

Jung's twin brother. Otto Gross and Carl Gustav Jung

With an hitherto unpublished letter by C. G. Jung¹

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Abstract: This paper is a preliminary communication of several years of research into the life and work of the Austrian psychoanalyst and anarchist Otto Gross (1877–1920). Although he played a pivotal role in the birth of modernity, acting as a significant influence upon psychiatry, psychoanalysis, ethics, sociology and literature, he has remained virtually unknown to this day. Following a biographical sketch and an overview of his main theoretical contributions, the impact of Gross' life and work on the development of analytical theory and practice is described. His relationship with some of the key figures in psychoanalysis is presented, with particular emphasis on his connections to Jung. The paper concludes with an account of relevant contemporary interest in his work: the founding of the International Otto Gross Society, the first edition of *The Collected Works of Otto Gross* on the Internet, and the 1st and 2nd International Otto Gross Congresses which took place in Berlin in 1999 and at the Burghölzli Clinic, Zürich, in October 2000.

Key words: analytical psychology, Freud, Gross, history, Jung, psychoanalysis, sexuality.

Conservatism in the sense of a dread of consequences is altogether out of place in science – which has on the contrary always been forwarded by radicals and radicalism, in the sense of the eagerness to carry consequences to their extreme.

(Charles Sanders Peirce 1955, p. 58)

Introduction

In this paper I shall give a brief biographical and theoretical survey of the life and work of the Austrian psychoanalyst Otto Gross (1877–1920) and his role in the history of psychoanalytic and Jungian theory and clinical practice. My main focus will be the relationship between Gross and C.G. Jung and the effect it had on the development of Jung's ideas. The purpose is to re-introduce certain of Gross' ideas into current analytic discourse. Many important issues can only be briefly mentioned in a single paper and have to await more detailed elaboration at a later date.

'The best way of understanding psycho-analysis is still by tracing its origin and development', Freud wrote in 1923 (Freud 1923/1955, p. 235). More than seventy-five years later, this is still true. Similarly, a full understanding and appreciation of Jung's work is impossible without looking at its origins. This has to include the more shadowy and murkier aspects, too. It means that a critical approach is required. Yet in the introduction to *A Most Dangerous Method*, John Kerr recently wrote, 'Psychoanalysis continues to exhibit an unconscionable disregard for its own history. No other contemporary intellectual endeavour, from conventional biomedical research to literary criticism, currently suffers from so profound a lack of a critical historical sense concerning its origins' (Kerr 1993, p. 14). This verdict seems to be true for Jungian psychology as well. In addition, there is much reliance on 'historical data' that are, in fact, rumours, myths and legends.

Oscar Wilde's dictum, 'The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it' (Haughton 1998, p. 15), certainly applies to the history of psychoanalysis. Without unnecessarily conflating history on the individual level with history on the collective level, it is not too far-fetched to advance the argument that Otto Gross has become the present-day symbolic representation of attitudes to experience that were too threatening to be consciously lived through and assimilated in their time. European culture in general, and psychoanalysis in particular, has had to store them away in an encapsulated, frozen form. Gross' life and our image of him function on the cultural level as what have been called 'Black Holes in psyche' (Clark 1982). 'Gross' – the image as well as the historical personage – continues to exert a powerful pull. In such a situation, the historian's task is carefully to re-appraise such an area. The hope is that the energy frozen therein will be freed so that it may be used creatively.

Something has gone 'wrong' with the history of analytic ideas. There is a sort of 'basic fault'. For example, most of today's analysts have forgotten about Otto Gross. Already in 1921, less than a year after Gross' death, the Austrian writer Anton Kuh wrote of him as 'a man known only to very few by name – apart from a handful of psychiatrists and secret policemen – and among those few, only to those who plucked his feathers to adorn their own posteriors' (Kuh 1921, pp. 16f.).² The 'Black Holes' in our analytic past, the omissions from our history have become lesions. As Russell Jacoby (1983) has suggested, it is reasonable to use the terminology of 'repression' in non-personal contexts. My contribution, then, springs from a desire to examine this state of affairs. It is a conscious attempt towards a form of healing – in the words of the I Ching, it is *work on what has been spoilt*.

Just as there are crucial omissions in the way the development of psycho-analytic theory and clinical practice has been perceived, so there are other, historical omissions. The few historians who have researched the life and time of Otto Gross have concentrated predominantly on the man alone – or on him and his relationships to his father, his lovers and his friends. As a thinker, Gross has mostly been relegated to (literally) a handful of footnotes.

In his autobiographical novel, written in the early 1950's, *Links wo das Herz ist* (*Left Where the Heart Is*) which recounts the early years of this century, the German writer Leonhard Frank wrote:

In the course of four days and four nights ... [the Doctor Kreuz] wrote down his latest scientific findings in the field of psychoanalysis in the form of a brochure of thirty-two pages and sent the text to his wife, asking her to have it privately printed in an edition of a hundred copies ... When he gave up his flat in Munich four weeks later, from one hour to the next, to travel to Switzerland with his wife, the landlady discovered ninety-nine copies of the brochure and sold them for wrapping paper to the butcher Rücken whose shop was in the same street. She got a pork chop in return. Forty-five years later, in the middle of the twentieth century, the psychoanalyst, who was the only one to whom Frau Doctor Kreuz had sent a copy of the brochure in 1906, was indisputably regarded as the most ingenious living representative and researcher of psychoanalytic science in Europe. Nobody knew that he had based his theory, which deviated from that of Freud in a number of ways, on the realizations and decisive remarks of his former adversary Doctor Otto Kreuz. The Doctor, a man of genius and tragedy, had already perished decades ago.

(1976 pp. 28f.)

There is no doubt among literary critics (Mitzman 1977; Michaels 1983; et al.) whom Frank had in mind as that 'most ingenious living representative and researcher of psychoanalytic science in Europe ... in the middle of the twentieth Century': Carl Gustav Jung. And it is equally clear that 'Doctor Otto Kreuz' is none other than Otto Gross.

Although this is a fictionalized account, and although the brochure in question is not listed in the index of Jung's library (Shamdasani 1996), I believe it is nevertheless legitimate to introduce a work of fiction to assist in raising the question of Gross' contemporary standing. We should recall, though, that an autobiographical novel is obviously not the same as a historical document.

Today, as I said, most analysts have never heard of Otto Gross, and if they have, their knowledge is often confined to, 'Isn't that the one who became schizophrenic?' This is the result of an approach to the history of psychoanalysis which, following Erich Fromm, might be called 'Stalinistic' (1958, p. 195). Fromm's parallel works up to a point when one considers how, in the history of psychoanalysis, just as in the Stalinistic history of the Soviet Union, labels like 'schizophrenic' or 'psychotic' were awarded to many of the most brilliant thinkers – Jung, Ferenczi, Rank, Reich, to name but a few. They can almost be regarded as orders of merit – expressions, really, of the (analytic) revolution's devouring its children. It is interesting to note here that, writing about the expulsion 'from Freud's circle and/or the International Psychoanalytic Association ... of Otto Gross, a communitarian anarchist, Wilhelm Reich, an erstwhile communist, and Erich Fromm, a life-long socialist', Burston uses the term 'purged' (in 1909, 1933 & 1947 respectively) (Burston 1996, p. 74).

Yet there was a time, in the first decade of the 19th Century, when the greatest minds in analysis were full of the highest praise for Otto Gross. In 1908, Jung wrote to Freud, 'In Gross I experienced all too many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like my *twin brother*' (*Freud/Jung Letters*, ed. McGuire 1974, p. 156; my emphasis. This work is abbreviated as *FJL* in this paper.).³ A few months earlier, Freud had written to Jung, 'You are really the only one capable of making an original contribution; except perhaps for Otto Gross' (*FJL*, p. 126). The Hungarian writer Emil Szittya (1886–1964) who knew Gross well, in an unpublished fragment of a novel, even goes as far as calling Gross 'a friend of Dr Freud and the intellectual father of Professor Jung (Szittya n.d., p. 211).⁴ In 1908 year Ernest Jones met Gross in Munich. In his autobiography that he was working on at the end of his life, Jones wrote, 'Gross was my first instructor in the technique of psycho-analysis' (Jones 1990, pp. 173f.) In 1910 Ferenczi wrote about Gross to Freud, 'There is no doubt that, among those who have followed you up to now, he is the most significant' (Brabant, Falzeder 1993, p. 154). In 1912, Alfred Adler referred to Gross as 'brilliant' (Adler 1997, p. 58). Both Karl Abraham (1905,⁵ 1909a, 1909b), and Ferenczi (1920, 1921) repeatedly reviewed Gross' works. Wilhelm Stekel spoke of 'the ingenious Otto Gross' (Stekel 1923, p. 464).

And even as late as 1986 the eminent German scholar of psychoanalysis Prof. Johannes Cremerius writes about the C. G. Jung of 1909: 'He is still completely and entirely the pupil of Otto Gross' (Cremerius 1986, p. 20).

So who was this Otto Gross?

