

Yoga as seen by Carl Gustav Jung

Dušan Pajin*
International Yoga Academy
Belgrade, Serbia

Abstract: Carl Jung devoted a large portion of his spiritual and cultural research to the cultures of the East, yoga included. He dealt with the question of yoga for different reasons mostly during the 1930s (1932 – 1936), but later on, too. He did this most thoroughly in his seminar (a series of 4 lectures in October 1932), when he spoke in detail about the symbolism and archetypal meaning of chakras, under the topic “The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga”. Four years later, in 1936 Jung published a text *Yoga and the West* in which he said that yoga was one of the greatest inventions of the human mind, but that the Western mind was divided and thus could not practice yoga, and that the West would develop its own yoga based on Christianity. As a possible basis for this Western yoga, Jung had in mind Christian mystics and their studies (He spoke of this in his Foreword (1939) to Suzuki’s book, *Introduction to Zen Buddhism*). However, the development and application of yoga in the West in the last 80 years proved the latter two of his claims erroneous, and confirmed his attitude that yoga is one of the greatest achievements of the human spirit.

Key Words: yoga, Jung, cultures of the East, yoga interpretation, yoga practice.

Introduction

Between 1921 and 1955, for different reasons and on different occasions, Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) wrote about particular teachings of the East (mandalas, Taoist alchemy, yoga, I Ching, Tibetan Buddhism, Zen, meditation), offering comments and contemplating psychological, cultural, societal and philosophical aspects of their interpretation and understanding. In order to fully comprehend his approach to yoga, it is necessary to look in part to his other interpretations of specific aspects of Eastern cultures.

Table 1. Jung’s texts on the teachings of the East

Year	CHRONOLOGY OF JUNG’S TEXTS ON EASTERN TEACHINGS
1921	The Brahmanist view on the opposition problem; On Brahmanist view of the unifying symbol; Unifying symbol as a dynamic rule; Unifying symbols in Chinese philosophy – in the work <i>Psychological Types</i> (pp. 153–173, Belgrade, Kosmos, 1963)
1929	<i>Commentary</i> to the book <i>The Secret of the Golden Flower</i> , which was translated by Richard Wilhelm
1932	<i>Seminar on Kundalini Yoga</i>
1936	<i>Yoga and the West</i>
1938	<i>Commentary</i> to the book <i>The Tibetan Book of the Dead</i> , which was translated

* Corresponding author: pajin@rcub.bg.ac.rs

	by Evans Wentz
1939	Foreword to the book <i>An Introduction to Zen Buddhism</i> by D.T. Suzuki
1939	<i>The Difference Between Eastern and Western Thinking</i>
1943	<i>The Psychology of Eastern Meditation</i>
1944	“Mandala Symbolism”, Chapter 3 in Vol. 2 of the book <i>Psychology and Alchemy</i>
1944	„Holy Men of India“ in <i>Psychology And Religion: West And East</i> , Vol. 11, <i>Collected Works, Princeton Un. Pr</i> , 1975.
1949	Foreword to the book <i>I Ching, Book of Changes</i> , which was translated by Richard Wilhelm
1950	<i>Concerning Mandala Symbolism</i>
1950	<i>A Study in the Process of Individuation</i>
1952	<i>Synchronicity: acausal connecting principle</i>
1955	<i>Mandalas</i>

Main topics

During the span of over 30 years Jung wrote in various texts and for various reasons about particular teachings of the East. Sometimes these were single reflections, and at times he would come back to the same topic a few times – looking from a new perspective or coming up with slightly different conclusions. In these texts Jung would relate general stands on Eastern and Western teachings, which are related to the same topic or issue, or he would work on concrete analyses and comparisons. At times he would call upon Eastern teachings as a support or something that sheds light on his own views, and at other times he would use his view as a kind of a key to interpreting certain teaching of the East with a specific code (sometimes these approaches were intertwined and connected).

The topics Jung considered could be approximately summarized in the following way, following the chronology of their appearance:

1) **Unifying Symbol.** Jung speaks about the symbol or the category that oversteps, frees itself or unites the opposites in his work *Psychological Types* (1921). Here he mentions ideas, symbols and categories that appear in the East and West, both in representing opposites and their surpassing of opposition and unification. As unifying symbols in the East he sees the Brahman from the Indian tradition and the Tao from Chinese.

2) **Psychology and Alchemy.** Jung made note several times of different traditions of alchemy, both Western and Eastern. When it comes to Eastern alchemies, the starting text (from 1929) is his commentary on Wilhelm’s translation of *The Secrets of the Golden Flower*, a text from the field of Taoist alchemy. But, here, Jung spoke less about this text in the context of alchemy and more in the context of the symbolism of mandalas. He depicted the relation between alchemy and psychology in more detail in his other texts, which can be found in *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944, Vol. 12, *Collected Works*), and where he seeks for analogies between the tradition of alchemy and the process and phases of transformation in the individuation process, so that the symbols and ideas in alchemy serve as illustrations of the individuation process, while for alchemy itself he suggests that it is an unrecognized process of individuation.

3) **Symbolism of Mandalas.** Jung talks about the symbolism of mandalas in the following works: the commentary in “Mandala Symbolism” (*The Secret of the Golden Flower*, 1929), in the book *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944, Vol. 12, *Collected Works, Princeton Univ. Press*, 1968, p. 95–223), the text “Concerning Mandala Symbolism” (1950), the text “A Study in the Process of Individuation” (1950), which represents an analysis of a series of paintings by a patient, and the text “Mandalas” (1955).

4) **On Kundalini Yoga.** In 1932 Jung held a Seminar on Kundalini Yoga (in two parts) to the members of the Psychological Club in Zurich. He interpreted in detail the symbolism behind the ideas in this type of yoga, especially the chakras system (psycho-physical centers in humans) from the perspective of his psychology. The key idea was that a man can spiritually develop beyond the limits of the normal state as it is understood by psychoanalysis. Thus Jung interprets the symbols in yoga in the view of his process of individuation. The text of this seminar was published first in 1976 in an American Annual of archetypal psychology *Spring (Psychological commentary on Kundalini Yoga, Spring – Annual of archetypal psychology and Jungian thought*, Spring Publications, Putnam, Connecticut, USA, 1976), and later as a book *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1932 by Carl Jung, Sonu Shamdasani (Editor)*, Princeton University Press, 1999.

