students after the end of the Eranos Conference in August, 1943. All traces of this seminar were lost until the notes taken on it by one of the students, Alwine von Keller, were found in 2006. Jung's talk consisted of a psychological commentary on a series of images in the medieval *Codex Palatinus Latinus 1993*, attributed to Opicinus de Canistris (1296–c.1352), a fourteenth-century Italian clergyman, mystic, miniaturist, and cartographer. Jung interpreted Opicinus' images as a series of *mandalas* in which the Shadow, the dark principle, does not manage to be integrated into a balanced system. Opicinus tried to settle this division into opposites, which constitutes the main problem in modern times, while remaining inside the system of Christian doctrine. However, he did not succeed in his attempt to integrate the principle of the Shadow on the doctrinal level because he was not aware of the very same division in his own unconscious. Our article points out the features in the seminar where Jung seemed to show much more originality in his interpretation than other psychoanalytic studies on Opicinus or other analytical-psychological readings of medieval Christian art.

**Key words:** art, Christianity, Eranos, Jung, *mandala*, Opicinus de Canistris, opposites, Shadow

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## Introduction

It is easy to say that Jung's reflections on religious issues take up a considerable amount of his studies. It would be more accurate to say that they are indeed one of its main supports. In particular, his studies on Christianity occupied the main portion of the last twenty years of his intellectual life. Jung's interest in theology, mythology, and the phenomenology of religion is hence the point where his works encounter those of other psychologists, theologians, mythologists, and historians of religion that he had the chance to meet during the Eranos Conferences. The Eranos Conferences began to be held at Ascona-Moscia in 1933 under the initiative of the Dutch scholar Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962). Jung appeared as a speaker at Eranos for the first time in 1933.

He gave a total of fourteen talks up to 1951. These were published in the *Eranos Yearbooks*. They were then revised, expanded and published in the series *Psychologische Abhandlungen* and then in his *Collected Works*. Jung's annual talks were looked forward to each year. He missed only the 1944 Conference, when a serious illness kept him from attending. He participated for the last time in 1952, but only as a listener.<sup>1</sup>

William McGuire points out that in 1943 the name Carl Gustav Jung does not appear in the Eranos Conference programme for the first time in ten years (McGuire 1982, p. 72). Jung's biographer, Barbara Hannah, likewise writes that Jung's 'creative libido' was already flowing into his great book, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (Jung 1955–1956), and so he did not feel like distracting himself in order to draw up the text of a talk (Hannah 1997, p. 275). The topic of the 1943 Conference (August 4–11) was 'Helios: the Religions of the Sun in the Mediterranean'. The *Eranos Yearbook* of that year appeared, though, with the title, 'Old Sun Cults and the Symbolism of Light in Gnosis and Early Christianity'. Although no talk of his was scheduled, Jung agreed to attend as a listener. However, he took an active part in the discussions that, as usual, took place after the talks on the terrace of Casa Eranos or at the round table of the old Casa Gabriella. At the close, Jung held an impromptu seminar on Opicinus de Canistris (1296–c.1352), a fourteenth-century Italian clergyman, mystic, miniaturist, and cartographer (McGuire 1982, p. 72; Hakl 2001, p. 217; Kugler 2006, p. 114, n. 12). Unfortunately, there is no trace of this mysterious seminar in the correspondence (mostly unpublished) between Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn and Jung in 1943.<sup>2</sup> There are no traces of this seminar either in the *Eranos Yearbooks* or elsewhere, not even in the *Eranos Guestbook*<sup>3</sup>, strangely enough. Likewise, there is no trace of Jung's seminar among the seminars held at Eranos beginning with 1937. These were unofficial and spontaneous seminars that Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn encouraged as part of her practical activities at the Eranos Institute for the Research of Religious Symbolism.<sup>4</sup>

There was someone, however, who had the good sense to take some notes during Jung's seminar. This was Alwine von Keller (1878–1965), a student

<sup>1</sup> Currently, the most complete historical panorama on the Eranos phenomenon and Jung's involvement in this project is H.Th. Hakl (2001), with an upcoming English translation to be published by Equinox Pub. Other useful works are: W. McGuire (1982), S.M. Wasserstrom (1999), and S. Shandasani (2003). For a recent study with an updated bibliography on Jung's participation in the Eranos Conferences, see G.P. Quaglino, A. Romano and R. Bernardini (2007).

<sup>2</sup> The unpublished letters of Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn and Jung in 1943 that we examined are kept in the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (Abt. Wissenschaftshistorische Sammlungen) in Zurich. There is a copy of them in the archives of the Eranos Foundation in Ascona-Moscia.

<sup>3</sup> We thank the Eranos Foundation for kindly having allowed us to consult it.

<sup>4</sup> Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn is presumed to have written a book edited by Jung entitled 'Psychology of Art' (*Psychologie der Kunst*), which has yet to be connected to the 1943 seminar. This appears in an unpublished typescript urging the Eranos Institute to issue a series of monographs on specific themes.

of Jung's who in those years had opened her own professional office in Casa Shanti at Eranos. Her notes were found in the Eranos archives in 2006 (von Keller 1943/2007). They consisted in nine typewritten pages in German that make it possible for later researchers to piece together Jung's seminar, at least in part.<sup>5</sup> We now know that the seminar took place on August 12 and 14, 1943, after the official closing of the Conference. It did not take place in the grand lecture hall at Casa Eranos but on the beautiful terraces of Casa Gabriella and Casa Shanti next door, which overlook the lake, Lago Maggiore. The seminar consisted in Jung's psychological comments on some religious images in the *Codex Palatinus Latinus* [CPL] 1993, a medieval manuscript that only in the late 1920s was attributed to Opicinus de Canistris.

### 1. Opicinus de Canistris and the psychological interpretations of his work

Opicinus de Canistris was known simply as the 'Anonymous Ticinese' for more than six hundred years (Arecchi 1996b), the author of the *Liber de laudibus civitatis ticinensis*, a book describing the city of Pavia along with its civil and religious life and its customs (Muratori 1727; Maiocchi & Quintavalle 1903; Ambaglio 1984). Any information about his life first came down to us through the publication in the early 1900s of a political treatise dating from 1328, *De praeeminentia spiritualis imperii* (Scholz 1911/1914), which is contained in two previous-unpublished codices, *Codex Ottob. Latinus 3064* and *Codex Vaticanus Latinus* [CVL] 4115 (Salomon 1953, 1960, 1962). A bit later, the CPL 1993 was discovered. Even though it had neither a title nor the signature of its author, Monsignor Faustino Gianani (1887–1987) was able to link the CPL 1993 to the other two in 1927 and hence connect the links among the three codices that testified to the fact the three had a single author and this author was Opicinus. Roberto Almagià (1884–1962) pointed out that there was a work contained in CVL 6435 that was written in a script identical to that of the CPL 1993 and that was similar to it in its drawings, topics, and autobiographical information. This manuscript had the name of Opicinus both in the written text and inside the images. This allowed Almagià to conclude that this was the fourth work of Opicinus (Almagià 1944).