Biographical survey

Otto Hans Adolf Gross (also Groß, Grohs and Grosz), was born 17 March 1877 in Gniebing near Feldbach in Styria, Austria. His father Hans (also Hanns) Gross (1847–1915) was a professor of criminology and one of the leading authorities worldwide in this field. (He was, for example, the originator of dactyloscopy, the science of interpreting and using finger prints.) Gross' mother Adele, née Raymann (1854–1942), came from Retz near Vienna.

Gross was mostly educated by private tutors and in private schools. He became a medical doctor in 1899 and travelled as a naval doctor to South America in 1900 at which time he became addicted to drugs. In 1901–02 he worked as a psychiatrist and assistant doctor in Munich and Graz, published his first papers and had his first treatment for drug addiction at the Burghölzli Clinic near Zürich. His initial contact with Freud was either at this time or by 1904 at the latest. The writer Franz Jung (1888–1963; no relation to C. G. Jung) claims that Gross became Freud's assistant much earlier than that, but there is no evidence that Gross had any contact with Freud before 1904 other than his assertion (F. Jung c.1921, p. 21) except for a passage in a letter to Freud from C. G. Jung after his treatment of Gross, 'I wish Gross would meet you

once again analytically' (*FJL*, p. 161; my emphasis). The German edition of the *Freud/Jung Letters* notes at this point, 'It is not known what kind of earlier relationships Otto Gross had with Freud; he does not appear to have been his patient' (*FJL*, German edition, p. 178, n. 2).

In 1903 he married Frieda Schloffer (1876–1950) and was offered a lecturer's position (*Privatdozentur*) in psychopathology at Graz university in 1906. The following year his son Peter († 1946) was born as well as a second son, also named Peter († 1915), from his relationship with Else Jaffé (1874–1973), born Else von Richthofen. In the same year Gross had an affair with Else's sister, Frieda Weekley (1879–1956), who later married D. H. Lawrence. By that time Gross lived in Munich and Ascona, Switzerland, where he had an important influence on many of the expressionist writers and artists such as Karl Otten and Franz Werfel as well as anarchists and political radicals like Erich Mühsam.⁶ In 1908 Gross had further treatment at the Burghölzli where he was analysed by C. G. Jung – and, in turn, analysed Jung. In the same year his daughter Camilla († 2000) was born from his relationship to the Swiss writer Regina Ullmann (1884–1961), who later became a friend of Rilke.

In 1911 Gross was forcibly interned in a psychiatric institution. He subsequently wanted to found a school for anarchists in Ascona and he wrote to the Swiss medical doctor and anarchist Fritz Brupbacher that he had plans to publish a 'Journal on the Psychological Problems of Anarchism'. Two years later he lived in Berlin where he had a considerable influence on Franz Jung (the writer), Raoul Hausman, Hannah Höch and the other artists who created Berlin Dada. On 9 November 1913 his father had Gross arrested as a dangerous anarchist and interned in a psychiatric institution in Austria. By the time he was freed following an international press campaign initiated by his friends, it is said Gross had become one of the psychiatrists working at the hospital. Together with Franz Kafka, Gross planned to publish *Blätter gegen den Machtwillen* (*Journal Against the Will to Power*).⁷ Legally declared to be of diminished responsibility, Gross was further analysed by Wilhelm Stekel in 1914 (cf. Stekel 1925). He was declared cured but placed legally under the trusteeship of his father who died a year later, in 1915, when Gross was a military doctor first in Slavonia and then in Temesvar, Romania, where he worked in a typhus hospital. Together with Franz Jung, the painter Georg Schrimpf and others, Gross published a journal called *Die freie Strasse* (*The Free Road*) as a 'preparatory work for the revolution'. He began a relationship with Marianne Kuh (1894–1948), one of the sisters of the Austrian writer Anton Kuh, and in 1916 she had a daughter, Sophie, by him. Because of his drug addiction, Gross was again put into a psychiatric institution under limited guardianship in 1917. He planned to marry Marianne, although he had a relationship not only with her sister, Nina, too, but, possibly, with the third sister, Margarethe, as well (Templer-Kuh 1998). He died of pneumonia on 13 February 1920 in Berlin after having been found in the street near-starved and half-frozen. In one of the very few eulogies that were published,

Otto Kaus wrote, 'Germany's best revolutionary spirits have been educated and directly inspired by him. In a considerable number of powerful creations by the young generation one finds his ideas with that specific keenness and those far-reaching consequences that he was able to inspire' (1920, p. 55). Wilhelm Stekel, who was a psychoanalytic outcast himself by that time, wrote a brief eulogy, published in New York (Stekel 1920, p. 49). An announcement of Gross' death was made by Ernest Jones at the Eighth International Psycho-Analytical Congress in Salzburg four years later (Jones 1924, p. 403). No other obituary notices appeared in the psychoanalytic world following Gross' death.⁸

Theoretical survey

What were the ideas Otto Gross contributed to the development of psychoanalytical theory and practice and what was it about them – and himself – that finally made the man *persona non grata* and the ideas quite unacceptable?

His early personal experience of what appears to have been an overpowering father and a subservient mother provided Gross with an experience of the roots of emotional suffering within the nuclear family structure. He subsequently wrote in favour of the freedom and equality of women and advocated free choice of partners and new forms of relationships which he envisaged as free from the use of force and violence. He made links between these issues and the hierarchical structures within the wider context of society and came to regard individual suffering as inseparable from that of all humanity: 'The psychoanalyst's practice contains all of humanity's suffering from itself' (Gross 1914, p. 529).

Gross was so strongly drawn to philosophy that during his years of study he contemplated giving up psychiatry altogether in favour of philosophy. The roots of his theories can be seen in the philosophy of Rousseau, in Hegel's dialectics, and in the tradition of anarchist thinkers from Proudhon's mutualism, Stirner's emphasis on the individual and his own contemporaries like Kropotkin. Gross mentions the latter two. The strongest influence, though, is from Nietzsche and Freud, both of whom he frequently praises.

In his struggle against patriarchy in all its manifestations, Gross was fascinated by the ideas of Bachofen and others on matriarchy. 'The coming revolution is a revolution for the mother-right', he wrote in 1913 (Gross 1913a, col. 387). He focused on sexuality, yet soon came to question Freud's emphasis on it as the sole root of the neuroses. In contrast to Freud's view of the limits placed on human motivation by the unconscious, Gross saw pathologies as being rooted in more positive and creative tendencies in the unconscious. He wrote extensively about same-sex sexuality in both men and women and argued against its discrimination. For Gross, psychoanalysis was a weapon in a countercultural revolution to overthrow the existing order – not, as he saw it becoming, a means to force people to adapt better to it. He

wrote, 'The psychology of the unconscious is the philosophy of the revolution ... It is called upon to enable an inner freedom, called upon as *preparation* for the revolution' (1913a, col. 385, emphasis O. G.). It is interesting to note that the debate about psychoanalysis and 'adaptation' still flourishes today (e.g., Altman 1995).

He saw body and mind as one, inseparable, writing that, 'each psychical process is at the same time a physiological one' (Gross 1907, p. 7). Thus, 'Gross joins the ranks of those researchers who refute a division of the world into physical and spiritual-intellectual realms. For them body and soul are the expressions of one and the same process, and therefore a human being can only be seen holistically and as a whole' (Hurwitz 1979, p. 66).

Nicolaus Sombart summarizes two main points:

His first thesis was: The realization of the anarchist alternative to the patriarchal order of society has to begin with the destruction of the latter. Without hesitation, Otto Gross owned up to practicing this – in accordance with anarchist principles – by the propaganda of the '*Tat*' [deed, action], first by an exemplary way of life aimed at destroying the limitations of society within himself; second as a psychotherapist by trying to realize new forms of social life experimentally in founding unconventional relationships and communes (for example in Ascona from where he was expelled as an instigator of 'orgies') ... Gross was not homosexual but he saw bisexuality as a given and held that no man could know why he was loveable for a woman if he did not know about his own homosexual component. His respect of the sovereign freedom of human beings went so far that he did not only recognize their right for illness as an expression of a legitimate protest against a repressive society – here he is a forerunner of the Anti-Psychiatry of Ronald D. Laing and Alain Fourcade – but their death wishes as well, and as a physician he helped with the realization of those, too ...

His second thesis: Whoever wants to change the structures of power (and production) in a repressive society, has to start by changing these structures in himself and to eradicate the 'authority that has infiltrated one's own inner being'. In his opinion it is the achievement of psychoanalysis as a science to have created the preconditions and to have provided the instruments for this.

(Sombart 1991, pp. 110–11)

Behind Gross' emphatic focus on transgression lies a profound realization of the interconnectedness of everyone and everything. Therefore all boundaries may be seen as arbitrary; transgressing boundaries then becomes a protest against their unnaturalness. From a psychopathological perspective it would be too facile simply to diagnose – not unreasonably, though – a father complex, an unresolved incestuous tie to the mother, a neurotic longing for paradise as a return to the womb etc., etc. Very similar diagnoses, incidentally, could easily be made of the other founding fathers and mothers of psychoanalysis (see Atwood & Stolorow 1979). But this would mean that we remain in the compartmentalized realm of reason and rationality alone, where everything and everybody is separated from everything and everybody else. The historiography as well as the history of psychoanalysis will be diminished if we were to brand

Gross – as Jung and Freud eventually did – as a hopeless lunatic, or maybe a *puer aeternus*, nothing but a charismatic failure. One has to fashion a contemporary judgement out of a sensitive evaluation of the available documents and the judgements of the past.