5) **Yoga and the West.** Jung, C.G. (1984): *Psychological Reflections*, Matica Srpska, Novi Sad – text *Yoga and the West*, p. 205–216 (original published in 1936) – in this text Jung expressed his standpoint that yoga was one of the greatest achievements of the human mind, but that it should not be applied in the spiritual practice of the Western man since the division in the Western minds forbids it.

6) **On Preparation for Death** (*The Tibetan Book of the Dead*). As Jung observes in his text *The Soul and Death* (1934) – *From the middle of life onward, only he remains vitally alive who is ready to die with life. For in the secret hour of life's midday the parabola is reversed, death is born. (...)The negation of life's fulfilment is synonymous with the refusal to accept its ending. Both mean not wanting to live, and not wanting to live is identical with not wanting to die.* – (Carl Jung „*The Soul and Death*“, Collected Works, Vol. 8). Four years after this text in his commentary on *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (1938), Jung wrote: *“For years, ever since it was first published, the Bardo Thodol has been my constant companion, and to it I owe not only many stimulating ideas and discoveries, but also many fundamental insights”.*

7) **Ego, Non Ego and Self.** In his Foreword to Suzuki's book *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (London, 1970, p. 13) written in 1939, Jung says: *“However one may define self, it is always other than the ego, and inasmuch as a higher understanding of the ego leads on to self the latter is a thing of a wider scope, embracing the knowledge of the ego and therefore surpassing it. In the same way as the ego is a certain knowledge of my self, so is the self a knowledge of my ego, which, however, is no longer experienced in the form of a broader or higher ego, but in the form of a non ego (Nicht-Ich)”.*

8) **The Psychology of Eastern Meditation.** In the book under this title (1943) among other things Jung finds support for his understanding of the unconscious (which was a new idea compared to Freud's psychoanalysis which acknowledged only the individual unconscious). Talking about one type of the Buddhist meditation Jung states: *“...Behind or below the world of personal fantasies and instincts there is an even deeper layer of unconscious, which is, unlike the chaotic disorder of the clash, permeated with the highest level of order and harmony, and opposed to their multitude it symbolically stands for the all encompassing unity of bondi mandala, my magic circle of enlightenment. What can our psychology say about my Indian claim about the super-personal world-encompassing unconscious which manifests itself when the darkness of personal unconscious becomes translucent? Contemporary psychology knows that the personal unconscious is only the upper layer, which rests on the base of a completely different character, and that base is called the collective unconscious” (Jung, 1975).*

9) **Synchronicity, acausal connecting principle.** In his Foreword to Wilhelm's translation of *I Ching* (Jung, 1950) Jung says that he was interested in this book in the course of thirty years. For him *I Ching* embodies two roles – it can be a handbook for the research of the unconscious, and it can be what it is for the majority of the Chinese and Westerners – a handbook for fortune-telling. Jung points out that the classical principle of causality had been brought into question by modern physics, which allows the introduction of the synchronicity principle, i.e. acausal meaningful coincidence principle. Jung says that whoever invented *I Ching* was convinced that the hexagram was the exponent of the moment in which it

was cast, inasmuch as the hexagram was the indicator of the given situation. Then he further notices that all of this did not leave an impression on the critical spirit which was accustomed to experimental verification of facts and factual records, but for someone who enjoyed looking at the world from a perspective close to the ancient Chinese, *I Ching* could be attractive (Jung, 1968). Following this Foreword written in 1950, Jung published the text *Synchronicity: acausal connecting principle* in 1952 (Jung, 1973). A few years later (1955), he collected his thoughts on the synchronicity principle – related to various contexts such as parapsychological and magical phenomena, *I Ching* and astrology – in a single edition on the subject (Jung, 1973), which also contains texts from other authors of the Jungian persuasion.

10) **Mandala Symbolism.** On mandalas and their symbolism Jung wrote several texts from 1929 to 1955. They were one of his greatest challenges and inspirations and gave him plenty of material to expound on his ideas. Two courses interlaced here – on the one hand the endeavors to interpret his paintings according to mandalas – and on the other hand to apply his psychology onto the interpretation of mandalas in Buddhism and yantras in Hinduism. “*My mandalas were cryptograms concerning the state of the self which was presented to me anew each day. In them I saw the self – that is, my whole being – actively at work*” (Jung, 1967, p. 221).

First we will take a look at Jung’s more general opinions in which he assessed the influence and the presence of the Asian meditative tradition, and then at his interpretations related to yoga.

Science and Religion

Jung observes that the critical philosophy that marked the development of science and religion in Modern History Europe was foreign to the East as it would have been in the Middle Ages in Europe. One of the consequences is that in the Western world the word “spirit” had lost its metaphysical (or ontological) meaning – which it had in the Ancient and Middle Ages and in the tradition of the East – and that now it was reduced to the “psychological function”. “*The man alone has ceased to be the microcosmos and the reflection of the cosmos, his soul is no longer the spark of the soul of the world*” (Jung, 1984, p. 59). This is truly so, but it does not paint the complete picture: not in the time after Jung’s death.

1) In the period 1960–1980, following Jung’s death, within the so called Aquarian Conspiracy, as it was named by Marilyn Ferguson (*Ferguson*, 1980), or even closer, within the Gnosis of Princeton (*Ruyer*, 1986), there was a postmodern tendency of resuming the interlacing of micro and macro cosmos, science and religion – and in the very West. This was taken to be a kind of a turning-point in culture and civilization by Fritjof Capra (*Capra*, 1983). What is particularly difficult for explanation is that this tendency is observed both in science (biology and physics) and the psychology of the masses. Some regard this as a psychological and cultural reaction to the Enlightenment and Rationalism. However, it is hard to say whether critical philosophy and scientific rationalism ever became part of the psychology of the masses, and to what extent did the masses succeed in “sneaking” their inherent and almost intact irrationality past Enlightenment, critical philosophy and scientific rationalism from the Middle Ages to the 20th and 21st centuries.

A closer look into these issues leads us away from our primary topic, yet it is significant for the understanding and assessment of Jung’s opinions about the meaning of eastern tradition for the Western man. Namely, Jung pointed out that critical philosophy and scientific materialism reduced the notion of the spirit to the man’s mind and consciousness. By emphasizing these circumstances, Jung wanted to explain his thesis that the East and West are different in essence. What Jung failed to notice is that these circumstances would equally distance the Western man not only from the East, but also from the West of the Old and Middle Ages; not only from Buddhism, but also from Christianity; not only from Nagarjuna,

but also from Plotinus; not only from Shankara, but also from Meister Eckhart; not only from Sengcan, but also from Nicholas of Cusa; not only from Tsongkhapa, but from Gregory Palamas.