In *Table 11r* in the CPL 1993 (Salomon 1930, 1936a, 1936b; Mercati 1952; Tozzi 2002) Opicinus (*Opizim*) tells us that he was born in Lomello, a small town near Pavia, on December 24, 1296. From the beginning, he found it very

<sup>5</sup> See Quaglino, Romano & Bernardini 2007, pp. 180–97. We would like to thank the Eranos Foundation for granting us the permission to study, translate, and make use of these documents. At the time of the final drafting of this article, we had not yet had the chance to make a systematic study of the Jung material at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich in order to examine the 26-page typescript on this topic written by Jung entitled *Opicinus de Canistris Schlußvortrag Eranos Ascona 1943*. We hope that a more systematic study of this document, as well as of Jung's involvement with the Eranos project (now being prepared), will fill this gap in the near future.

hard to learn but distinguished himself in drawing. In 1314–15 he became a tutor for the son of Johann I of Saarbrücken, an Alemanic count who was imprisoned in Pavia, as well as of the daughters of Filippo Langosco, imprisoned in Milan. Next, he worked as a teacher and manuscript miniaturist. During this time he had the chance to consult many theological works, which he studied passionately. He was consecrated as a priest by the bishop of Parma in 1320. In 1323 he was appointed pastor of the little parish of Santa Maria Capella in Pavia. In this period he began to write his first literary works – the *Liber metricus de parabolis Christi*, the *Tractatus de decalogo mandatorum* (both lost, like many of his writings), and the *Descriptio universi coelestis* (1327). In 1328 Opicinus was forced to leave Pavia along with many Guelfs. Reduced to poverty, he reached Avignon in 1329. There he sought alms with the poor clergy and illustrated a book by a protonotary of the pope. When Pope John XXII saw this book, he became aware that its artist, Opicinus, was in his court, granted him an audience, and gave him permission to dedicate a political treatise to him. In 1330 Opicinus wrote the *Libellus de descriptione Papie* (Terenzio 1976), in which he asks the pope to repeal his interdict against Pavia, and presents the pope with his *Liber de praeeminentia spiritualis imperii*. In appreciation of this treatise, John XXII appointed Opicinus to a position of scribe at the Apostolic Penitentiary, the tribunal of the Curia. In the years following, Opicinus was forced to face a number of family troubles and legal problems. He went through a trial over the legitimacy of his papal appointment to his position in the Penitentiary. In 1334 he was stricken with a serious illness that almost took his life. He was probably in a coma for ten days and received extreme unction. When he came out of the coma, he had been weakened both physically and psychologically. He could not speak. His right hand was paralysed. He complained of a serious loss of memory. Along with his illness came apparitions and nightmares that tortured him. He had recurrent visions of the Virgin Mary with her son in her arms. She appeared sorry and was sitting on the ground, stricken with sorrow because of Opicinus's spiritual perdition. Nevertheless, Opicinus tells us, 'the weakening of my right hand was transformed into a strengthening of my spiritual potential'. For that reason, he maintains, the right hand was able to complete all his designs without any human help. Even more, his right hand completed Opicinus's autobiography in 1336. Yet, it is likely that Opicinus had kept on working on this project until his death. In fact, the last table of the *CPL 1993* is dated 1350. In 1352, Giorgio de Canistris, a relative of Opicinus, became the pastor of the parish of Santa Maria Capella. This is thought to be the year of his death (Becker 1975; D'Errico 2007).

When we compare *CVL 6435* to *CPL 1993*, we can easily grasp how uniquely anthropocentric Opicinus was. He had a deeply pessimistic vision of the world, where there were stark correspondences on the spiritual and symbolic level between the inner world and the outer world. We can see them in his maps, with their projections of his inner world onto his images of the continents and the seas (Calvino 1984, p. 29), as well as in his drawings of Pavia (Marconi 1973;

Tozzi 1990, 1992, 1996; David & Tozzi 1993; Rovida 1994) and his many drawings of sacred images that are typical of his times. The psychoanalytical interpretations of Opicinus's works (Roux 1983, 1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1997, 1998, 2005; Gourevitch 1993; Roux & Laharie 1995, 1996a, 1996b; Mac Gregor 1992; Laharie 1996, 1999; Nicola 1996) have tended to focus on the circumstances of Opicinus's sickness ever since the studies of the psychoanalyst Ernst Kris (1900–1957). These are interpretations that seem to be inextricably tied in with a strictly clinical outlook. Yet, Kris expresses the hope that the artistic productivity of the mentally ill be studied through the perspectives of comparative psychiatry, which includes the study of culture and the study of personality (Kris 1952, p. 118). Kris puts forward the thesis that Opicinus's interest in cartography is connected with his feverish delving into the human body, especially into the bodies of women (p. 125). At the same time, he notes that the playing with shapes and playing with words are characteristics of the primal processes of the brain (*ibid.*). According to Kris, Opicinus shared in ideas of creating and setting up a world. At the same time, he was terrified at seeing it destroyed. In all this, we can associate the travail of Opicinus to that of many other schizophrenics of modern times (*ibid.*). So, Opicinus's urge to create, like that of other schizophrenic patients, is a protection against the image of total destruction, as Kris relates (p. 126f.). In this vein, Richard Salomon (1884–1966), the editor of the first edition of the *CPL 1993*, wrote that he had long been tempted to put this work aside because it was a simply a pathological product that was not worth a historian's attention. Nevertheless, Salomon never ceased to study the *CPL 1993*, driven on by the thought that he could find in it material that would broaden historical knowledge, even material like the artistic productions of a psychopath (Salomon 1936a). The neuropsychiatrist Guy Roux and the medievalist Muriel Laharie worked together on studies focusing on Opicinus. They found several characteristics in Opicinus – 'the play of thought that is archaic, para-logical, and magic, the value of archetypes and of the *représentations collectives* of the primitives [...], the confusion of the past and the present on the insides of a sort of history that is looked at again in the light of a prophetic delirium' (Roux & Laharie 1996b, p. 169 ff.). They also point out in Opicinus 'the prevalence of the imaginary [...], the multiplicity of the identifications, the megalomania carried to cosmic dimensions, the abundance of mystic allusions, and the importance of ideas of persecution. All of these qualities coexisted in all their contradictions. Yet, Opicinus seemed to be able to adapt himself to the real world in a significant way and to keep on conducting his socio-professional activities' (Laharie 1996, p. 50), even though they identified him as 'the first paraphrenic known to the history of psychiatry' (*ibid.*). Ubaldo Nicola, like several other authors, gives interpretations closer to Jung's, emphasizing the 'systematic and structural split of the images into two symmetrical halves [...] revealing the inner contradictions and the inner split of his personality into two conflicting parts' (Nicola 1996, p. 78).