From a conceptual point of view, Gross' transgressions can be understood as a longing for transcendence – a transcendence *via* the body that does *not* leave the body behind in order to fly off into a purely spiritual, incorporeal sphere. His work involves an understanding of the 'ensoulment' of matter and flesh. Analysts do not usually write about ecstasy, lust, orgy. Those who did paid the price of becoming ostracized as outcasts – Gross, Reich, Laing. It is only comparatively recently that psychoanalytic authors have ventured as far as to praise 'the spontaneous gesture' (Winnicott in Rodman, ed. 1987) or 'acts of freedom' (Symington 1990).

Otto Gross has remained largely unknown to this day because it might be said that in true mercurial fashion he travelled deep into the underworld and high into the heavens, trying to hold together experiences of both realms. Freud, Jung and Reich all returned from their respective creative illnesses or night-sea journeys comparatively intact and lived to tell of them in a coherent manner. Gross did not.

With his advocacy of sex, drugs and anarchy, Gross became a spectre feared by the German-speaking bourgeoisie of Europe, a one-man threat to values of family and state. My hypothesis is that Gross has remained relatively unknown to this day because of this radical critique and, above all, because of the implications of his insistence that there is no individual change without collective change and vice versa. The tendency to romanticize Gross as a genius/madman of the analytic movement utterly depotentiates his serious message. Ernest Jones, who had met Gross in Munich in 1908, where Gross introduced him to psychoanalysis, called him in his autobiography in the late forties 'the nearest approach to the romantic ideal of a genius I have ever met' (Jones 1990, p. 173). But to focus on this aspect alone would mean overlooking Gross' contribution to his field.

The influence of Otto Gross' life and work on the development of analytical theory and clinical practice

As noted above, my suggestion is that Otto Gross had a far-reaching influence on many analysts, among them Freud, Jung, Ferenczi and Reich. In his interaction with Freud, Gross challenged the way psychoanalytic practice was beholden to the medical model in its attempt at a non-engaged objectivity in terms of the interpersonal relationship between analyst and patient. In opposition to Freud's recommendation that the analyst work as if he were an 'opaque mirror', Gross referred to what he called 'the will to relating'. For him this stood 'in opposition to the will to power, and it needs to be uncovered as the elementary

contrast between the revolutionary and the adjusted – bourgeois – psyche and it has to be presented as the highest and true goal of the revolution' (Gross 1919a, p. 68). These ideas need to be regarded in the light of early developments in the establishment of what was later to become object relations theory (cf. Suttie 1935; Fairbairn 1952). Gross' position anticipates those of Suttie and Fairbairn, both of whom he preceded and neither of whom he could have read.

Otto Gross was probably the first psychoanalyst to see that an analytic perspective needed to include an appreciation of the social context within which clinical work takes place. Thus he saw the necessity of linking internal, intrapsychic, change with external social and political change – to the enhancement of both ends of that much-disputed spectrum. At the First Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg in 1908, Freud tried explicitly to curb Gross' efforts in this direction by admonishing him, 'We are physicians, and physicians we want to remain' (Gross 1913b, col. 507). It was to take Freud another twenty years to formulate ideas similar to Gross' in *Civilization and its Discontents*. As Sombart puts it: 'Twenty years before Wilhelm Reich and forty years before Herbert Marcuse, Otto Gross was the man who developed in his psychotherapeutic practice the theoretical bases of the "sexual revolution" (the term comes from him, if we are to believe Werfel [1929/1990 p. 349]) – the theory of the freeing of the erotic potential of the human being as a precondition of any social or political emancipation' (Sombart 1991, pp. 109f.).

Bernd Laska notes that Gross was not the only one at that Salzburg congress who linked discoveries about the making of the unconscious with discoveries about the structure of societies and their effects on individuals. In his paper '*Psychoanalyse und Pädagogik*' ('Psychoanalysis and pedagogy'), delivered at the congress, Ferenczi, speaking about 'the holding on to absurd religious superstition and the customs of the cult of authority, the clinging to decrepit institutions of society', stated that 'liberation from unnecessary inner coercion would be the first revolution that would create a true relief, whereas political revolutions usually just dealt with outer powers, i.e., means of coercion, changing hands' (Ferenczi 1908, pp. 12f.). Freud 'refused to give any comment, though urgently requested. Gross soon became a "case" and died in 1920, ignored by Freud. Ferenczi curbed his radical ambitions and for a long time became Freud's closest collaborator' (Laska 1993ff., p. 3). Three years later, in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, a report on the 1908 Salzburg Congress was published, listing the papers presented. Gross' name is not even mentioned (Rank 1911). Only Wilhelm Stekel confirms Gross' presence at the Salzburg Congress in his autobiography (Stekel 1950, p. 122). In his biography of Freud, Jones does list both Otto Gross and his wife Frieda as participants at the 1908 Salzburg Congress (Jones 1974, p. 45).

The impact Gross had on Freud may, by the present day, have been so frequently overlooked that attempts to discover a connection in terms of clinical practice have become very difficult. It seems likely that Freud was afraid that he *might* be influenced by Gross but, in the end, came to similar (though more

cautiously expressed) conclusions in his own critique of society as well as in his attitude towards lay-analysts, though both, of course, were developed much later.

It is interesting to study exactly how Freud defended himself against being influenced too strongly by Gross. He wrote to Jung in 1908, explaining why he himself had not wanted to take Gross as a patient: 'The difficulty would have been that the dividing lines between our respective property rights in creative ideas would inevitably have been effaced; we would never have been able to get away from each other with a clear conscience. Since I treated the philosopher Swoboda I have a horror of such difficult situations' (FJL 1974, p. 152). Yet two years later Freud wrote to Ferenczi, 'I ... tend strongly towards plagiarism' (Brabant, Falzeder 1993, p. 133).

It may be similarly difficult to trace Gross' influence on Freud's followers directly, but there seem to be several psychoanalytic concepts that Gross formulated before anyone else did – for example the defence mechanism of *identification with the aggressor* (F. Jung c.1921, pp. 45f.), as Anna Freud later came to call it (A. Freud 1936), after Abraham had already described it in 1925 (Abraham 1925, p. 9). Young-Bruehl's statement about this as 'the one defense that [Anna Freud] presented in this section (of *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*) for which there was no existing literature' (Young-Bruehl 1990, p. 210) is incorrect. Summarizing Gross' ideas, Franz Jung writes in 1922 about the development of the individual within the context of family embedded in the larger collective of the state:

... it is the ... distorted and sick movement of the individual towards the collective ... Correspondingly, this movement is based on the concept of ensuring safety in order to preserve normality and an equilibrium. The rupture in earliest experience which leads the individual into the conflictual tension of a new concept, i.e., that of rape, projects as transference the idea of authority. Authority is being born in the mind of the oppressed. Then it gets converted into convention as an authoritarian organization that appears to organically belong to the individual – as family, religion, etc. and finally the state... Decisive is the formation of authority within the lonely experience of the individual, the striving towards being ruled over, out of which grow ruler and rule.

(F. Jung c.1921, pp. 45–6)

Ferenczi is usually credited as the originator of 'mutual analysis' (e.g., Doucet 1992, p. 647) and that is seen as one point of origin of today's intersubjectivity. Yet Ferenczi knew of Gross, he quoted him, reviewed his writings and was impressed by his ideas. In 1910 he wrote to Freud, 'I am reading Gross' book about inferiority and am delighted by it' (Brabant, Falzeder 1993, p. 154). Martin Stanton states that Jung's and Gross' analyses 'serve as the model for "mutual analysis", later evolved by Ferenczi' (Stanton 1990, p. 14), without elaborating this any further.

Gross' influence on Wilhelm Reich has already been the subject of conjecture (Michaels 1983, pp. 66–9) due to the striking similarity of some of their key concepts. A generation before Reich, Gross laid out the dialectical interdependence

between individual and political change. He went on to suggest that the public and the private meet in the sphere of sexuality. Yet Gross' influence on Reich has not been proven. Reich's papers are sealed until the year 2006 – fifty years after his death – and he was not a man, it seems, who liked to acknowledge his sources anyway. But Gross' linking of psychoanalysis and revolutionary politics and his focus on the body via sexuality predates that of Reich, as mentioned above, by one generation. It is inconceivable that Reich, having been described as an eager student of psychoanalysis, 'soaking up everything' (Grete Bibring, Reich's co-student, in Sharaf 1983, p. 59) in the field, was not aware of Gross' ideas. Yet there is no reference to Gross in any of Reich's writings that have been published so far. And neither of Reich's daughters, a general practitioner/psychotherapist and a psychiatrist/teaching psychoanalyst respectively, whom I have contacted, have ever come across the name of Otto Gross in any of their father's writings, published or unpublished (Eva Reich 1997; Lore Reich Rubin 1997).