2) In his Foreword to Suzuki's *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* Jung poses asks which spiritual (or climatic) predisposition one should have in order to have a clear understanding of karma. With this he suggests that karma is in part something created under the influence of a certain climate. If this was true, then it would mean that the idea of reincarnation and karma (i.e. the ethical causality which is transferred through different embodiments and reincarnations, for which we know appeared in Ancient Greece and was accepted by certain philosophers, such as Plato) came into being because of the Mediterranean climate and not because of the need to make the moral responsibility individual, as this is regarded by some historians of philosophy and anthropology both in the East and West.

Apart from this –when it comes to the climate – the Swiss were closer to the Tibetans at the time of adopting Christianity (the mountains and the snow) than the Jews in the Sinai Desert. Still we see that the Tibetans adopted Buddhism from the humid and warm India, and the Swiss adopted Christianity which came from hot regions of Judea. Thus, from the point of view of climate, we would expect similar beliefs in Switzerland and Tibet (that is to say, we would not expect neither Indian nor Jewish influence with them).

3) In order to underscore the differences between the East and West, (in a text from 1939 – *The Difference Between Eastern and Western Thinking*, *Collected Works*, IV, Novi Sad 1984, p. 66) Jung used the polarity in psychology. *“Introversion is, if one may so express it, the style of the East, an habitual and collective attitude, just as extraversion is the style of the West”*.

“The Christian West”, says Jung, *“considers man to be wholly dependent upon the grace of God, or at least upon the Church. The East, however, insists that man is the sole cause of his higher development for it believes in self-liberation”* (*Collected Works*, IV- N. Sad, 1984: p. 66). *“You cannot mix fire and water. The Eastern attitude stultifies the Western, and vice versa,”* adds Jung. *“You cannot be a good Christian and redeem yourself, nor you can be a Buddha and worship God”* (1984:68).

At that time Jung was obviously not familiar with the *bhakti* tradition in India (in Hinduism) or with the beliefs of the Jodo Buddhism in Japan – which postulate that salvation is only obtained through the grace of God (Buddha Amitabha or Japanese Amida) and religious devotion (i.e. the strength of faith). Thus – certain orientations in Buddhism have this attitude (Namely, in Buddhism there were beliefs that redemption came solely from the grace of Buddha, but also those that connected salvation and awakening with the personal effort and cleansing through meditation).

In short, these comparisons are faulty due to Jung's unfairness toward those Eastern religions (ie. orientations within those) that had the extroverted attitude, believing, like the majority of Christians, in the redemption through the grace of a divinity.

Jung saw the Western interest for the East as part of the Western extroversion – only then, instead of God, redemption was expected from the East.

“If we snatch these things directly from the East, we have merely indulged our Western acquisitiveness, confirming yet again that ‘everything good is outside,’ whence it has to be fetched and pumped into our barren souls. It seems to me that we have really learned something from the East when we understand that the psyche contains riches enough without having to be primed from outside... We must get at the Eastern values from within and not from without, seeking them in ourselves, in the unconscious” (Jung, 1984).

4) Jung, on the one hand points to the fact that the East would remain ever foreign to the Western man because the Eastern tradition is suited to the introvert, while the Westerner is extroverted, and on the other

hand he says that the Western man has to abandon his extraversion if he is to leave the civilization's dead end toward which his one-sided extraversion is leading him.

One would think: Well, if the situation is such, does it not mean that this interest for the East is a part of the turning toward introversion, as Jung advises, a part of discovering the values of the introverted attitude? No, says Jung – in his connecting to the East, the Western man only continues his own extraversion.

5) It seems that here Jung made use of the same logic that he dismissed elsewhere – the logic that claims that there is no transfer, growth, overcoming, no traffic or interlacing, and if there is, it is false and artificial. Since Jung thought that one of his contributions was his affirmation of the man's possibility to bring together seemingly incompatible opposites and bridge seemingly hopeless gaps through his psychological growth, then it would be unusual to suppose that the Western man is separated from the Eastern tradition by an insurmountable chasm, that this would include a principled *mysterium coniunctionis*. Not to mention everything that was already the subject of cultural exchange, from the inception of the Silk Road (in the first years of this era – between China and the Roman Empire), to later times, including there the self same Jung's activity in mediating the Eastern ideas. In other words, Jung seems to be negating on the culture front what he considered possible and desirable on the plain of the psyche.

In his research (in the 1920–1939 period) on mandala symbolism and in other texts (like the lectures on symbolism of chakras and Kundalini yoga) Jung showed that the conference with the Eastern tradition was meaningful and valuable, and he did this in the texts after the Second World War as well.

I would say that Jung wanted to mark the difference between different ways and aspects of conference with the East. It is the difference between, on the one hand, the fashionable, snobbish turn to the East when the Eastern values are used as ornaments, as an exotic veneer to the superficiality, as employing confused spirituality for the sake of vanity, and, on the other hand, the deeper communication in which the effort to understand the Eastern tradition yields a deeper understanding of ourselves – to which Jung himself arrived in his texts and insights written before the text of 1939 (“*The Difference Between Eastern and Western Thinking*”).

6) Jung's most interesting studies of the Eastern topics have their particular two-way character – that is, he strives to shed light on his own attitudes by interpreting Eastern teachings and symbols, and those teachings and symbols he interprets using some of the categories of his psychology. In his Foreword to *I Ching* he emphasizes that his own vantage point from the deep psychology and synchronicity principle enabled him to understand this book better than Western sinologists who saw in it merely a collection of “magic spells” (Jung, 1976, p. 21).

Alternately, the research into the symbolism of mandalas enabled him to better understand and support the interpretation of the painting of some of his patients in their healing or individuation process. The same goes for the notion of the self (*Selbst*) – introduced by Jung as the fourth member to the existing psychoanalytical triad (Ego, Super-ego and Id), which was perhaps a greater heresy from the orthodox psychoanalytical point of view than the revision of the libido theory and the introduction of the collective unconscious and the archetypes.

In my opinion, Jung found better support for this idea in the Eastern than in the Western philosophy – namely, in Vedic Atman and Purusha from Sankhya yoga (Jung, 1972, p. 5).