## 2. Jung's commentary on Opicinus's *Codex Palatinus Latinus* 1993

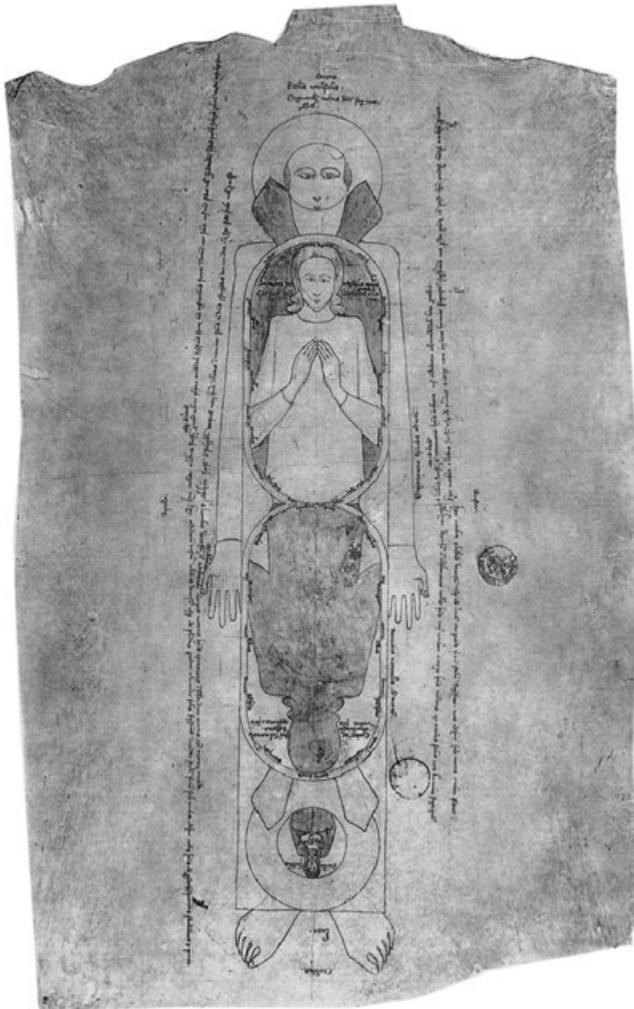
Jung's seminar consists in a psychological commentary on three tables of Opicinus's *CPL* 1993. We have identified them as Tables 21, 38 and 39.<sup>6</sup> The *CPL* 1993 was first found in the Palatine Library of Heidelberg before it was brought into the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in 1623, where it is now kept in the manuscript department. The *CPL* 1993 is made up of 52 drawings, some of them in colour, which appear on both sides of cured sheepskin folios (50 cm. × 70–97 cm.). Opicinus's cartography is characteristic of a transitional phase marking the emergence from moralized cartography and the beginning of technical cartography. In other words, Opicinus finely represents the passage between images of allegorical and symbolic lands typical of the Middle Ages and images based on observations and measurements (Ladner 1967; Arentzen 1984; Fumagalli Beonio Brocchieri & Randi 1989; Swennen 1991; Vernet 1992; Hüe 1993; Grecchi 1996; Harding 1998, 2000; Borri 2001; Cicutto 2002; Laharie 2003). In fact, the drawings in *CPL* 1993 are full of annotations and correspondences that are theological, symbolic, astrological, historical as well as cartographic.<sup>7</sup> There is a strong insistence on certain topics in his images. There is the Church represented as a female figure. There are Christ, the Virgin Mary, the patriarchs, the prophets, and the church personalities presented along with their 'astral doubles'. There are the signs of the zodiac, the animals symbolizing the evangelists, and scenes of the crucifixion. Opicinus's cartographic art is original in many ways, but his most original trait is his marked anthropomorphism. In effect, he chose to represent geographic places by giving them human features. He drew a whole series of tables based on sexualizing the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (Horden & Purcell 2000). Europe is often represented as a woman, generally nude. Italy and Greece are her legs. Her head is the Iberian Peninsula. Her heart is Avignon, the French residence of the pope. The laguna of Venice is Europe's 'castrated' sexual organ. Corsica and Sardinia are two faeces that come out of her anus, Genoa (*Ianua*, or 'door/port/exit'). There is one animal that recurs in his images, the goat. Opicinus was born under the sign of the goat, Capricorn. He became a priest of the church of Santa Maria Capella (Opicinus associated the word *capella* or 'chapel' with *capretta* or 'goat'). He believed that his existence was indelibly branded by the mark of the goat. He drew images where the Mediterranean Sea was an enormous and obscene goat that was having intercourse both with Europe and with Africa. In other images, the demonic goat was the Middle East, then in Muslim hands. Almost all the time, Opicinus began his drawings with a circle and added anthropomorphic figures later, according to medieval

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, Alwine von Keller's notes do not have any direct references to the individual images in the *CPL* 1993. Those images are the ones that we judged to be almost certainly connected to Jung's comments.

<sup>7</sup> Saxl (1915) overlooked the *CPL* 1993 even though it contained numerous astrological references.

art historian Adelheid Heimann (1903–1993) (Heimann 1936). Also, Opicinus divided his images into two symmetrical halves. This is what most strikes anyone who looks at his images and it is what Jung harks on in his comments. In fact, almost all his tables are symmetrical in relation to a central axis. No one can completely grasp these tables with one look because half of each one is always upside down.

Let us now examine some excerpts from Jung's comments. The tables in *CPL* 1993 have been reproduced here in the order in which Jung commented on them in his seminar.



In Table 38 the universal Church (*Ecclesia universalis*) is a bright anthropomorphic figure that covers the whole length of the page, starting from the top. The universal Church's face is partially circumscribed by a circle. Beside this figure, there are the words *Oriens* ('East') and *Sol* ('Sun'). In the bottom half of Table 38 there is the sacramental Church (*Ecclesia sacramentalis*) in the form of the Madonna and Child, an upside-down counterpoint to the universal Church. The sacramental Church is also circumscribed by a circle and this circle, in turn, is included within the borders of the larger bright figure of the universal Church. The words *Occidens* ('West') and *Luna* ('Moon') are written at the very bottom of the figure of the universal Church. The large anthropomorphic figure of the universal Church contains still another image inside of it. This is a bright image of a young man with his hands crossed and his upside-down faceless counterpart below him with the same profile as his. Jung's comments on Table 38, as taken down in seminar notes, are below.

'The first image has nothing around it. In this case, hence, he [Opicinus] has not yet become aware of his fear of demons and of the devil, unfortunately. In both of the images the horizontal [line] is missing—therefore right and left. The earth is missing. Meanwhile, heaven and hell are opposites situated along a vertical line. This is a Gothic problem, not a modern one. Nowadays, the four and the circle are in the unconscious. We can see that this monk found himself in the *imitatio Christi*, in its typically Christian meaning. The counterpoint is missing here, as in the image of the world of the Church, as Rahner tells us.<sup>8</sup> In the figures of the monk [there are] a terrible vision and acknowledgement that evil makes up a part of the image of the world. That evil is present and is as big as the good. [The monk] did not find, nor could he have drawn the necessary centre between the two, their compensation point [*Ausgleichspunkt*]. He could not even have thought of it beforehand and for this reason he went out of his head. It should be said, though, he had one of his perceptive organs in his unconscious able to understand this tragedy in its own time. He thought of himself as protected in the womb of Mother Church, but there is a dark principle [...]. Sun and counter-sun, brightness and dark have the same size. The bright sun above. The earth in the middle. The dark sun, black on the bottom, and little, next to it, the moon [...]. The vertical oval image of the light-man and of the lower counter-body of the Shadow follows. Or, the old sinful man who functions in an antithetical way. This dark man places his feet up there on the solar head of the bright [man]. The lunar figure at the feet of the image contains the Madonna, the one who intercedes for the sinners. In the image she is staying on the side of darkness, of evil'.

Table 39 is Opicinus's personal and symbolic form of spiritual confession (Salomon 1936b, p. 263). There is a counterpoint between an image of a human

<sup>8</sup> Jung was probably referring to the theologian Hugo Rahner (1900–1968), who gave his first talk at Eranos that very year entitled 'The Christian Mystery of the Sun and Moon' (Rahner 1943).