Franz Jung, who knew Gross' work best from personal experience and from their collaboration, and who had been in contact with Reich's work since the early 1930s wrote in a letter from America in 1955, 'Wilhelm Reich has turned up in New York and has appeared here like a direct copy of Otto Grosz. He has written a book on "Orgiasm" (sic) that could actually have been written by Otto Grosz, the orgiastic forms of sex as a basis of life, almost a religion, as the political bonding of society' (F. Jung 1996, p.491; cf. Reich 1973).

Many of Gross' innovative ideas and concepts seem to have been forgotten. In the areas of gender, sexuality, the mind/body-split, and, specifically, the dialectical linking of analysis with politics, Gross posed radical challenges that continue to be burning issues because satisfying solutions have yet to be found. It is important that we face these challenges today and a careful study which casts a retrospective glance at Gross' life, his work, and the influence he has had on other analysts, can not only contribute to giving Gross his rightful place in the history of analysis but also further the contemporary exploration of issues that Gross was the first to raise.

Otto Gross and C. G. Jung

He is a man whom life *has* to cast out.

C. G. Jung 1908 (*FJL* 1974, p. 156)

He will still pop up here and there as a Golem.

Sándor Ferenczi 1918 (in Falzeder, Brabant 1996, p. 261)⁹

The encounter with Gross and the impact this had on Jung's life and work is most closely charted in case notes Jung made of his work with Gross (Jung 1908) and in letters he and Freud exchanged. As the main thrust of this paper suggests, Gross had a much greater influence on Jung than the latter

ever acknowledged. On the one hand, Jung wrote to Freud, 'The analysis [with Gross] has yielded all sorts of scientifically beautiful results which we aim to formulate soon' (*FJL*, p. 153). On the other hand, in his published works, Jung's acknowledgment is very slight indeed. This discrepancy is important and requires investigation. What had happened between the two analysts who at one point had felt so close to each other that Jung felt towards Gross 'like my twin brother' (*FJL*, p. 156)? I shall address this multi-levelled task in two parts, first focusing on the direct personal relationship of the two men, and then on the less direct influence Gross had on Jung's life and ideas.

In the Freud/Jung correspondence, Gross is mentioned a number of times, mostly in positive vein, before Freud refers Gross to Jung for treatment in early May 1908. Freud calls Gross, 'a highly intelligent man' (*ibid.*, p. 69), and 'a highly gifted and assured man' (*ibid.*, p. 141). Jung agrees. For him, too, Gross has got 'an excellent understanding' (*ibid.*, p. 67) and 'a very intelligent mind' (*ibid.*, p. 85). Interestingly, it appears that Ernest Jones' impression of Jung's attitude towards Gross at this time is anything but positive. In the first letter ever which Jones writes to Freud – which is mostly about Gross – he says, 'I hear that Jung is going to treat him [Gross] psychically, and naturally I feel a little uneasy about that for Jung does not find it easy to conceal his feelings and he has a pretty strong dislike to Gross' (Freud/Jones 1993, p. 1). At that time, Freud has already referred Gross to Jung for treatment.

On 6 May Freud writes to Jung, 'Enclosed the certificate for Otto Gross. Once you have him, don't let him out before October when I shall be able to take charge of him' (*ibid.*, p. 147). This certificate now resides with Jung's case notes in the archive of the Burghölzli. Jung replies, 'Only a short letter for now as I have Gross with me. He is taking up an incredible amount of time' (*ibid.*, p. 151). Only eleven days later Jung writes:

I have let everything drop and have spent all my available time, day and night, on Gross, to further his analysis as much as possible ... Whenever I got stuck, he analysed me. In this way my own psychic health has benefited too ... Psychically his condition has improved a lot, so that the future looks less sombre. He is a man of rare decency with whom one can immediately get on very well, provided one lets go of one's own complexes. Today is my first day of rest, as I finished the analysis yesterday. So far as I can see, there will probably just be gleanings from an after all very long string of minor obsessions of secondary importance.

(*ibid.*, p. 153)

Four days later, Freud replies encouragingly, 'Gross is such a worthy man, and such a strong mind, that your work must be regarded as an important achievement for society. It would be a fine thing if a friendship and collaboration between the two of you were to grow out of this analysis', and he continues with a subtle rebuke, 'I must say I am amazed about the speed of youth that is able to finish such tasks in only two weeks, with me it would have taken longer' (*ibid.*, p. 154). Freud finishes this letter with, 'I have never had a patient like

Gross; he should be able to clearly show the nature of the matter' (ibid., p. 155). Jung replies the following day, 'I am writing in a great hurry, but I shall soon write you more about the issue of Gross' (ibid.).

It is nearly three weeks before he does:

Finally after a long time I have a quiet moment to concentrate on a letter. Until now the Gross affair has consumed me in the fullest sense of the word. I have sacrificed days and nights to him. Under analysis he voluntarily gave up *all* medication. The last three weeks we worked only with very early infantile material. During this time I gradually came to the sad realization that although the infantile complexes could all be described and understood, and although the patient had momentary insights into them, they were nevertheless overwhelmingly powerful, being permanently fixed and drawing their affects from inexhaustible depths; with the utmost effort on both sides to achieve insight and empathy we are able to stop the leak for a moment. The next moment it opens up again. All these moments of profound empathy leave not a trace behind them; they quickly became insubstantial memory-shadows. There is no development, no psychological yesterday for him ... I am afraid you will have already read from my words the diagnosis I long refused to believe and which I now see before me with terrible clarity: Dementia praecox.

A most careful anamnesis of his wife and a partial psychoanalysis of her have only given me all too many confirmations of the diagnosis.

(ibid., pp. 155–6; emphasis Jung's)

It seems somewhat unusual to arrive at the diagnosis of a patient by 'a partial psychoanalysis of his wife'. It is clear from Jung's description that the immediate, early success did not last. But there is something else that has happened to change Jung's opinion of Gross. Jung continues in the above letter with, 'His exit from the stage is in keeping with the diagnosis: the day before yesterday Gross, unguarded for a moment, escaped over the garden wall and will without doubt soon turn up again in Munich, to go towards the evening of his fate' (ibid., p. 156). Jung does not only display a negative response towards Gross, possibly springing from hurt feelings of rejection and abandonment when Gross decamps. There are also expressions of profound grief. Jung continues:

In spite of everything, he is my friend, for at bottom he is a very good and noble man with an unusual mind ... I don't know with what feelings you will receive these news. For me this experience is one of the harshest in my life, for in Gross I experienced only all too many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like my twin brother minus Dementia praecox. This is tragic. You can guess what powers I have summoned up in myself in order to cure him. But in spite of the suffering, I would not have wanted to miss this experience for anything; for in the end it has given me, with the help of a unique personality, a unique insight into the nethermost depth of Dementia praecox.

(ibid., p. 156)

Freud replies two days later:

I have a feeling that I should thank you most extraordinarily intensively – and so I do – for the treatment of Otto Gross. The task should have fallen to me but my egoism – or perhaps I should say my self-defence – rebelled against it ... Deeply as I

empathize with Otto Gross, I cannot underestimate the importance of the fact that you had to do his analysis. You could never have learned so much from another case.

(ibid., pp. 157f.)

I would like to advance the possibility that Jung is using the diagnosis of *Dementia praecox*, i.e., schizophrenia, to distance himself from the power of his feelings, and that this is done with Freud's encouragement. In a letter more professionally modulated five days later, Jung discusses Gross as a case only from which interesting insights into the 'term of *Dementia praecox sive schizophrenia sive paranoia* that is close to my heart' (ibid., p. 160) might be gained.

From now on, Gross becomes indeed 'a case' (Laska 1993ff., p. 3). In October Jung writes to Freud, 'His family have now accepted my diagnosis' (*FJL*, p. 174). Jung's diagnosis – which he never retracted – then formed the basis for a legal battle between Gross and his father about Otto Gross' legal responsibility for himself and his citizen's rights, which his father wanted to deprive him of. This battle is to occupy both father and son for the rest of their lives. Hans Gross dies in 1915 but for Otto Gross this struggle continues until his own death. During the Great War he is seen fit to work in several hospitals and hospital departments in Eastern Europe, but he never again regains full citizen's rights after 1913 when they were taken from him.

On only a few further occasions, as far as we can know from those documents that are accessible, Jung referred to his experience with Gross or to the pain he had caused him.

In an unpublished letter, dated 25 February 1909, Jung writes to Ernest Jones:

I believe that by openly advocating certain things one cuts off the branch on which culture rests ... In any case the extreme which Gross preaches is definitely wrong and dangerous for the whole cause – Gross sterilizes himself, so the danger emanating from him is going to lessen.

(C. G. Jung 1909)¹⁰

This is a peculiar use of the term 'sterilize'. Is it possible that Jung is referring to the dire consequences of his diagnosis and might he be trying to hold Gross himself responsible for that – just as he onesidedly seems to have blamed him for the failure of their analysis?

A year later, in June 1909, after the end of his affair with Sabina Spielrein he writes to Freud, 'Gross and Spielrein are bitter experiences. To none of my patients have I extended so much friendship and from none have I reaped a similar pain' (ibid., p. 229).