The only thing he got wrong (but this is no mistake in the eyes of some Indologists) was claiming that Atman and Purusha did not stress the difference between man's human and divine essence. Namely,

Atman and Purusha (as understood by Upanishads and Sankhya) do not have anything to do with the divine essence, but sometimes (in other contexts) the term Purusha appears in such connections.

Self and Ego

1) Referencing Atman and Purusha Jung gave full scope and depth to his idea of the self, indicating that the fourth member is not merely an enlargement or addition to the ego, but a completely separate member in relation to which the three member of psychoanalytical Freudian triad appear as narrower, separate and functional marks. In this real encounter with the Eastern tradition and its interpretation Jung overstepped the boundaries he imposed on himself and others.

Thus in his commentary to *The Secret of the Golden Flower* he says: “...Just as the human body shows a common anatomy over and above all racial differences, so, too, the psyche possesses a common substratum transcending all differences in culture and consciousness. I have called this substratum the collective unconscious.(...) This explains the analogy, sometimes even identity, between various myth-motifs, and symbols, and the possibility of human beings making themselves mutually understood.” (Jung, 1969).

2) The relationship between the self and ego was and remains one of the key topics not only for Jung but also for Anglo-Saxon psychologists, who in certain aspects developed and regarded the comparative psychology and the meeting points of the Western and Eastern psychologies through the horizon set by Jung. For them this topic gained significance because the so called cults and alternative groups of Eastern origin (especially in the USA) outnumbered and exhibited greater influence than teosophy and anthroposofy (originated in Russia and Germany) had in the first half of the XX century in Europe.

Jung touches upon this subject a few times, realizing the difficulty which is to remain an open question even to this day, and which could be briefly summarized as follows: Is an experience of some Eastern disciplines (meditation, yoga, etc.) which has to do with the overcoming of ego closed off from the Western man (that is to say, impossible)? Or (if it is possible) is it dangerous? At a glance, the question does not seem too difficult, but it proved to be harder than difficult, since many factors figure in the possible answer and many failed to come to terms with it. While some authors (like Abraham Maslow) who were developing the transpersonal orientation in psychology, claimed that man’s spiritual growth was possible and realistic even beyond the limits of ego and ego-psychology; some other authors indicated the dangers: that it was an illusion, that it could only mask the crash of the ego, which occurred in mental disorders and illnesses, or it that it could lead to a subordination of the ego to a great guru or prophet which had been the sole purpose of some old and new groups and organizations (these communes and groups were created during the 20th century in the USA and Europe).

3) David Boadella wrote about this in 1980 in the text entitled “The Death of Ego”, considering particularly the unwholesome communities, where dependents of certain cult are created by allowing the subordination of the ego (the personal independence), and without any meditation. It is important to emphasize the latter (that the dissolution of ego is possible and that it had been usually done without meditation, ie. using repression), because some claim that meditation is a means to dissolution of ego or regression – the loss of the qualities that characterize an independent person capable of critical thought (Alexander, 1931).

The hardest thing about this question is to separate the theory (ie. notions, models, understanding) from the things happening in the empirical plain, and it is necessary to get inserted into this cavity in order to understand the question. In the last few decades certain therapists and psychiatrists were faced with certain patients who in the prehistory (or at the inception) of their disease mention the practice of meditation, yoga, occultism, etc. Unprepared for new experiences, certain therapists – who would never

think that a person could get ill from too much studying or playing chess – are inclined, however, to think that someone could get ill meditating. Therapists who faced patients – imagining that they are Napoleon or Jesus – did not think to blame this on the French Revolution or Christianity, but today when they are faced with a patient who believes he is a great yogi or that he receives messages from the pilots of flying saucers blame these beliefs on “Eastern cults” or tabloids that perpetuate the UFO myth.

This cancellation, overcoming or subsummarizing of the ego, discussed in different ways in Eastern traditions, first of all, does not imply the ego in the psychoanalytical sense, but it concerns the part of the functional package which includes the ego in psychoanalytical sense. This is particularly discussed by the proponents of transpersonal psychology (Pajin, 2010).

4) This area of perception was not foreign to Jung, which is clearly seen from his thoughts on the relation between ego and the self. Indeed, by introducing the self Jung opened a broader perspective for viewing the Asian meditative tradition, and he influenced significantly the creation of transpersonal psychology, which began to develop (in the USA) just after his death in 1961.

Unlike some other analysts who thought that the principles and practice of meditation endanger the position of the ego – in a similar way that it is endangered or weakened in a mental disorder (neurosis or psychosis) or in dependency disorders (from a cult, gambling, drugs and similar) – Jung saw that this was not the case.

“The fact that the East can dispose so easily of the ego seems to point to a mind that is not to be identified with our ‘mind.’ Certainly the ego does not play the same role in Eastern thought as it does with us” („Разлика између источњачког и западног мишљења“, Одабрана дела, IV, Нови Сад, 1984, стр. 70).

5) Yet, it seems that Jung was unable to overcome one other psychoanalytical limitation – the equating of the ego with the conscience – and based on this, the equating of the outcome and goal of meditation with the immersion into the unconscious (uniting with the unconscious).

Even though the equating of his notion of individuation with awakening (of which we hear in Buddhist experience) is not correct, the search for analogies in this direction is closer to the truth than the connecting of the “collective unconscious” with an enlightened mind.

As Jung says: *“It is safe to assume that what the East calls ‘mind’ has more to do with our ‘unconscious’ than with mind as we understand it, which is more or less identical with consciousness. To us, consciousness is inconceivable without an ego (...) The Eastern mind, however, has no difficulty in conceiving of a consciousness without an ego. (...) Such an ego-less mental condition can only be unconscious to us, for the simple reason that there would be nobody to witness it. (...) I cannot imagine a conscious mental state that does not relate to a subject, that is, to an ego.”* (Jung, 1984, p. 69). (...) *“What we call the ‘dark background of consciousness’, the East regards as ‘higher’ consciousness. Thus our term ‘collective unconscious’ would be a European equivalent of buddhi, enlightened mind”* (Jung, 1984, p. 70).

In the text *“The Difference Between Eastern and Western Thinking”* (1984) Jung searched for analogies in the wrong direction, which he corrected indirectly in the Foreword for Suzuki’s book *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1970), where he states: *“This new condition of consciousness, arising from religious practice, is distinguished by the fact that outward things no longer affect an ego-like consciousness, whence a reciprocal attachment has arisen, but that an empty consciousness stands open to another influence. This ‘other’ influence will no longer be felt as one’s own activity, but as a work of a non ego which has consciousness as its object. It is as though the subject character of the ego had been overrun, or taken over, by another subject which has taken the place of the ego”* (Jung, 1970, p. 17).