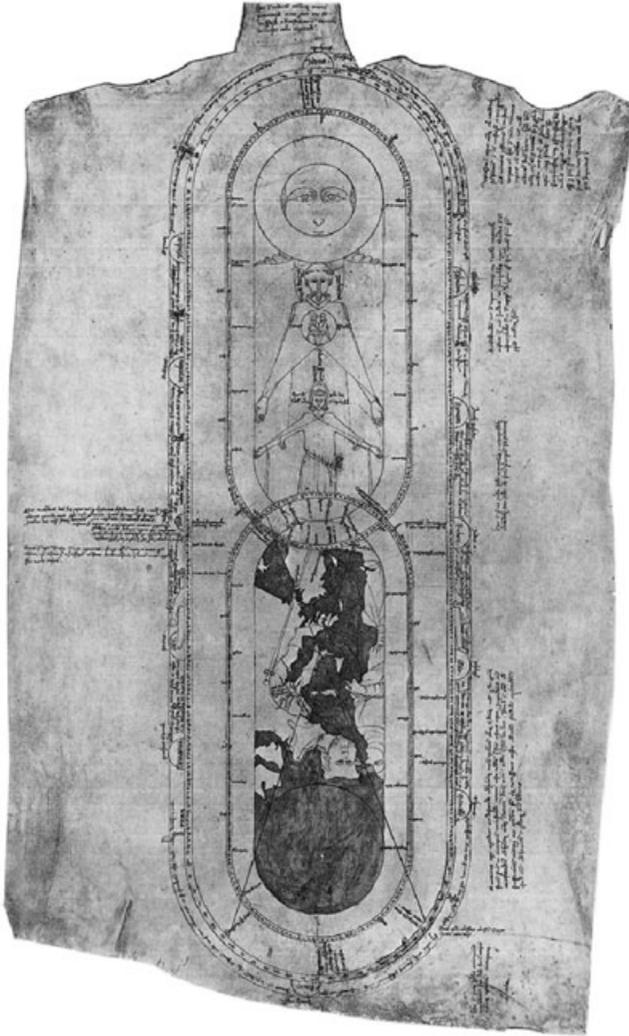


figure and its mirror image as a map of the Mediterranean. Both images are circumscribed inside two ovals. As in Table 38, the top oval is the 'bright' part of the image. This oval surrounds an image of a pope. There is a round medallion on the chest of the pope, in which a groom and bride (*sponsus and sponsa*) are united in an embrace. There is an image of a young king below the papal image. The king's pose is similar to the pope's, but he is smaller. This arrangement illustrates Opicinus's idea in that the pope has preeminence over the secular world – the thesis of his *De praeeminentia spiritualis imperii*. The map is the symbol of sin. It is in an oval below and in counterpoint to the image of the

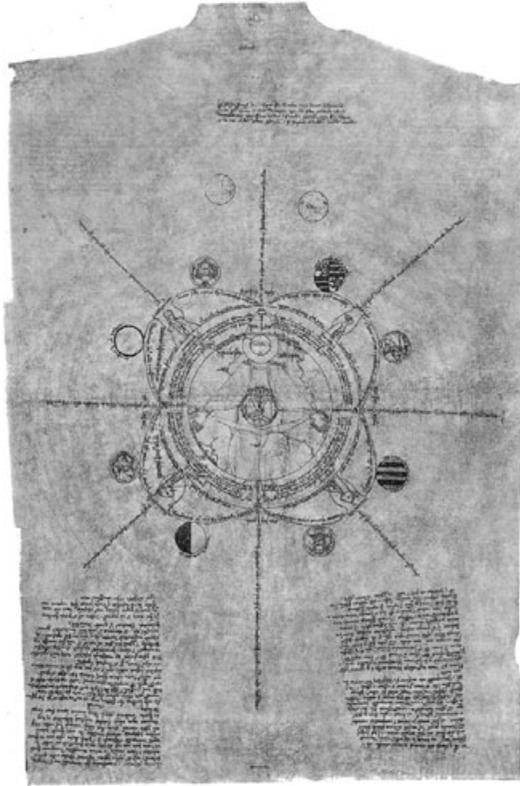
Church and devotion. Symbolically, Europe is a male figure. Africa is a woman. The Mediterranean Sea is a kind of demonic figure with a 'goatee', as Jung notes. The Atlantic is a monstrous beast, probably a fish, which is swallowing Europe at its extreme point at the northwest coast of France. The strait of Gibraltar is linked by a straight diagonal line to the strait of the Bosphorus. At Gibraltar the faces of the two personifications of Europe and Africa seem to join for an instant. At the Bosphorus there is a sword that separates the Mediterranean Sea from the Black Sea. There is a second diagonal line that intersects Rome and Jerusalem. There is a river of blood (*Rivus sanguinis*) that gushes out at Jerusalem, which is identified by a little crucifix. This is the way Jung comments on this complex image.

'There is no centre in these images.'<sup>9</sup> This is already the reason why the danger has got so big and why the monk had to draw a triple circle around it, or a fence (this takes for granted that we are not really talking about a circle). The fence had to keep the danger outside, the danger of the evil secret in the conflict that can lead one to madness, the *bête noire*, the eternal hellfire. The *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God, is at the centre. Under it is the ram, the fire-aspect of the lamb. This is as if the monk were saying, 'I am the *Agnus Dei*', and this is the way that the devil comes to life and goes into action. The human being cannot identify himself with either of the opposite poles. He is not the centre and not one of the opposites. He has to remain in the fear of the Lord, 'stay awake and pray'.<sup>10</sup> It is exactly through the development of consciousness that the human being is placed in opposition to God. He reaches God again through a widened consciousness, which again, God willing (*Deo concedente*), speaks and knows, knows that Christ and Antichrist are joined. He knows that opposites are not separable [...]. The attempt to include the irreconcilable inside the mystical body of the Church (*corpus mysticum*) could do nothing but fail. The monk himself fell victim to this [...]. As long as the human being says, 'I know. I want', and *Deo concedente* stands out in the background, his thought and his will is included inside the order of a superior thought and will. However, the danger of a distancing originated at the beginning of the modern era. The individual no longer said, 'I know. I want', but the word-stress shifted and now he said, 'I know. I want'. He became conscious of his own greatness and freedom. He began to put off divine authority. The emancipation of judgement and will brought out the problem of duality. This duality laid the foundation for a new human consciousness. From that moment on, nature [on the one hand] and divinity [on the other] began to exist, revelation and the 'light of nature' (*lumen naturae*) [...]. This was when the attempt began, the attempt to frame the hidden conditions of the soul and the secret conditions of the body inside the religious cosmos, as we can infer in the *mandalas* of a 'case' from the thirteenth

<sup>9</sup> Jung was referring to Tables 38 and 39.

<sup>10</sup> Mark 14:38; Matthew 26:41.

century [. . .]. The second image presents us with a triple circle. In the first circle there are the twelve apostles, in the second the twelve tribes, and in the third the letters of the languages that the monk knew – simple attempts aimed at defeating the world of demons and preventing the destruction of the *mandala*. The Shadow is no longer a person (counter-person) in the *mandala*, but has become chaotic. Here the devil is represented with a goatee in the guise of a map of Europe! The evil here is no longer nature that was disfigured by original sin, but a *perversio sine substantia*! The anti-world of the devil, the anti-world of the demons in the form of a map of Europe appears at the historical moment when the *lumen naturae* manifests itself alongside of the light of revelation and when the ‘I know. I want’ of man, hence duality, becomes evident. The attempt of the monk to include the schism of his own times inside the *corpus mysticum* of the Church did not succeed for him, naturally. He was not conscious of this split, which was present in his unconscious, the split that constitutes the problem of the modern era. This is the image of a schizophrenic’.