But with both, negative feelings seem to have taken the upper hand in the end. Jung's way of proceeding is quite similar in both the cases of Gross and Spielrein. He explains his errors and rationalizes them. For example, in the same letter he writes about Spielrein:

She was, so to speak, my psychoanalytic test case, for which reason I remembered her with special gratitude and affection. Since I knew from experience that she would

immediately relapse if I withdrew my support, the relationship continued for years and in the end I found myself morally obliged, as it were, to entrust her with a large measure of my friendship, until I saw that an unintended wheel had started turning, whereupon I finally broke with her ... What she is now planning is unknown to me. Nothing good, I suspect ... I need hardly say that I have finally made a clean break. Like Gross, she is a case of fight-the-father, which in the devil's name I was trying to cure *gratissime* (!) with so and so many hundred-weights of patience, even abusing our friendship for that purpose.

(ibid., pp. 228f.; emphasis and exclamation mark Jung's)

Just as, without him, Gross can only 'go towards the evening of his fate', Spielrein can possibly only be up to 'nothing good'. And *who* was abusing *which* friendship? Jung continues, 'On top of that, naturally, an amiable complex had to throw quite a cudgel between my legs [a phrase from German that has the same meaning as 'putting a spoke in someone's wheels' G. H.] ... During the whole business Gross' notions flitted a bit too much in my head' (ibid.). I cannot help wondering what Freud's associations to the cudgel between Jung's legs might have been. Did he smile when he read this sentence?

Another late mention of Gross by Jung in the Freud/Jung correspondence had been in April 1909. Again, pain and fury are mixed. Jung's pupil Honegger has just committed suicide, and Jung writes about him, 'It is an evil thing that such people, marked by the gods, should be so rare and, when they exist, should be the victims of madness or an early death. Gross is an out-and-out madman, for whom Steinhof [yet another psychiatric institution in which Gross was interned; G. H.] is a fitting sinecure ... He tries to parasitize wherever he can' (ibid., p. 416). So, in the end, *Jung* accuses *Gross* of parasitism.

Resentment prevails. Jung may be regarded as reacting emotionally, somewhat like a scorned lover – a fury that lasted for decades. As far as I know, the last time that Jung referred to Gross was in a letter of 4 January 1936 (but dated 1935) to the psychoanalyst Fritz Wittels who was at that time living in New York. Wittels had written to Jung in German on 20 December 1935:

My main reason for this letter is a request. Dr Brill here tells me that you knew Dr Otto Gross well who died about fourteen years ago. I would like to know the following: Is it correct that he suffered for years from auditory hallucinations that he did not dissimulate at all? Was he repeatedly interned in mental institutions and did you treat him? What did his genius consist of that so many who have known him talk about? And finally: what did he die of? It seems that he has had pupils and that he even practised psychoanalysis: in coffee houses and restaurants.

(Wittels 1935)

There seems to be the probability of a mis-dating by Jung of his letter. Fritz Wittels' letter is dated '20. XII. 35'. Did Jung in early January put the date of the previous year at the top of his reply? McGuire (1982, p. 22) quotes just a few lines from this reply by Jung but the whole part of this letter that refers to

Otto Gross has never been published before. After a few sentences about a patient of his, Jung wrote:

Indeed, I have known Dr Otto Gross well. I have met him 30 years ago now, in 1906, when he was interned at the Zürich clinic for cocaineism and morphinism. One cannot really say that he actually possessed the qualities of a genius, but rather an ingenious instability which deceived many people. He practised psychoanalysis in the most notorious bars. Usually the transference affairs ended with an illegitimate child. He suffered from the most awful mother-complex that his mother has consistently nurtured in him. He was plagued by never-ending addictions which he preferably fed with alkaloids (sic) that from time to time put him into a psychotic state. As I never saw Gross again after 1906, I cannot say anything definite about his later life, which, by the way, lasted only for a few more years. In any case, in 1906 he did not suffer from auditory hallucinations. He was interned twice at the Zürich Clinic where I treated him both times mainly for cocaineism. He delighted in an unlimited megalomania and always thought that he himself was treating the doctors psychically, myself included. By then already he was socially completely derelict. He never accomplished any systematic work in his life with the exception of his paper on the Secondary Functions which contains a theory on the psycho-physical restitution of incitability. I have included his main idea in my book on types. Psychologists have taken it up on occasions in various places for example in Holland and America. It is undoubtedly a fortunate idea that can definitely be used as an allegorical formula for certain reaction sequences. I have not observed any other indications of a genius in him unless one sees wisecracking and incessant chatter about problems as a creative symptom. He was morally and socially totally derelict and physically run-down, too, as a consequence of the excesses, so that he died of pneumonia already before the war, if my memory serves me correctly. At least, so I have been told. He mainly hung out with artists, writers, political dreamers and degenerates of any description, and in the swamps of Ascona he celebrated miserable and cruel orgies.

I must, however, complete my very negative description after all insofar as amid all the sick entanglement that he developed, every now and then there would be a sort of flashes of brilliancy which is why I tried to do my best for him during his stay at the institution, albeit without any success whatsoever.

(Jung 1936)¹¹

Let us speculate, without denying it as such, about possible reasons for this diatribe written twenty-seven years after the event and fifteen years after Gross' actual death. After all, other letters of Jung's, for example written to Freud, have repaid such speculation which can then be tested out against the historical data. Winnicott writes about *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*: 'Jung, in describing himself, gives us a picture of childhood schizophrenia' (Winnicott 1964, p. 450). Is it possible that in the encounter with Gross, his 'twin brother', Jung came too close to his own split-off shadow, a psychic content of his own that he was unable to embrace and hence had to try and ban from his life and thoughts? Did the encounter with Gross and the sudden abandonment open for Jung an abyss of the kind I referred to in the introduction, an event that could not be lived through consciously and hence had to be split off? These are interesting questions which need answering.

Freud has been called a father in the Judeo-Christian tradition who kills his own sons (Roland 1988, p. 9). Is this a case of sibling rivalry where the sons kill each other? Is the end of the relationship between Gross and Jung caused by fratricide? With Freud not uncritically but consistently praising Gross, could it be that Jung felt Gross to be a threat to his designated role as 'crown prince', i.e., favourite son? *Dementia praecox* would have been an expedient weapon with which to dispose of Gross. If so, it is possible to find in this personal tragedy archetypal traces of a theme of fratricide – Cain and Abel, or, more aptly, Esau and Jacob? Does Jung need to split off his experience with Gross in such a violent way that he had to take recourse to character assassination, as revealed in the letter to Wittels?

Under 'Misc.' in the Bollingen Archives of the Library of Congress, there is an eight-page document, 'Otto Gross – Biographische Daten' (*Otto Gross – Biographical Data*).¹² Unfortunately it is undated and the author is unknown. S/he writes:

Looking through Gross' case notes at the Burghölzli, nothing can be found that can be interpreted as schizophrenia in the sense of Bleuler's basic symptoms, nothing that fits the description of *Dementia praecox* in Kraepelin's sense. The same is true for the case notes from Mendrisio – another of the psychiatric institutions Gross was interned at –

(Anonymous n.d., p. 6)

In the last line of the document Gross is called 'the victim of a wrong diagnosis' (ibid., p. 8). Also, as Michaels informs us, 'Hurwitz, himself a psychiatrist, ... disputes Jung's diagnosis of *dementia praecox*. He says that Jung's treatment of Gross was not successful and, rather than admit defeat, Jung tried to blame Gross' illness, not his own treatment, for the failure. Instead of accepting the original diagnosis of a neurosis, with which Freud also agreed, Jung said that Gross had an incurable mental illness, which branded Gross for life with the stigma of mental disease ...'¹³ Hurwitz finds it puzzling how Jung arrived at his diagnosis. He suggests that the diagnosis stemmed from Jung's revenge for hurt feelings and from the need to justify the failure of his treatment. The diagnosis freed Jung from all responsibility for his failure' (Michaels 1983, p. 63). At the present stage of our knowledge about psychiatric diagnosis at the Burghölzli in 1908, it is difficult to say with certitude whether the relevant criteria were correctly applied. There does not seem to be much evidence to support Jung's diagnosis. To the degree that uncertainty exists, biographical as well as medico-legal factors will remain in the explanatory picture. Certainly, Gross did display symptoms of *something*.

Gross' influence on Jung's life and ideas

In this section the focus will be on three important aspects of Gross' influence on Jung – two acknowledged by Jung and the third, possibly the most important one, not. These three aspects are (1) Jung's ideas as expressed in 'The

significance of the father in the destiny of the individual'; (2) some themes in his *Psychological Types*; (3) *The Psychology of the Transference*.

In the final version of 'The significance of the father ...' Gross is mentioned in a footnote only. This was not always so. In later editions of the text Jung omitted the reference to Gross. Yet Martin Green (1999, p. 87) actually considers this text as having been *jointly* written by Jung and Gross. Is it this that Jung is referring to when he writes about 'all sorts of scientifically beautiful results which we aim to formulate soon' (*FJL*, p. 153; my emphasis)? In April 1911 Freud wrote to Jung, 'A bit of news that you will be able to deal with equally well either en route or later in case your post should be forwarded. Otto Gross has turned up. He has written me a reverential letter from Steinhof sanatorium near Vienna, *urgently* requesting that I publish an enclosed paper *as soon as possible*. This, most untidily scribbled in pencil, is entitled "In my own Cause. Concerning the so-called Bleuler-Jung School." and it contains two accusations: that Bleuler stole the term *Dementia sejunctiva* from him and presented it as schizophrenia, and that your article "The significance of the father etc." was derived from statements he made to you in the course of his analysis. Yet nothing else' (*ibid.*, p. 414; Freud's emphases).