Here Jung came to grips with the subject that would be tackled with more success by the psychologists since 1960 and in the context of the so called altered states of consciousness.

Although a potential solution was “hitched” by a Canadian socialist and psychiatrist Richard R. Bucke at the beginning of the century, by introducing a term “cosmic consciousness”, such a name and concept remained too “mystic” and only gained a more solid basis when meditation was included in the experimental studies with innocent, ordinary subjects, who were not inclined toward mysticism and were chosen in a random selection process.

Interpretation of Yoga Meditation

In order to better understand the context and Jung’s place in it, perhaps it is best to first give an outline of this topic, that is, to introduce the points from which meditation was interpreted.

1) With Willam James (*James*, 1971) this subject appears as part of the interpretation of existential crisis, anhedonia, transformation and religious function. In classical analysis, placing the ego and normal everyday consciousness in brackets, their temporary narrowing (as a function) meant something negative. It was deemed proper to mark meditative experience, like the work of an artist, as “regression in the service of ego”. In one period “regression in the service of ego” seemed like a handy formula to keep saints, mystics, geniuses or artists within the scope of analytical interpretation, which will be brought into question completely by Maslow’s introduction of metamotivation.

The peculiarity of Jung’s comprehension of unconscious, as we know, was not reflected only in the introduction of the collective unconsciousness, but also in the different understanding of the content of the unconscious. In the unconscious, according to Jung, there is not negative content only, but all positive content that had not been awakened, as well. According to this, the weakening of the ego could mean an invasion of negative content, but also the influence of the unconscious which signifies compensation and correction of the one-sided conscious attitude. In this context for Jung, and later for Fromm (1964), meditative experience was related to depression and achievement of the higher level of integration of the conscious and unconscious. Only Jung thought that, for this purpose, Westerners were better off with Christianity and active imagination than Eastern meditative tradition.

2) The encounter of Jung’s psychology with Asian meditation was a two-way affair, as was the case with alchemy. His ideas shed some new light to a whole range of topics, and sometimes this light was the first to fall upon *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, *I Ching* and the mandala symbolism from the point of view of Western psychology. On the other hand, in them Jung searched for support for his suspicions and ideas that stemmed from another field – in his therapeutic work with patients and in his endeavours to interpret the processes in his own psyche.

3) In any case, if there were any sense in speaking about regression in connection to Eastern meditation – and not about progression – this regression is not in the service of the ego but in the service of growth, integration and personal enrichment, which is to say, in the service of the self. It is not in the least a sort of cunning of the ego, a tactic, a temporary concession to get a truce from the unconscious, a certain content or accession, in the similar way as a dictatorship temporarily makes concessions when it needs a break or the vote of confidence of middle elements, or in a way that a weakened opponent seeks truce to consolidate its strength. It is one of the few, if not the only game in which cheating, hidden agendas and cunning moves are meaningless and redundant. Then it does not come as a surprise that the ego gets a feeling that it is on the losing side (that in the least it is a waste of time), that it is being robbed or that it will get robbed, yet soon – lavished by the gifts of the unconscious – it may come to feel that this is, in fact, a special mercy or a gift, which is true and it is not – it is true from the perspective point of the ego which always maintains an economic point of view – and a loss, but not from a basic integrating perspective according to which the gained integration is not for the enlargement of wealth or power, but

for a different way of being. Fromm expressed this through a dichotomy to have or to be, and in Lao Tze we find that, at first glance, weird saying that the pursuit of Tao is to decrease knowledge day after day.

As Maslow pulled his motivational theory away from the confines of austerity (postulating that man can have other needs and motives which did not emerge from some lack or unfulfilled basic need), so Jung pulled his theory of the unconscious from the confines of hysteria and hypnosis.

Unconscious and Collective Unconscious

1) More than a hundred years ago William James (1842–1910) indicated the significance of the discovery of psychic content that were beyond primary consciousness, so he said: *“I cannot but think that the most important step forward that has occurred in psychology since I have been a student of that science, is the discovery, first made in 1886, that, in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual center and margin, but an addition thereto in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts and feeling which are extra-marginal, and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs”* (James, 1971).

From this text we can see that James is at the beginning of defining the unconscious – which he calls sublimated consciousness (circa 1886) – and it was possible for this concept to gain the broadness that Jung gave it, but on its way, that is, with Freud, it was shaped into an explanation for the hysteric and hypnotic amnesia, so that it had to wait for Jung. We can see that at the end of the 19th century, when James wrote these lines, he still regarded this content as a separate part of the consciousness, and for which he borrowed Myers’ term sublimated consciousness (*Frederic William Henry Myers*, 1843–1901). At that time the curtain between the conscious and unconscious was not yet diagnosed – later known as repression – which would be discovered by Freud in his patients and it would be analysed as defense and resistance in the service of repression.

2) Jung broadened the notion of the unconscious in content and structure, compared to Freud, who saw it as individual unconscious related to the repressed content of each individual. Namely, Jung introduced the term collective unconscious. Partly because of this, he gained a reputation of a mystic, like Freud before him, when he actually decided to introduce and develop the dynamics of the unconscious.

“My method, like Freud’s, is built up on the practice of confession. Like him, I pay close attention to dreams, but when it comes to the unconscious our views part company. For Freud it is essentially an appendage of consciousness, in which all the individual’s incompatibilities are heaped up. For me the unconscious is a collective psychic disposition, creative in character. This fundamental difference of viewpoint naturally produces an entirely different evaluation of the symbolism and the method of interpreting it. Freud’s procedure is, in the main, analytical and reductive. To this I add a synthesis which emphasises the purposiveness of unconscious tendencies with respect to personality development. In this line of research important parallels with yoga have come to light, especially with kundalini yoga and the symbolism of tantric yoga, Lamaism, and Taoistic yoga in China. These forms of yoga with their rich symbolism afford me invaluable comparative material for interpreting the collective unconscious. However, I do not fundamentally apply the methods of yoga, since one cannot impose anything on the Western unconscious. The conscious is largely characterized by convulsive intensity and limitedness, that it should not be emphasized any further. Contrary to that, the unconscious should be helped as much as possible to reach the consciousness, so as to free it of its paralysis. For this purpose I apply the method of active imagination, which consists of a special training of the conscious to help the unconscious content to develop” (Jung, 1984).