Unlike tables 38 and 39, Table 21 has a more classical *mandala* shape. Again, there is the figure of the Church (*Ecclesia*) in the centre, whose face

is circumscribed by a circle, considered by Salomon to be Opicinus's homage to the papacy. There is a medallion at the centre of the figure that shows Christ and Ecclesia joined in an embrace as *sponsus* and *sponsa*. This is 'flame and water close to each other and united together', according to Jung. The biggest circle is a kind of map of the world, or Babylonia. There is a new Jerusalem descending from heaven (*nova Iherusalem de celo descendens*) in the form of the Church dressed as a bride and displaying the medallion of the *coniunctio*. The central image is included inside a double circle. This double outer circle is subdivided into four sections just like a cross. This is done through the words *Caput ecclesie* (east), *Rigor iustitie* (west), *Unitas cordium* (south), and *Xpisma fidelium* (north), words whose first letters form the acronym, CRUX. Table 50 of the *CPL 1993* shows the complete catalogue of the two hundred prophets. Table 21, however, shows us this same catalogue, but symbolically through a 'synthesis', schematized on the wings of the animals of the evangelists. Mark is represented by a lion and is located in the northwest, Matthew by a human or angelic figure in the northeast, John by an eagle in the southeast, and Luke by a bull in the southwest.

Jung comments in this way: 'A *mandala*: a circle subdivided into four sections. In the centre flame and water close to each other and united together. Fire: desire; water: penitence; these are astrological signs of divinity. These are the elements that make up the human soul'.

### 3. Original characteristics in Jung's comments on *Codex Palatinus Latinus 1993*

There are at least three reasons why we should go over Alwine von Keller's notes carefully within the context of Jung's entire scholarly production. The first reason is that we noticed that the name of Opicinus appears only two other times in all of Jung's works, and even then only in rather synthetic allusions. In *The Psychology of the Child Archetype* (1940), Jung writes: 'The symbolic drawings of Opicinus de Canistris afford us an interesting glimpse of the way in which [the] primordial image [of the 'divine wedding'] was instrumental in uniting opposites, even in a pathological state' (Jung 1940, para. 295). Jung later alludes to a two-volume study of the *CPL 1993* (para. 295, n. 40), which was edited by Richard Salomon in 1936 for the Warburg Institute in London (Salomon 1936a, 1936b). Jung mentions Opicinus for the second time in *Psychology and Religion*, where he also alludes to Salomon's essay (Jung 1938/1940, para. 62, n. 7). There is an item preserved at the Warburg Institute entitled 'Manuscript of Opicinus de Canistris in the Vatican' (*Die Bilderhandschrift des Opicinus de Canistris. Original im Vatican*). It appears there as Section 72 of the 'Eranos Collection of Jungian Archetypes'. In reality, this item is made up of galley proofs of forty-five tables that Salomon used for his study on *CPL 1993*. These have the official stamps of the Warburg Institute and of the 'Eranos Archive presented by Olga Froebe-Kapteyn' on their backs. However, these are not the original photographs that Fröbe-Kapteyn obtained at the Biblioteca Apostolica

Vaticana, where the *CPL* 1993 is found.<sup>11</sup> For this reason, we feel that Jung consulted the reproductions of Opicinus's manuscript in Salomon's study. This seems to be corroborated in an unpublished letter dated August 1, 1936 that Jung wrote to Fritz Saxl (1890–1948), the art historian who succeeded Aby Warburg (1866–1929) in 1929 as the director of the Warburg Institute. This letter is the first document of Jung's that we have found so far in which he makes mention of Opicinus. Jung thanks Saxl 'for the really friendly sending of the book by Salomon on de Canistris'. Jung told him that the book had in any case been 'really very useful' and that he was 'happy to own such a book because it held a good amount of really precious material'.<sup>12</sup>

The second reason for our interest in the seminar is essentially philological. The terminology that Jung uses in this seminar is rather rare in his works. The term *gana*, e.g., is repeated in only two other works; the first is in 'Concerning rebirth' (Jung 1940/1959, para. 213, n. 7), which is a re-elaboration of a paper he presented at Eranos in 1939: it is significant that the word *gana* did not appear in the earlier paper; the second *gana* is in 'Analytical psychology and education' (Jung 1926/1946, para. 204, n. 4), first published in 1926 and edited in its definitive edition twenty years later. The symbolism of the 'inverted tree' (*arbor inversa*) is developed much more deeply only two years later in 'The philosophical tree' (Jung 1945/1954, para. 410 ff.). The unusual image of the Thumbling-*homunculus* and, specifically, the expression, 'Thumbling of the heart', appear again in a letter he wrote to Aniela Jaffé on September 3, 1943, a few weeks after his seminar. The term *umbra solis* ('the shadow of the sun'), an alchemical symbol, is found again only in *Psychology and Alchemy* (Jung 1944, p. 168, fig. 81 & n. 106), in 'An account of the transference phenomena based on the illustrations to the "Rosarium Philosophorum"' (Jung 1946, paras. 420–21 & n. 17), and in *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (Jung 1955–1956, paras. 21, 32, 110, n. 7, 117 f., 152, 155, 172, 346). The concept of the *umbra solis* and his comparison of the shadow to the Gnostic idea of *Christus natus non sine*

<sup>11</sup> Since the mid' 30s, Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn visited the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana several times, looking for symbolic images for her Eranos Archive for Research in Symbolism (see her unpublished letters to Jung dated 18 August 1936 and 16 November 1938). Around 1938, e.g., she spent a period of study there, doing research on images linked to the 'Great Mother' archetype. In November 1938, at Mary Elizabeth Conover Mellon's (1904–1946) request, she managed to obtain photographic reproductions of an 'illuminated manuscript' of the Divine Comedy, the *Codex Urbinas Latinus* 365 (McGuire 1982, p. 29), which then went into the Eranos Archive and later into that of the Warburg Institute, where it appears under the entry 'A Manuscript of Dante in the Vatican' (*Ein Dante MS in der Vatikan-Bibliothek*). The art historian Adelheid Heimann was put in charge of organizing the material of the Eranos Archive when Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn donated it to the Warburg Institute in 1954–1955.

<sup>12</sup> In the same letter, originally written in German, Jung told Saxl about the trip he was planning to take to London the following October, in the hope that he could greet him again (WIA, General Correspondence, C.G. Jung to F. Saxl, 1 August 1936. Quoted with the permission of the Stiftung der Werke von C.G. Jung).

*quadam umbra* ('Christ born not without some shadow') appear in his rewritten 'A psychological approach to the dogma of the Trinity' (Jung 1942/1948, para. 245); these concepts did not appear in his original paper, which he presented at Eranos in August 1940, where we only find reference to Christ and a certain 'shadow of the trinity' (*umbra trinitatis*).

The third reason for our interest in the seminar is that Alwine von Keller's text, even in its telegraphic wording, articulates the basic topics that the mature Jung was to focus his attention on. It is interesting to plot out a range of topics in this seminar that were to be taken up again in *Answer to Job* (Jung 1952), that sort of family saga with God as protagonist. In these pages we can recognize Jung as cultural historian and as scholar who works out his meta-psychology. In this, he reflects not only on individual clinical cases but also on collective events. This is the reason why he is interested in anthropology (the 'primitive' societies) and in the history of Christianity. This very history is the place where the split into opposites keeps on taking place, splits that, according to Jung, are the primary sources of the western 'discomfort of civilization'.

The three reasons for our interest in the seminar that we have gone over so far are illustrative from a historical and philological point of view. However, we would like to put forward two more reasons for our interest in the seminar. These reasons are more interpretive. In our opinion, the two topics in Opicinus that fascinated Jung can be laid out as two polarities: *innerness and outerness* and *light and shadow*.