There are reasons to believe that Gross may indeed have been right as far as Bleuler was concerned. At the end of his article '*Ueber Bewusstseinszerfall*' Gross suggests that *Dementia praecox* be called from now on '*Dementia sejunctiva*' (Gross 1904a, p. 51). In the same year, he published a separate paper, '*Zur Nomenclatur "Dementia sejunctiva"*' (Gross 1904b). What Gross referred to in his letter to Freud is the fact that *Dementia praecox* could be translated as 'adolescent madness', whereas *Dementia sejunctiva* could be translated as 'split-off madness'. So Gross might rightly claim to have introduced the concept of split-offness into the formulation of the term. Bleuler's term 'schizophrenia' is not more than the translation of the Latin term *Dementia sejunctiva* into Greek. Could it not also be possible that Gross was right as far as Jung's paper was concerned? Enraged, Jung responds over two weeks later with, 'Gross is an out-and-out madman, for whom Steinhof is a fitting sinecure ... Infringement of priority is out of the question, since the passage in my paper mentioning Gross was the formula we agreed on. Furthermore he was perfectly free to use his ideas himself and if he didn't that's his affair. He tries to parasitize wherever he can' (*ibid.*, p. 416). Now, *whose* ideas is Jung speaking of? And *what* is it that makes him so furious? In view of Jung's indignation it is interesting to note that a statement on the second page of the originally published version of this paper, noting that it is based 'not at least on an analysis carried out conjointly with Dr *Otto Gross*' (emphasis by Jung), only appeared when the paper was reprinted as a pamphlet in the same year, 1909, and then again in the second edition which was published in 1927. In the third edition, revised and expanded and published in 1949, this statement has been omitted. In the English edition of Jung's *Collected Works*, this

statement survives at least in the form of a footnote. The German edition does not mention Gross at all at this point.¹⁴

I believe that in this realm of the father and the significance of his role, the encounter with Gross influenced Jung profoundly (cf. Vitolo 1987). Both men had their own yet different reasons for fighting the father and all he represents. Of course, having the same enemy does not necessarily mean the existence of an alliance, still less an influence. And Jung did not need Gross to become aware of the problems he had with his father and father figures. But there is a need for wider debate on this matter.

Nevertheless, it is probably reasonable to say that, in many respects, Gross' influence *radicalized* Jung. It seems, for example, that both Jung and Gross independently questioned the central role Freud ascribed to sexuality in the aetiology of neuroses. It appears from Sabina Spielrein's diary that it was Gross who encouraged Jung to break his marriage vows by conducting an intimate relationship with his patient (or, if one follows Lothane 1999, his former patient). In 1909 she wrote:

Now he [Jung] arrives beaming with pleasure, and tells me with strong emotion about Gross, about the great insight he has just received (i.e., about polygamy); he no longer wants to suppress his feeling for me, he has admitted that I was his first, dearest woman friend etc. etc.

(Carotenuto 1984, p. 107)

Two years earlier, Jung had written to Freud that he envied Eitingon for 'the unrestrained abreaction of his polygamous instincts' (*FJL*, p. 90). He continues,

Dr Gross has told me that he quickly removes the transference by turning people into sexual immoralists. He says the transference to the analyst and its persistent fixation are mere monogamy symbols and as such a symptom of a repression-symbol. The truly healthy state for the neurotic is sexual immorality ... It seems to me that sexual repression is a very important and indispensable civilizing factor, even if pathogenic for many inferior people. Still, there must always be some unwholesomeness in the world. What else is civilization but the fruit of adversity? It seems to me that Gross, together with the Modernists is getting too far into the teaching of the sexual short-circuit, which is neither intelligent, nor in good taste, but merely convenient, and therefore anything but a civilizing factor.

(*ibid.*)

So did Jung decide after all to go along with 'unwholesomeness in the world' in relation to women for whom he would have been an authority figure, whether formally patients or not? Jung's attitude towards what Gross called the 'sexual revolution' was highly ambivalent. It seems apparent from Spielrein's diary (see above) that there was a time when Gross' attitude concerning marital fidelity was welcomed by Jung. Early in 1910 he wrote to Freud, 'The prerequisite for a good marriage, it seems to me, is the license to be unfaithful' (*FJL*, p. 289). Yet in the letter to Wittels of 1936 Jung takes a very different and negative attitude to the issue.

In 1910, or so, Gerhard Wehr writes,

when Sabina Spielrein had barely left the stage ..., a new arrival came on the scene, the twenty-three-year-old Toni Wolff ..., who became Jung's patient because of a severe depression after the sudden death of her father in 1909, and only two years later, of course, took part in the Weimar Congress of Psychoanalysts.

(Wehr 1985, p. 143)

(In fact, Wehr may be wrong: Barbara Hannah dates the initial consultation and the Congress as 1911 (Hannah 1976, p. 104)). Just before this congress, Jung wrote to Freud,

This time the feminine element will have conspicuous representation from Zürich: Sister Moltzer, Dr Hinkle-Eastwick (a charming American), Frä. Dr Spielrein (!), then a new discovery of mine, Frä. Antonia Wolff, a remarkable intellect with an excellent feeling for religion and philosophy – last not least, my wife.

(*FJL*, p. 440; comments in parentheses by Jung; 'last not least' English in the original)

As it turned out, Jung did not confine his attentions to Wolff's intellect alone. 'Reconstructing the details of the affair between Jung and Antonia Wolff is very difficult, for Jung later burned all his correspondence with her ... Yet it is probable that the liaison followed on logically from the treatment, as was often the case with Jung's female patients, and was well under way by 1910; certainly by the time of the Weimar Congress in September it was widely known that Jung and Wolff were lovers of long standing' (McLynn 1997, p. 166). Again, McLynn's dating contradicts Hannah's. Moreover, it is not proven that they were lovers by the time of the Weimar Congress. The interesting questions for many present-day commentators seem to be whether Spielrein and Wolff were patients or ex-patients and how frequently Jung actually did have relationships with either. However, the main concern of this paper is Jung's attitude to his sexuality, and Gross' influence on that, rather than opining about Jung's record as a transgressing practitioner.

For both Jung and Gross the fight against the father meant a fight for mother – in both senses of the word: on her behalf as well as to have her. Elphis Christopher (1993, p. 14) writes of the inherent irony of Jung, who thought sex less important, succumbing 'in a shameful, humiliating way', while Freud, who thought sex to be all-important, does not seem to have done likewise (with patients). For Jung, Gross seems to have served (ambivalently, as his 1935 letter shows) as a model for his emotional and sexual relations with women, patients, ex-patients and non-patients alike. He also seems to have taken from Gross the 'technique' of prescribing lovers to some of his patients and to make other recommendations concerning intimate relationships. *Love's Story Told* (Robinson 1992) describes an account of the life of the American psychologist Henry Murray who was involved in a complex analytical and, at the very least, highly emotionally and sexually charged triangular relationship

with Christiana Morgan and Jung (see also Douglas 1993, pp. 163–67). Morgan was the creator of the paintings on which Jung based his *Visions* seminars.

There are similarities and dissimilarities between the break between Jung and Gross and that between Jung and Freud. Jung's position alters, after all, from 'father' (or brother who has usurped the role of 'father') to 'son' respectively. Yet the overall dynamic of gifted son versus authoritarian father may be discerned in both situations. Jung describes in his memoirs (1963, pp. 181f.) the decisive moment when Freud's authority is altogether lost to him, the moment that foreshadowed the end of their relationship. Just over a year after Jung's encounter with Gross and their experience of a mutual analysis, Freud *refuses* to participate fully in just such a mutual analysis (against what had been agreed) with Jung whilst on their way to America. Jung's father complex, especially in his later life, has been cited as an important factor of his anti-Semitism as well as of his spirituality, as demonstrated in his *Answer to Job* (Jung 1952; cf. Slochover 1981).