3) Jung realized that he had to broaden the notion of the unconscious if he wanted to include all the areas of the human experience and cultural heritage that had not been covered before conceptually. In the first

years (between 1912–1919) this area was represented by his own dreams, and later he added everything else that came into focus of his insatiable mind's curiosity – myths, Christianity, Gnostics, alchemy, parapsychological events and the Asian meditative tradition. Jung came into contact with the latter through researchers such Richard Wilhelm, Heinrich Zimmer, Evans Wentz, Eliade and Suzuki, as well as many others that gathered in Eranos.

Perhaps it could be said that in Jung's interpretation of cultural tradition, sometimes his psychology had more weight than the basic building blocks, and perhaps he was at times inferred too much in his endeavours to apply the mandala and alchemy symbolism in the materials he got from his patients. Yet we cannot deny the fruitful influence of this meeting and we are grateful to him for his daring research. Apart from that, Jung was very careful with introducing new terms. For instance, he searched in the direction of the collective unconscious, but he was not tempted to introduce "super-conscious" or some other similar construct.

Altered States of Consciousness

After Jung's death there were attempts to make a unifying theory on altered states of consciousness. For a long time all kinds of altered states of consciousness were grouped under the uniform term trance, which had its prototype in the hypnotic trance. For this reason there was a long-standing tendency to interpret some types of meditation and yoga in a similar fashion – as a trance induced by a special kind of hypnosis or auto-suggestion, which was rejected by Jung. Since 1960 onwards a fundamental difference between these states was proved by EEG, just as the difference between hypnosis and a regular dream was established (*Tart*, 1974, pp. 500–518). The sheer amount of material from anthropological and psychological research demanded at least an attempt to organize it, if not explain all the different kinds of trance: shamanistic or medium induced, altered states induced by narcotics, hypnosis, sensory deprivation or rituals, brain-washing techniques, parapsychological manipulations, meditation or yoga (*Tart*, 1974).

1) To an observer meditation leaves an impression of trance and therefore the mention of unconscious in this context is coupled with some type of immersion into the unconscious. On the other hand, the use of the word 'enlightenment' may create an impression that at some point there will appear strange visions, lights, etc. All of this, with laymen and psychoanalysts alike, creates an impression of a kind of a mental disorder.

Indeed, over the span of two thousand years in the formative and research period of Asian meditative tradition, many and various systems and forms of meditation had been created, some of which could be described as an "immersion into the collective unconscious." In these form of meditation, imagination, visualization, visions and images have a large role to play (these are most commonly the tantric contents and types of meditation).

In other forms of meditation a completely opposite attitude is present, according to which the ordinary consciousness, cleared and settled (like water in which mud had fallen to the bottom due to stillness) makes a place for expression of the gained insight.

2) Jung could not have a clear picture of this scope, nor could many Orientalists for that matter (particularly since when they tried to find a single nominator or paradigm for all the differences).

From this perspective Jung had to find answers for different challenges posed in front of him by Taoistic alchemy, zen, yoga, Tibetan Buddhism, etc. And all of this with the desire to reach general and encompassing conclusions. Yet this was difficult or impossible since the ideas and principles in question are very different from each other and sometimes in opposition, even within – nominally – the same traditions (e.g. Taoistic philosophical contemplation has a different scope, goals and methods compared to

Taoistic alchemy (Pajin, 2004). In order to evaluate Jung's achievements in the field, it is useful to compare his opinions with the perspective offered by the so called transpersonal psychology, developed in the last fifty years.

Jung himself was close to reaching one transpersonal approach to the interpretation of the meditative experience (especially Zen) when he wrote the Foreword to Suzuki's book (*Introduction to Zen Buddhism*), where he says: "*The appearance of satori is interpreted as a break-through of the consciousness limited to an ego shape into an ego-less self*" (6/14).

We could pose the next question – Could we understand this Jung's position as a prelude for Maslow's *Being-cognition*?

3) In the text mentioned above Jung availed himself more with the analogous passages from the texts of Western mystics than with the collective unconscious in order to explain closer the meaning of *santori*, the awakening experience in Zen. The Meister Eckhart quote, cited here by Jung, really gets the point of the Zen's "face before you were born." This quote is Eckhart's ingenious interpretation (or maybe a new formulation) of the Biblical saying "blessed are the poor in spirit." So Eckhart says:

"But in the breakthrough, when I wish to remain empty in the will of God, and empty also of this will of God and of all his works, and of God himself – then I am more than all creatures, for I am neither God nor creature: I am what I am and what I will remain, now and forever! Then I receive a jerk, which raises me above all angels. In this jerk I become so rich that God cannot suffice me, in spite of all that he is as God, in spite of all his Godly works, for in this break through I perceive what God and I are in common. I am then what I was: I grow neither less nor more, for I am an immovable being who moves all things. Here God no longer abides in man, for man through his poverty has won back what he has always been and will always be," concludes Eckhart (Suzuki, 1970).
through self..." (Suzuki, 1970). By the by, it is no wonder Eckhart was charged for his Zen (Eckhart, 1941).

4) In the continuation of the same text, Jung undertakes to psychologically explain satori as an alteration of the consciousness, emphasizing opinions that are closer to transpersonal psychology than to the efforts to understand meditation and its experience based on the psychology of the unconscious.

"It is not that something different is seen but that one sees differently. It is as though the spatial act of seeing were changed by a new dimension. When the master asks: Do you hear the murmuring of the brook? he obviously means something quite different from ordinary hearing. Consciousness is like a perception, and like the latter is susceptible to conditions and limitations, the same is valid for consciousness. For example, one can be conscious to a certain degree, lowly or broadly, superficially or deeply. Often these differences in the degree are, however, the differences in character which is completely dependent on the development of the personality – that is to say, upon the nature of the perceiving subject," concludes Jung.

Individuation and Meditation

1) Even though Jung found an important key for the self symbolism and individuation process in mandala symbolism, he was not inclined to relate individuation to meditation to a greater extent. He considered the so called "active imagination" as one of the aids in individuation process, because it helped unconscious content to develop and get articulated, whereas meditation (at least some kinds of it) devalued these contents, declaring them desultory. In other words, meditation has a starting point which the Western man has not yet reached, and will not reach by imitating the Easterner.