#### 4. Innerness and outerness

It is the scholar who identified Opicinus, Monsignor Gianani himself, who stresses that the *CPL 1993*, Opicinus's autobiography, is 'a document of the soul'. He writes the following: 'The writers of the 1200s and 1300s, the first of the greats, were the ones who made autobiographical memoirs into one of their characteristics. They wrote sincere confessions. They first felt bad about themselves and their acts as these came up against eternal moral and Christian principles. Then there were mysterious visions followed by aspirations towards a better life. This was something they had to seek down long and arduous paths, which they enumerated and arranged methodically. They contemplated these paths of penitence and virtue in all their hierarchy and allegorical forms and with the help of the scripture, of the philosophers, and of the doctors of the Church' (Gianani 1927, p. 19).

Opicinus's autobiography is one where we keep on finding a man split into an 'outer man' and an 'inner man'. The 'outer man' is carnal, ancient, unfortunate, and decadent. The 'inner man' is spiritual and young; he is granted the miracle of rebirth and hence is not subject to death. On the one hand, man is torn by a sense of guilt over his own weaknesses and sins, which are literally paralysing him. On the other hand, he is infused with a sense of purity and omnipotence that balances and fulfils him again (Nicola 1996, p. 78). The antithesis between

outerness and innerness, which we can see in Opicinus's images, always seems to be referring to the same man, who is caught in two opposing but simultaneous phases. On the one hand, there are his fragility and weakness. On the other hand, there is his calling to evangelical perfection. This man caught in two opposing but simultaneous phases is exemplified in the inscriptions in Table 38. As we have seen, there is another figure inside the larger anthropomorphic figure that Opicinus used to represent the universal Church. This is a bright figure of a young man with his hands joined together. Besides him, there are the words *Corpus (fulgidum novi) hominis interioris* ('The body of the (new, bright) inner man'). Opicinus placed the dark, shadow counterpart of this young man below him in a mirror image, faceless but with the same profile. Near this figure, there are the words *Umbra (umbratile corpus veteris) hominis exterioris* ('The shadow (shady body) of the (old) outer man'). This is a dichotomy between opposites that have many facets – shadow and light, evil and good, sin and purity, lower will and higher will, sensuality and reason, animal body and spiritual body, iniquity and justice, stasis and spiritual renewal, and eternal death and glory. Opicinus amplifies this dichotomy between 'inner man' and 'outer man' as the counterpoint of a solar (male) and a lunar (female) image. Opicinus's attempt to reconcile 'the Christian division of man into halves, one valuable and one depraved' (Jung 1921, para. 314) failed on the theological level because Opicinus 'was not aware of the split in his own unconscious', according to Jung. The dramatic image in Table 39 of *CPL 1993* does nothing but confirm Opicinus's inner travail, which he fought between the lines of these lacerating dichotomies.

We can already encounter something like the term 'inner man' in Plato's *Republic* (9,589a–b): 'All our actions and words should tend to give *the man within us* domination over the entire man'. However, the idea of the 'inner man' or 'inner person' (*ho éso ánthropos*) itself can only be derived from Paul. In fact, the classical authors used 'inner person' (*ho éso ánthropos*) to mean 'mind', or 'soul'. Philo of Alexandria himself wrote in a cultural context that was closer to Paul's. Yet, he used a term that was farther away in meaning from Paul's when he wrote of a 'man who lives in the soul' (*Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, 23). Plato used the word *entós*, and not *éso*, which is the word Paul used. The inner man of Plato is someone who is rational and conscious of his intellectual potential. The inner man of Paul is someone who is endowed with a knowledge that is exquisitely intuitive of the 'inner fullness of Christ', which goes beyond him infinitely (Mello 2006, p. 5). We can find the expression, 'the inner man', three times in Paul's epistles – Romans 7:22, 2 Corinthians 4:16, and Ephesians 3:16. In Romans 7:22, Paul highlights the contradictory nature of the relationship between the inner and the outer man. In Ephesians 3:16 he seems to go further and bring out a kind of 'thematic progression'. Paul seems to say that when the inner man is strengthened and formed completely, this inner man is the equivalent of Christ being genuinely rooted in this innerness, to the point that Christ himself becomes the authentic 'inner man'. Opicinus's

inscriptions on the sides of Table 38 illustrate the influence of Paul on him. He develops this dichotomy in terms that seem to go along both with Romans 7:21–23 and Ephesians 3:14–16. We should examine 2 Corinthians in order to grasp the meaning of this opposition. Here, the expression ‘inner man’ takes on an eschatological meaning. The outer person belongs to this world and for this reason is destined to perish, but the inner person belongs to the world that is to come and therefore to eternal life (Barrett 1991, pp. 140 ff.). The old person is the person’s own ego that corrupts itself with its passions, but the new person is the very same ego that rehabilitates its own Christian wholeness. In other words, innerness and outerness can be taken as ‘overlapping’ existential categories, as can be gathered from Ephesians 4:22–24 and Colossians 3: 9–10. The outer person is constantly breaking into pieces, but the inner person is being renewed day by day. The outer person is always the same as himself, a prisoner of his own weaknesses and the burdens of existence, but the inner person has one main virtue – the potential to regenerate himself by himself. The outer person holds us prisoners to the past, but the inner person constantly opens us up to new perspectives, often ones that we do not expect or ones that we are hardly aware of at the time. All in all, the movement toward a sanctified existence is not a movement towards the old but one towards the new, thanks to the inner person’s potential for renewal. This renewal is perhaps not so different from the Gospel call for us to become ‘like children’ again (Matthew 18: 3–4). Nevertheless, the outer person who is breaking into pieces is not fated to perish entirely. He or she is only more submissive, more in need of a discipline of the body and of the mind, and more resistant to a way of personal growth that originates from his or her own innerness. Therefore, paradoxically, the outer person should not be taken as the enemy of the inner person, but as the one who will help him out. The more the outer person becomes poor and the more essential, the more the inner person gets stronger, takes root, and forms as a whole.

According to Jung, too, ‘the inner man has to be fed’ (McGuire & Hull 1977, p. 358). This involves a process of simplification, of reduction to the essential, and of an interiorization of all existence. As a result of the ‘breaking up’ of the outer man, the inner man renews himself in a ‘daily resurrection’ (Mello 2006, p. 27). In tune with Paul’s thoughts, Opicinus writes, *Nativitas naturalis ad mortem, regeneratio spiritualis ad vitam* (‘Natural birth to death, spiritual rebirth to life’). Anyhow, it would be an oversimplification to equate Jung and Opicinus. In fact, they are very different. In Christian thought the ‘outer man’ is judged scornfully, as we can see in Opicinus’s drawings. The ‘inner man’ constitutes the spiritual part of the human being. In Jung the libido moves inwards innerness, which, however, is meant as the unconscious (Jung 1921, p. 250). In the unconscious – innerness – the libido evokes contents that are numinous but not necessarily ‘spiritual’. In Jung, e.g., sexuality is one of the numinous contents, but in Opicinus sexuality is associated with the weakness of the ‘outer man’. The way Jung and Opicinus share the use of

similar terms is something that hides the differences in their attitudes and in their conceptual references. We can easily understand this in view of the differences in their cultural perspectives. We should not forget that the use that Jung makes of religious thought and religious symbols is often based on an analogical method. In other words, he uses the patrimony of his images, ideas, and religious experiences in order to confirm his psychological theories, sometimes in a rather reckless way. In this vein, he writes this about the process of individuation: 'That we find it needful to draw analogies from psychopathology and from both Eastern and Western mysticism is only to be expected' (Jung 1947/1954, para. 431). The consequences of all this are that the collective unconscious, the self, the archetypes are meanings that sometimes are invested with the attributes of the divine (the numinous quality that Rudolf Otto described so well).