Gross' influence on Jung's concept of *Psychological Types*, first published in 1920, is duly acknowledged. For Jung, Gross' early work is one of the critical sources on which he bases his categorization of the introverted and extraverted types. Gross had first formulated these ideas some twenty years earlier in his book, *Die cerebrale Sekundärfunktion* (*The Cerebral Secondary Function*, Gross 1902).¹⁵ Gross used this term after 1902 for a cerebral function which he first described in his paper, *Zur Frage der sozialen Hemmungsvorstellungen* (*On the Question of Mental Representations of Social Inhibition*, Gross 1901) in the previous year. Here, Gross describes creative thought processes as chains of associations, fanning out via our nerve fibres. He argues that thoughts do not follow pathways predetermined by previous experience. Thus there is an 'unlimited variety', an 'infinity' of psychic facts. The chain of associations is a question of choice based on affects. Yet there is an internal mechanism preventing associations going in random directions, thus preserving a sense of meaning. Gross calls this the '*Nach-Funktion*' (post-function), and, later, the '*Sekundärfunktion*'. In 1902 he specifies, 'I call the action of a nervous element ... which means the appearance of an idea in consciousness, the *Primary Function* and the action following it the *Secondary Function*' (Gross 1902, p. 10, emphasis O. G.). Gross continues by hypothesizing about this concept on a cellular level. He assumes that the metabolism may have an effect on intensity and duration of the Secondary Function. He thus links psychology with physiology and observes that changes in the intensity of the Secondary Function create 'well defined and typical changes in consciousness. *The intensification of the Secondary Function corresponds to a narrowing and eventually a deepening of consciousness and a weakening of the Secondary Function corresponds to a shallowing and eventually broadening of consciousness*' (ibid., p. 18, emphasis O. G.). This is one of the first formulations of what was eventually to become in Jung's development of the concept of

two basic psychological types, the differentiation between introvert and extrovert.

Gross defines the two types as follows: 'We have seen that ... (the two basic types) can be traced back to the *shallow-broadened* and the *narrowed-deepened* consciousness, and this in turn to a *habitual decrease or increase of the Secondary Function*' (ibid., p. 58, emphasis O. G.). McGuire's portrayal of 'Gross' hypothesis of two psychological types representing the primary and secondary function, in his *Die zerebrale* (sic) *Sekundärfunktion* (sic)' (*FJL*, p. 85, n. 5) is clearly incorrect.

For the shallow-broadened consciousness we have found: prompt grasp and quick, instantaneous utilization of external impressions, presence of mind, cleverness and courage; defective capacity to create larger and complex conceptualizations, particularly in an ethical and social respect, incapacity for a deepening; strong, volatile affects, a levelling of ideas that have an emotional emphasis; affective lack of discrimination. For the *narrow-deepened* consciousness we have found: impeded grasp of and dealing with external stimuli, particularly when they are accumulated and disparate, embarrassment, impractical nature; dissolution of the intellectual personality into single, large conceptualizations that are within themselves tightly coherent, extensive and profoundly deepened, yet between them are inadequately linked associatively; long-lasting affects, tendency of over-valuing ideas with an emotional emphasis; affective lack of discrimination.

(ibid., p. 59, emphasis O. G.)

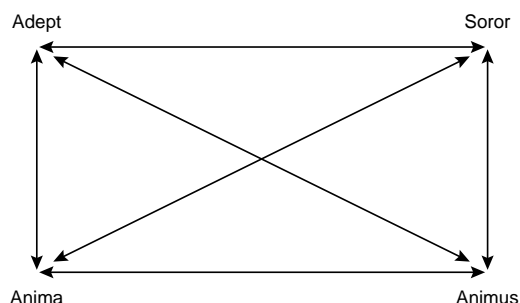
In an authoritative paper, 'Otto Gross und die deutsche Psychiatrie' ('O. G. and German Psychiatry'), psychiatrist and Lacanian analyst Michael Turnheim comments, 'With an utterly simple terminology (changes between two functions; contrast between diffuse and circumscribed as well as acute and chronic disturbances) Gross tries to explain the nosological units of contemporary psychiatry more or less in its entirety ... By making the potential links between ideas (i.e., in the last analysis linguistic elements) the pivotal point of his explanation, Gross arrives at a conception of psychopathology that partly anticipates later attempts of applied linguistics' (Turnheim 1993, pp. 79f.).

The third and final area of influence I intend to focus on here is to be found in Jung's theory of *The Psychology of the Transference*. One of the most important issues in the history of psychoanalytic ideas is the gradual development of, at first, the concept of transference and, later, that of countertransference. These concepts are attempts to come to terms with and understand what happens between the two people who form the analytic couple, and they are, as Jung wrote, 'the alpha and omega of psychoanalysis' (Jung 1946, para. 276).

As has been well documented, transference initially was seen as a hindrance, later as a most valuable tool. A similar process evolved in the discovery of the countertransference. This led to developments such as Langs' communication theory approach in which everything that happens in the analytic session, regardless of whether it originates from analysand or analyst, can be understood

as symbolic communication and the analysis then seen as an interactive field (Stein 1995; Aron 1996). From this perspective the term 'countertransference' appears to lose its precise meaning since both participants enter the analysis with transferences and respond to those of the other with countertransferences. Freudian analysts use the term 'intersubjectivity' to describe this mode of perceiving the analytic process; 'relational psychoanalysis' is another term (cf. Heuer 1996).

The earliest formulation of this overall perspective to date, however, was developed by Jung between 1929 and 1946. He describes the analytic process as dialectical, as his diagram attempts to show (CW 16, para. 422):



Although the text in which this diagram appears, *The Psychology of the Transference* (Jung 1946), does not include the term 'countertransference', it is clearly present in Jung's mind. What Jung expressed in his diagram is possibly his most important contribution to clinical work. He arrived at the idea through the study of alchemical texts, begun in the 1920s.

My contention is that something else helped Jung arrive at such far-reaching discoveries. For him 'every psychological theory (is) in the first instance ... subjective confession' (Jung 1934, para. 1025), following Nietzsche's 'Man can stretch himself as he may with his knowledge ... in the last analysis, he gives nothing but his own biography' (1906, I, No. 513; III, No. 369). What might the subjective confession be in relation to *The Psychology of the Transference*?

Twenty years before he started his study of alchemical texts Jung experienced a *mutual analysis* with Otto Gross. How deeply this affected him was apparent from the letters he wrote to Freud at the time and it was illustrated by Jung's language: 'In Gross I discovered many aspects of my own nature, so that he often seemed like a twin brother' (*FJL*, p. 156). Do not these words resemble those he would use later to unravel the clinical implications of the alchemical treatises in which the experience of relationship between alchemist and his or her 'other' (*adept, soror*) is described?

In an individual analysis, important issues may first emerge from the unconscious in the form of enactments, before being consciously grasped and integrated.

The mutual analysis between Jung and Gross may well have been such a seminal enactment, an acting-out leading, in time, to Jung's differentiated and integrated conceptual understanding of the transference-countertransference interaction as a dialectical procedure in which both partners are engaged as equals. Thus, within the development of theory about the essence of the analytic relationship, there are lines that unmistakably spring on from Gross' mutual analysis with Jung. These lines, linked, in Gross' case, to the anarchist concept of mutual aid (Kropotkin 1904),¹⁶ lead via Ferenczi to what is now called intersubjectivity by some psychoanalysts (Dunn 1995).

There are several more concepts in Jung's works that can be linked to ideas formulated earlier by Gross, among them synchronicity, the persona, the innate morality of the unconscious, the androgyne and others. These I shall detail in further work.

The future of Gross studies

In the past few years, research into the development of analytic theory and into the personal and ideological entanglements of the pioneers who struggled with creating the new science, led to the discovery that two of the four known children of Otto Gross were still alive and living in Germany. They were Camilla Ullmann, who died in May 2000, and Sophie Templer-Kuh. What makes this discovery a particularly important one is the fact that, for the researcher, the historical past of the early decades of the last century immediately becomes a living presence, something to balance, but not replace, the study of documents. Sophie Templer-Kuh has two children, Anita and Anthony Templer, who live in Hawaii and the Bay Area of San Francisco respectively. I have conducted extensive interviews with all the living descendants of Otto Gross.

The introduction to Anthony Templer has had several results. Together with Raimund Dehmlow of Hannover, Germany, we founded the International Otto Gross Society in the spring of 1998. All of Otto Gross' descendants and all the European and American scholars mentioned in this paper have now become members. Sophie Templer-Kuh is the Honorary President. The Otto Gross Archive has been established in London. This already contains the largest collection of original documents, texts, photos, films, audio tapes and internet documents relating to Otto Gross in German, English, French, Italian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Estonian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Spanish, and Vietnamese. Mr. Templer and I have begun to publish the first complete edition of *The Collected Works of Otto Gross* on the Internet, with myself in the role of editor. The texts are to be presented in the original German, preceded by a content summary and brief commentary in English and translations in English wherever available. We thought it would be in the spirit of Otto Gross to let readers have free access to this website <http://www.ottogross.org/>. (The 'Golem' has 'popped up' on the Internet!)

Raimund Dehmlow and I have compiled a *Complete Bibliography of Otto Gross: Primary and Secondary Literature*, which lists all of Gross' works as well as over 800 titles relating to Gross, and presents all known photographs of him (Dehmlow & Heuer 1999). This was published in time for the 1st International Otto Gross Congress which took place at the Bauhaus Archiv in Berlin from 28–30 May 1999 (Dehmlow & Heuer 2000; Heuer 2000). The Congress attracted about 60 participants from six European countries and the United States. In June 2000 the International Otto Gross Society together with the Erich-Mühsam-Gesellschaft co-hosted an international conference in Malente, Schleswig-Holstein, northern Germany, under the title, 'Anarchism and Psychoanalysis at the Start of the 20th Century. The Group around Erich Mühsam and Otto Gross' (cf. Erich-Mühsam-Gesellschaft 2000). And in October the 2nd International Otto Gross Congress with nearly twice as many participants and speakers from Europe, the United States and Japan was held at the Burghölzli, Zürich, from 27–29 October 2000 (Heuer 2001; Heuer et al. 2001). The congress proceedings will be published in the autumn of 2001. The 3rd International Congress is scheduled to take place in Munich from 15–17 March 2002 – the 125th anniversary of Gross' birth – and the 4th in Graz, Austria, in the autumn of 2003.