2) A similar attitude was accepted by contemporary psychotherapists turned to syncretism, who believe that in most cases psychotherapy is a precondition for meditation or that meditation is a continuation of psychotherapy – whether it is because psychotherapy should end at some point or because at its end there are questions to which it cannot give answers even if it continued for the rest of a person's life.

Jung thinks that the process of individuation is a natural continuation of psychotherapy in its narrower sense, or, alternately, its inception in the case of neurosis or psychosis arisen from a stop in the natural process of individuation.

In his psychological commentary to *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, Jung indicated the analogy between karma and the influences exhibited by the archetypes as universal psychic dispositions or the forms of psychic inheritance.

3) In Indian tradition and in agreement with the idea of reincarnation, this defining heritage (karma) is a result of previous lives of an individual, whereas for Jung it is a psychic heritage of mankind. For Jung one of the basic tasks on the road to the wholeness of the psyche was, on the one hand, the integration of its unconscious parts, and on the other hand, the liberation of the ego from the enacting influence of the archetypes, through absolving of their meanings in the consciousness.

In Indian meditative tradition we observe that the liberation (or awakening) is seen as the liberation from karma, i.e. the breaking of the chain of condition. But, while Jung insists on the ego maintaining a distance from archetypes and the very self, in Eastern tradition the ego is either “put into brackets” (as Husserl would say) or it is penetrated by looking at its assembly, especially in Buddhist meditation. .

Is this, at the very least, the source of the difference in the path of individuation, the potential and needs between the Western and Eastern man? Jung's answer to this question is affirmative, and he is joined in this by Menard Boss, whose experience is based upon his meeting Westerners who became sentimental visionaries or confusing schizophrenics in contact with Indian tradition (Boss, 1965).

In such cases we are in danger of confusing causes with consequences – the examples given by Boss are more likely to be people who shroud their existing confusion or disorder in a new jargon of “Eastern mysticism.”

Symbolism of Yoga

In autumn of 1932 Jung held a seminar (4 lectures) on the symbolism of chakras, and especially about the ideas and representations of the kundalini system. These four lectures (three in English, one in German) were held on October 12, 19 and 26 and November 2, as a continuation of his seminar devoted to the “Interpretation of Visions.”

The four lectures under the same heading *Psychological commentary on Kundalini Yoga* were published in the magazine *Spring, Annual of archetypal psychology and Jungian thought*, Zurich 1975. и 1976 – and later in book form, *The Psychology of Kundalini Yoga* (Princeton Univ. Pr, 1999). Here we will cite a number of passages from two lectures, based on which one can get an insight into Jung's way of connecting and combining his ideas and terms with terms in yoga, such as kleshas and chakras (here we will have passages from his interpretation of the first three chakras, but in the whole cycle he spoke about all of them).

For Jung chakras were the starting framework for an exposition in which he included many other traditions and contents, including his own concepts of symbols and archetypes.

Yoga and the West

In these lectures on yoga symbolism (1932) Jung spoke about his opinions that confirmed that in yoga there were ideas that had an overall importance and meaning (Jung would say archetypal, a foundation in the collective unconscious, something at the base of the psyche in the whole human race). As he said four years later (in his text *Yoga and the West*, published in 1936 – see *Collected Works*, IV, 1984, pp. 205–216): “*These yoga forms with their rich symbolism afford me invaluable comparative material for the interpretation of the collective unconscious*” (Jung, 1984).

On the other hand, in this text Jung expressed his view that yoga was not suitable for the Western man who would “*inevitably use yoga in a wrong way, because the disposition of his mind is completely different from the disposition of the Eastern man. To whom it may concern, I recommend: »Study yoga. You will learn a great many things, but do not practise it, because we Europeans are not built to apply these methods in the right way. An Indian guru can explain everything to you and you could imitate everything. But do you know who practices yoga? In other words, do you really know who you are and what you are made of?«* (Jung, 1984).

As Jung sees it, the mind of the Western man is divided into the conscious and unconscious, while yoga assumes another type of man.

“Various purely physical procedures of yoga represent also a physiological hygiene, which exceeds the boundaries of ordinary gymnastics or breathing exercises, unless it is only mechanically scientific and not philosophical as well. Because, through these exercises, yoga connects the body with the wholeness of the mind, which is, for example, obvious in the practice of pranayama, where prana is at the same time the mind and the universal dynamics of the cosmos. If an activity of an individual is at the same time a cosmic event, then the occupation of the body (innervation) is connected to the occupation of the mind (general idea), whence is created a living whole which no mechanism, no matter how scientific it may be, could create. The practice of yoga is not only unimaginable, but it would be inefficient without the concept of yoga. It is a rare and perfect way of building the body and the mind into each other (...)

In the East, where these ideas originated, and where a four thousand years old tradition has created all necessary conditions and presuppositions, yoga, I think, is an adequate expression and impeccably suitable method to achieve such a merging of the body and mind that they represent a unity in which one can hardly doubt, making also possible a psychological predisposition for intimations from the other side of the consciousness. The historical mentality of India has no fundamental difficulties in meaningfully using a term such as prana. The West, however, with its bad habit of wanting to believe on the one hand, and its developed scientific and philosophical critical thought on the other, would either fall into the belief trap and carelessly accept the terms — „prana, atman, chakra, samadhi“ etc. or it would, due to its scientific criticism, stumble on the first encounter with prana and purusha.

The division of the Western mind makes it impossible from the very start to adequately accomplish the intentions of yoga. For the West yoga is either a purely religious matter or it is a training not unlike mnemonics, gymnastics of breathing, eurhythmics, etc. But there is no trace of the unity of the body and mind which is characteristic of yoga. An Indian could forget neither body nor mind, a European always forgets one or the other” (Jung, 1984).

In his conclusion of this text Jung explains his attitude thus: “*If my position on yoga is so critically unfavourable, this is not to say that I do not regard this Eastern invention as one of the greatest ever achieved by human mind. I hope that it is sufficiently clear from my exposition that my criticism is solely directed against the practice of yoga by the Western man. The development of the Western mind has had a*

*completely different journey that the development of the Eastern mind, and therefore it created the conditions that are in the largest measure unsuitable for the practice of yoga (...) During the course of its further development, the West will create its own yoga and on basis made by Christianity” (Jung, 1984, p. 216). In this Jung had in mind the Christian mystics and their teachings as a possible basis for this Western yoga, of which he writes in his Foreword from 1939 to Suzuki's book *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*.*

However, the development and the practice of yoga in the West in the last 80 years has overturned the last two things Jung claimed, and confirmed his attitude that yoga is one of the greatest achievements of the human mind.