In Table 21 we find ourselves once again before the counterpoint between the decadence of the outer man and the 'real centre' of the personality represented by the inner man, whom we can see here as the Church in the garments of a bride displaying the medallion of the juncture or union (*Ecclesia, sponsa, coniunctio*). The 'perfect man' (in the words of Ephesians 4:13, Matthew 5:48, and Galatians 3:2) is then really the person who was able to put the outer and the inner man into harmony.

## 5. Light and shadow

Jung read Opicinus's images in the light of the problem of the integration of the Shadow. In this way, his treatment of Opicinus is congruent with the interest he showed in this topic in other talks that he gave at the various Eranos Conferences, where he discussed the psychological concept of the Shadow, its phenomenology, and its dynamics (Quaglino, Romano & Bernardini 2007, pp. 181 ff., n. 3). We have seen how the bright or 'solar' figures are almost symmetrically counterbalanced by their corresponding dark or 'shadow' figures in the *CPL* 1993. There is a certain structural similarity between these images and the *mandalas* created by Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) and Niklaus von der Flüe (1417–1487).<sup>13</sup>

Böhme was a German mystic. Jung discussed his *mandala* in several of his studies. In *Psychology and Religion* Jung pointed out that Opicinus and Böhme represented quaternity (or 'four-ness') in ways that corresponded to each other iconographically (Jung 1938/1940, p. 37, n. 7). In our case, however, the way Böhme separates light and darkness makes it interesting to compare his image with the images in *CPL* 1993. Böhme places light and darkness next to each other along a horizontal line (right vs. left). According to Jung, Böhme experienced the Old Testament 'Wrath-fire' God who was profoundly 'an antinomy – a

<sup>13</sup> This concedes, of course, that we cannot demonstrate any kind of historical continuity among these authors.

totality of inner opposites' (Jung 1934/1954, p. 12; Jung 1952, p. 369), but one in which the opposites do not ever seem to be reconciled (Jung 1934/1954, p. 9; 1951, pp. 60 f., 125). Böhme probably found himself facing an inner conflict that would have been even more lacerating if he had not managed to get a hold on this contradiction by means of the Christian formula of Father-Son. In effect, he integrated this formula on a theological plane into his vision of the world. If he had not, he would have been locked up inside of that split that we can seemingly recognize in the images of Opicinus. According to Jung, Böhme was aided in this process of integration by alchemy, which readily took into consideration the problem of the coexistence of opposites. His inner conflicts left some marked traces in the *mandala* that he called (in the early English translation) the 'Philosophique Globe', or 'Eye of Wonders of Eternity', or 'Looking-Glass of Wisdom' or 'Eye of Nothing', included in his treatise, *XL Questions concerning the Soule* (1620). This image appears in Jung's first Eranos essay, 'A Study in the Process of Individuation' (Jung 1933/1950, p. 297). It is an image that illustrates the essence of divinity as Böhme experienced it. The *mandala* is divided into a bright half and a dark half, each in the shape of a semicircle. However, the two halves, the semicircles, do not join together to make a circle. Rather, they are placed against each other back to back, touching at one point, where there is a little heart. According to Jung, Böhme's image reveals the incurable moral conflict implicit in the Christian vision of the world. This conflict is something that the images in Opicinus's *CPL* 1993 bear witness to in an important way.

Von der Flüe was a Swiss mystic and hermit (canonized by Pius XII in 1947). Jung discussed von der Flüe's so-called 'vision of the Trinity'. As in the case of Böhme, Jung interpreted the visions of Niklaus von der Flüe in a way that has several elements in common with his treatment of the images of Opicinus. Von der Flüe's so-called 'Trinity Vision', a luminous apparition in the form of a human face, was as intense for him as it was disorienting. Brother Klaus, as he was called, made efforts to investigate the nature of his vision and make himself able to understand it. He painted the image of the vision on the wall of his cell. The painting is still preserved in the parish church at Sachseln. It is a *mandala* divided into six parts, and in the centre is the crowned countenance of God, as Jung recounts. According to Jung, in his ecstasy there was revealed to Brother Klaus a sight so terrible that his own countenance was changed by it – so much so, indeed, that people were terrified and felt afraid of him (Jung 1934/1954, para. 12 ff.; 1933, para. 564). According to Jung, Brother Klaus's vision was an authentic primal experience of God that had little that went along with the traditional representation of the Christian 'all good'—*summum bonum*. Instead, it was 'a 'heretical' image that realized itself in visionary form, an archetypal interpretation which came to life again spontaneously, independently of tradition' (Jung 1936/1954, para. 131). Brother Klaus was aided by dogma in the integration of this terrifying aspect of God. A 'dogmatic image of divinity that had been developed over the centuries,

Jung writes, worked like a healing draught. It helped him to assimilate the fatal incursion of an archetypal image and so escape being torn asunder'. There were others, like the German poet Angelus Silesius (1624–1677) or Opicinus himself, who fell victims to their inner conflicts. Referring to Tables 38 and 39, Jung notes that Opicinus felt so threatened by danger that he was forced to draw a triple circle around his images, just like a protective fence. Jung's interpretation of Opicinus is congruent with his interpretation of the circular symbolism that we also encounter in Brother Klaus. In fact, Brother Klaus helped himself interpret these visions by drawing three circles—the so-called 'wheel' he had shown to a pilgrim who had come to see it (Jung 1933, para. 484; 1929, pp. 20 ff.). According to Jung, for Brother Klaus 'the protective circle, the *mandala*, is the traditional antidote for chaotic states of the mind' (Jung 1934/1954, para. 16; Jung 1933, para. 477). The use of the triple circle can be also defined as completely 'archetypal' (para. 481 f.). We can easily apply a similar interpretation of the symbolism of a circle to the characteristic circular and oval shapes in the *CPL* 1993. This demonstrates how Jung's seminar goes along well with his interests in that particular period, from the mid-1930s into the 1940s, where he focused his attention on the topic of the conflict between opposites in relationship to medieval Christian spirituality.

## Conclusion

Jung's comments are significant in that they are the first in a number of studies that have attempted to give a psychological interpretation to the art of Opicinus, studies outstanding especially in the last two decades. Moreover, Jung's reflections move across a broader interpretative horizon. In Jung's above-mentioned letter to Saxl, Jung wrote: 'As I have seen, Salomon seems to fend off any idea of his that the man [Opicinus] is a little schizophrenic. I took a second look at the pictures and I do declare that his coherence and the extraordinarily careful systemic craft speak against the idea of a run-of-the-mill schizophrenia. However, there are also refined forms where there is method in the madness'.<sup>14</sup> The aspect that we thought was most meaningful in Jung's comments on the *CPL* 1993 consists in the emphasis he placed on the need to get antithetical aspects to coexist inside the same human soul. This problem is articulated on two levels for people of so-called western civilization. There is the individual level, which involves the integration of the Shadow. Then there is the speculative level—the theological and philosophical one—which involves us in becoming fully aware of the imperfection of nature and the substantiality of evil. Jung writes: 'When an inner situation is not made conscious, it happens outside, as fate. That is to say, when the individual remains undivided and does not become conscious of

<sup>14</sup> WIA, General Correspondence, C.G. Jung to F. Saxl, 1 August 1936. Quoted with the permission of the Stiftung der Werke von C.G. Jung.

his inner opposite, the world must perforce act out the conflict and be torn into opposing halves' (Jung 1951, para. 126). All things considered, Jung surely sees in Opicinus's images not only an individual crisis but also a cultural problem that Opicinus is probably only a reflection of. Opicinus fits well into Jung's description of the situation of the patient: 'Although the pathological conflict is a personal matter it is also a broadly human conflict manifesting itself in the individual, for disunity with oneself is the hall-mark of civilized man' (Jung 1917/1943, para. 16).

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TRANSLATIONS OF ABSTRACT

Jung tint un séminaire informel pour un nombre limité d'étudiants après la fin de la conférence d'Eranos d'août 1953. Toutes traces de ce séminaire étaient données pour disparues jusqu'à ce que fussent retrouvées les notes de l'une des étudiantes, Alwine von Keller, en 2006. Les causeries de Jung consistaient en un commentaire psychologique d'une série d'images médiévales issues du *Codex Palatinus Latinus* 1993, attribué à Opicinus de Canistris (1296–c1352), ecclésiaste italien du 14<sup>ème</sup> siècle, mystique, miniaturiste et cartographe. Jung y interprète les images d'Opicinus comme une série de *mandalas*, dans lesquels l'ombre, le principe obscur, ne parvient pas à être intégré à un système équilibré. Opicinus tenta d'établir cette division des opposés, qui constitue le problème majeur des temps modernes, tout en demeurant dans le système de la doctrine chrétienne. Cependant, il échoua à intégrer le principe de l'ombre au niveau doctrinal car il n'était pas conscient de cette même division dans son propre inconscient. Notre article met en évidence dans ce séminaire l'originalité de certaines des interprétations de Jung par rapport à d'autres études psychanalytiques sur Opicinus, voire d'autres lectures analytico-psychologiques de l'art chrétien médiéval.

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Nach dem Ende der Eranos-Konferenz im August 1943 hielt Jung für eine kleine Gruppe von Studenten ein informelles Seminar. Alle Spuren dieses Seminars galten als verloren, bis die Aufzeichnungen einer der beteiligten Studentinnen, Alwine von Keller, 2006 aufgefunden wurden. Jungs Vortrag bestand aus einem psychologischen Kommentar zu einer Serie von Bildern des mittelalterlichen *Codex Palatinus Latinus* 1993, Opicinius de Canistris (1296–c1352) zugeschrieben, einem italienischen Geistlichen, Mystiker, Miniaturisten und Kartographen des 14. Jahrhunderts. Jung interpretierte Opicinius' Bilder als eine Serie von *Mandalas*, in der der Schatten, das dunkle Prinzip, nicht in ein ausgewogenes Prinzip integriert werden kann. Opicinius versuchte, diese Trennung in Gegensätze aufzuheben, die das Hauptproblem der modernen Zeit bildet, so wie sie auch im System der christlichen Doktrinen fortexistiert. Jedoch gelang ihm sein Versuch nicht, das Prinzip des Schattens auf doktrinärer Ebene zu integrieren, da er sich nicht über die Existenz eben derselben Trennung in seinem eigenen Unbewußten im klaren war. Unser Artikel zeigt die Momente des Seminars auf, in denen Jung viel mehr Originalität in seinen Interpretationen zu zeigen scheint als andere psychoanalytische Studien zu Opicinius oder andere analytisch-psychologische Lesweisen der mittelalterlichen christlichen Kunst.

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Dopo la chiusura del Convegno di Eranos del 1943 Jung tenne un seminario informale per un numero ristretto di studenti. Di questo seminario si era persa traccia, fino a quando gli appunti presi in questa occasione da una sua allieva, Alwine von Keller (1878–1965), sono stati ritrovati negli archivi di Eranos nel 2006. Il seminario di Jung si sviluppò come un commento psicologico a una serie di immagini appartenenti al *Codex Palatinus Latinus* 1993, un codice miniato medievale attribuito a Opicino de Canistris (1296–1352 ca.), un ecclesiastico, cartografo e mistico di origini italiane. Jung interpretò i dipinti di Opicino come una serie di *mandala*. Tali immagini, secondo Jung, rivelerebbero una mancata integrazione dell’Ombra, quel ‘principio oscuro’ irredento e, forse, irridimibile della natura umana che in Opicino non sembra capace di integrarsi in un sistema psicologico equilibrato. Opicino tentò di risolvere questa scissione di opposti rimanendo all’interno del *corpus* dottrinario del Cristianesimo medievale; il suo intento di integrare l’Ombra sul piano della dottrina però fallì, nota Jung, per l’inconsapevolezza rispetto alla medesima scissione presente nel suo inconscio. Il nostro articolo mette in evidenza gli aspetti del seminario di Jung che rivelano un’originalità sia sul versante degli studi psicoanalitici dell’iconografia di Opicino sia, più in generale, nella lettura psicologico-analitica dell’arte cristiana medievale.

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Это был неформальный семинар Юнга для ограниченного числа студентов после завершения конференции в Эраносе в августе 1943 года. Все следы этого семинара считались утерянными, когда в 2006 году обнаружили записи одной из студенток, Альвины фон Келлер. Речь Юнга была посвящена психологическому комментарию серии образов средневекового «Кодекса Палатинус Латинус» 1993, приписываемого Опичинию де Канистрису (1296–с1352), итальянскому ученому, мистiku, миниатюристу и картографу четырнадцатого века. Юнг интерпретировал образы Опичиния как серию мандал, в которых Тень, темный принцип, не поддается интеграции в уравновешенную систему. Опичиний пытался урегулировать разделение на противоположности, которое составляет главную проблему современности, оставаясь внутри системы христианской доктрины. Однако он не преуспел в своих попытках интегрировать принцип Тени на доктринальном уровне, поскольку не осознавал того же самого разделения в своем собственном бессознательном. Наша статья указывает на те части семинара, в которых Юнг дает гораздо более оригинальную интерпретацию, чем другие психоаналитические штудии Опичиния или иные аналитические и психологические толкования средневекового христианского искусства.

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Después del fin de la Conferencia de Eranos en agosto, 1943 Jung tuvo un seminario informal para un número limitado de estudiantes. Todas las huellas de este seminario se perdieron hasta que las notas tomadas por uno de los estudiantes, Alwine von Keller, fueron encontradas en el 2006. La conversación de Jung consistió el comentario psicológico en una serie de imágenes en el Códice medieval *Palatinus Latinus* 1993, atribuido a Opicinus de Canistris (1296-c.1352), un clérigo italiano del siglo XIV, místico, miniaturista, y cartógrafo. Jung interpretó las imágenes de Opicinus como series de *mandalas* en las cuales la Sombra, el principio oscuro, no logra ser integrado

en un sistema equilibrado. Opicinus trató de basar esta división en opuestos, lo cual constituye el principal problema de los tiempos modernos, mientras permanece dentro del sistema de la doctrina cristiana. Sin embargo, no consiguió su propósito de integrar el principio de la Sombra en el nivel doctrinal por no estaba consciente de la división en su propio inconsciente. Nuestro artículo apunta hacia las características del seminario donde Jung parece mostrar mucha más originalidad en su interpretación que otros estudios psicoanalíticos sobre Opicinus u otras lecturas analítico-psicológicos del arte cristiano medieval.

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