In order to fully clarify Jung's position, it should be added that he was primarily concerned with the possible therapeutic application of yoga, that is, its application in the healing of mental disorders, which was his main area of interest, and then the application in what he referred to as individuation (or the maturing of the mind in the second half of life). In this sphere the primary task, according to Jung, is the acknowledgement and facing with the unconscious, and he thought that yoga was not directed towards this, which is correct.

Active Imagination

Jung (as we mentioned) points out that *“yoga forms with its rich symbolism provide... the most valuable comparative materials for interpretation of the collective unconscious” (Jung, 1984).*

Some think that the first time when Jung had the idea of a possible work and encounter with the unconscious (Jung, 1913) was when he devoted himself to his own unconscious. When it comes to the phrase “active imagination”, it is thought that he used it between 1929–1935 to denote a kind of “dreaming while awake.” It will become one of the most important methods in his psychotherapy and the process of individuation.

Active imagination is different from passive imagination, which occurs spontaneously to many people when they are prostrate and relaxed, about to fall asleep. In the beginning active imagination is done under supervision of a therapist, and later, when the person masters the basic steps, it can be used without supervision. Briefly, the process is as follows: in the beginning the person focuses on a mood, image or event they consider important, and then the person allows a chain of related fantasies to develop and gives everything a dramatic character. During the process the images in the imagination are following their own logic, and conscious doubt (“censure”) is stopped, so as to allow anything that might emerge take its place in the conscious. Hitherto unrelated contents are represented more sharply, emotions are evoked, which leads the conscious ego to react in more direct manner than during a dream. The idea is to allow the unconscious content to appear in a similar way it does during sleep, but now, due to the awake condition of the person the content is more accessible to work with (integrate) by the client and therapist. Apart from this, a person may try to paint the basic image that appears or to describe the whole event in words (thoughts and images), and then this could be analyzed together with the therapist.

So, active imagination is different from dreams and regular daydreaming, which is left at the surface of the daily experience. Namely, in the process of active imagination there is an expression of certain dramatism which induces the unconscious content to appear when awake.

According to Jung and other analysts (Franz, 2001), active imagination is different from meditation in yoga and spiritual exercises in the Christian tradition, because the former tries to decompose and weaken the unconscious content, whereas the latter tries to reject it as temptation; and active imagination tries to integrate it into the psyche and strengthen the ego in this way, or to move ahead in the process of individuation.

Conclusion

Accepting the challenge of what we might call comparative psychology, Jung faced yoga and other forms of cultural heritage of the East, and he found new incentives and arguments for the building of his own beliefs. He was also one of the pioneers in this field, and through the ideas of psychology he gave productive impulse toward the understanding of some of these teachings. Incidentally, the history of the transfer of yoga to the West is presented by Feuerstein (*Feuerstein, 1991*).

Jung wrote about these topics more extensively and with more care than any other psychoanalyst. When compared to Freud's or Alexander's modest contributions, and even compared to later attempts to answer these topics from the point of view of psychoanalysis – for example, Fromm (1964) or Masson (1980) – we see that the work of Jung represented lonely break-throughs in these areas, not only between the two World Wars, but in some cases (for instance, the interpretation of the symbolism of mandalas and chakras) even to this day, despite the fact that in the last fifty years much more things were done in the area than in the hundred years before that.

On the other hand, Jung came to be regarded as a mystic by a portion of psychoanalysts and the public – totally uncalled for if we bear in mind the difference between multiculturalism and mysticism.

Although his predictions about the practice of yoga in the West did not come true, as well as the claims that the encounter with the unconscious was more important for the Western man than the practice of yoga, still his research enriched the understanding of cultural tradition, whether we speak about the West or East.

Notes

Kleshas (from the root *kilesa* – torment) is pain, misery, suffering and cause of suffering (i.e. delusion). The kleshas are the root of karma (karmic seeds or residue) that produce experiences in current and future lives. As long as kleshas exist, they will create karma, bad or good – they will condition new incarnation and will determine the form of their birth and life, life and experiences in this life (Yoga sutra, II, 12, 13). In short, one of the goals of yoga is to put kleshas out of strength, as this will stop the karmic stream or reincarnation and make possible to achieve liberation, *kaivalya*.

Kleshas can exist in four different forms: a. asleep, latent (in the mind), because there is no subject nor any condition for their awakening; b. decreased – through the practice of yoga, they are reduced to a minimum and can become active in the mild form, if they are supported by a suitable object; c. temporarily paused, stopped – temporarily suppressed by the activity of one of them, and this is repeated by alternative overbearing; g. fully active with respect to one object (at the same time, kleshas can be asleep in connection with one object, decreased in relation to another, temporarily stopped in relation to the third, and fully active in relation to the fourth).

There are five types of kleshas that link – one leads to another and all of them are springing up on the ground of ignorance (*Avidya*). Patanjali (the part of the Yoga sutra, II, 3 - Quotes about yoga, Belgrade, BIGZ, 1977, p. 70) lists them like this :

1. **Avidya** (lack of awareness, lack of knowledge), refers to the delusion by which the transient (*anitja*) considered impassable, unclean (*asuci*) pure, painful (*dukhka*) pleasant and non-self (*anatman*) self (*dtman*).
2. **Asmita** (I-am-self, individual consciousness) is identification of the power of insight with mean of an insight. If the Purusha (the one who sees) identifies with the mean of insight, and that is the mind (*buddhi*) and senses (*indrija*), this identification is the awareness of existence, "I" or *asmita*.
3. **Raga** (passion, desire) is adhesion through the longing for pleasure or the object which provides pleasure, based on previous experience of pleasure and memories of it (JS, II, 7).
4. **Dvesha** (aversion, disgust) is caused by the memory of the experienced pain and the object which caused the pain. *Dvesha* is the *raga* in the negative meaning, and together they form a pair of opposites.

5. **Abhinivesha** (adhesion) is a congenital (existing by itself) adhesion to life, which is subject to (even) scholars, sages (JS, II, 9). In every being is ever-present hope and longing for self-preservation, or the desire that life lasts. This craving can not occur in someone who has not gone through the experience of death; that experience of death and the fear of it, as well as the unconscious memory of the experience of a previous life is the cause of the adhesion to life.

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