TRANSLATIONS OF ABSTRACT

Cet article est une première communication sur une recherche de plusieurs années sur la vie et l'oeuvre du psychanalyste et anarchiste autrichien Otto Gross (1877–1920). Bien que celui-ci ait été un des pivots de la naissance de la modernité, dans la mesure où il a eu une influence significative sur la psychiatrie, la psychanalyse, le développement des idées sur l'éthique, la sociologie, et la littérature, il reste pratiquement inconnu à ce jour. L'impact de la vie et de l'oeuvre de Gross sur le développement de la théorie et de la pratique analytique est présenté dans cet article, en donnant une esquisse de sa biographie et une vue d'ensemble de ses principales contributions théoriques. Sont décrites ses relations avec les figures clé de la psychanalyse, avec un accent particulier mis sur ses rapports à Jung. L'article se finit sur une liste des prises en compte contemporaines notables du travail de Gross: la fondation de la Société Internationale Otto Gross, plusieurs de leurs congrès, dont le plus récent qui a eu lieu à la clinique du Burghölzli à Zürich; la mise en place des Archives Otto Gross à Londres; et plusieurs publications récentes de collections des travaux de Gross, y compris, la première édition des oeuvres complètes d'Otto Gross sur internet.

Diese Arbeit ist eine vorläufige Mitteilung über mehrere Jahre Forschung über das Leben und Werk des österreichischen Psychoanalytikers und Anarchisten Otto Gross (1877–1920). Obgleich er eine entscheidene Rolle bei der Geburt der Moderne spielte, indem er wesentlichen Einfluß ausübte auf Psychiatrie, Psychoanalyse, Ethik, Soziologie und Literatur, blieb er bis heute so gut wie unbekannt. Nach einer biographischen Skizze und einer Übersicht über seine wichtigsten theoretischen Beiträge wird der

Einfluß von Gross' Leben und Werk auf die Entwicklung der analytischen Theorie und Praxis vorgestellt. Seine Beziehung zu einigen Schlüsselfiguren der Psychoanalyse wird beschrieben mit besonderer Betonung auf seine Verbindungen zu Jung. Die Arbeit schließt mit einem Bericht über ein wesentliches zeitgenössisches Interesse an seinem Werk: die Gründung der Internationalen Otto Gross Gesellschaft, verschiedene Kongresse dieser Gesellschaft – der letzte veranstaltet am Burghölzli in Zürich – die Gründung des Otto Gross Archivs in London und eine Anzahl kürzlich veröffentlichter Sammlungen von Gross' Werken, einschließlich der ersten Ausgabe der Gesammelten Werke von Otto Gross im Internet.

Questo lavoro rappresenta una comunicazione preliminare di molti anni di ricerca sulla vita e sul lavoro dello psicoanalista e anarchico austriaco Otto Gross (1877–1920). Sebbene egli abbia dato un contributo fondamentale alla nascita della modernità, influenzando significativamente la psichiatria, la psicoanalisi, l'etica, la sociologia e la letteratura, di fatto fino ad oggi egli è rimasto sconosciuto. Se si segue la sua biografia e si rivedono i suoi principali contributi teorici, diviene evidente l'impatto della vita e del lavoro di Gross nella pratica e nella teoria analitica. Vi si trova descritto il suo rapporto con alcune delle figure chiave della psicoanalisi, con un'enfasi particolare sulle sue connessioni con Jung. Il lavoro si conclude con un resoconto del suo lavoro di particolare interesse attuale: la fondazione della Società Internazionale Otto Gross, molti dei suoi congressi – il più recente tenuto alla Clinica Burghölzli di Zurigo – la costituzione dell'Archivio Otto Gross a Londra, e una serie di raccolte di lavori di Gross pubblicati recentemente, che includono la prima edizione dell'Opera Omnia di Gross su Internet.

Este trabajo es una comunicación preliminar de varios años de investigación a acerca del psicoanalista y anarquista austriaco Otto Gross (1877–1920). Aún cuando el jugó un papel preponderante en el nacimiento de la modernidad, actuando con una influencia significativa sobre la psiquiatría, el psicoanálisis, la ética, la sociología y la literatura, él ha permanecido prácticamente desconocido hasta nuestros días. Siguiendo un bosquejo biográfico y una visión general acerca de sus contribuciones teóricas mas importantes, se presenta el impacto que la vida y obra de Otto Gross han tenido en el desarrollo de la teoría y la práctica analítica. Se describe su relación con figuras descolantes del psicoanálisis con énfasis particular en su relación con Jung. El trabajo concluye con una relación de la importancia del interés contemporáneo en su obra: La fundación de la Sociedad Internacional Otto Gross, algunos de sus congresos – el mas reciente de los cuales tuvo lugar el la clínica Burghölzli, Zúric- El establecimiento de los Archivos de Otto Gross, Londres, y un número de obras de Otto Gross recientemente publicadas, incluyendo la primera edición de Las Obras Completas de Otto Gross en Internet.

Notes

1. 'Otto Gross. Psycho-Analyst/-Anarchist. The Influence of the Life and Ideas of Otto Gross on the Life and Ideas of C. G. Jung. Anarchy, Psychoanalysis and Turn-of-the-Century German Culture'. PhD. thesis in preparation, Centre for Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex.

2. Translations from publications given in German are all mine.
3. Quotations from the *Freud/Jung Letters* have been modified after careful comparison of the translation by Ralph Manheim and R. F. C. Hull with the original German.
4. I am grateful to Hermann Müller of the *Deutsches Monte Verità Archiv*, Knittlingen, Germany, for drawing my attention to this text.
5. Karl Abraham's review of Otto Gross' text has not been included in any edition of his works and I am grateful to Raimund Dehmlow, Hanover, Germany, for bringing it to my attention.
6. Jewish German anarchist and writer (1878–1934). In 1907 he wrote an enthusiastic letter to Freud, thanking him for 'the recovery from a severe hysteria, brought about by your disciple, Dr Otto Gross of Graz, applying your method' (Mühsam 1984, p. 12). Erich Mühsam was murdered by the Gestapo in Oranienburg Concentration Camp.
7. Before 1905 Kafka had read law for three terms with Hans Gross who was then teaching in Prague. Many of Kafka's portrayals of an authoritarian, patriarchal law in his writings are said to derive from this experience (cf. Anz 1984).
8. Gross' name was hardly mentioned again in psychoanalytic publications. A rare exception is Paul Federn's 1938 paper where he writes, 'Otto Gross brought forward the brilliant hypothesis of the secondary function' (Federn 1938, p. 174). Martin Stanton's 1992 paper is another exception (Stanton 1992). After Federn's paper, which was published in *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* it took just over 50 years before Gross' name was mentioned in that journal again (cf. Heuer 1999).
9. 'Letter from Ferenczi to Freud', in Falzeder, Brabant 1996, p. 261. "Golem" is a creature, but more especially a human being that is created in some magic way through some magic act, usually using the names of God. It serves its master. There is a legend where Adam was called "Golem", meaning body and soul. There are various Golems throughout Jewish history but the most famous and popular legend is connected with Rabbi Judah Loew of Prague. This Golem was created in the second half of the 18th century. The trouble was that instead of helping its creator it began to get out of hand and made everybody's life impossible. So it had to be disposed of' (Rabbi David Freeman 1998).
10. I am grateful to Dr Sonu Shamdasani for drawing my attention to this letter. In the German original the passage reads: Ich glaube, dass man mit der offenen Verkündigung gewisser Dinge den Ast absägt, auf dem die Cultur sitzt; ... jedenfalls ist das Extrem, das Gross verkündet, ganz entschieden falsch und derganzen (sic) Richtung gefährlich – Gross sterilisiert sich, daher wird sich seine Gefährlichkeit vermindern.
11. I am very grateful to the Jung Erbgemeinschaft and to the Jung Copyright holders for allowing me to quote from this letter for the first time in full all those paragraphs that relate to Gross. This is the original text:

Ich habe in der Tat Dr Otto Gross gut gekannt, und zwar habe ich ihn kennengelernt vor nunmehr 30 Jahren, 1906, als er in der Zürcher Klinik wegen Kokainismus und Morphinismus interniert war. Von eigentlicher Genialität kann man nicht reden, sondern eher von einer genialischen Instabilität, welche viele Menschen blendete. Er hat Psychoanalyse getrieben in den verruchtesten Kneipen. Gewöhnlich endeten die Übertragungsgeschichten mit einem unehe-lichen Kinde. Er litt an einem grauenhaften Mutterkomplex, welchen die Mutter ihm auch kon-sequent anerzogen hat. Er war von unendlichen Süchten geplagt, und fütterte diese vorzugsweise mit Alkaloiden (sic), welche ihn zeitweise in einen sozusagen psychotischen Zustand versetzten. Da ich Gross nach 1906 nie mehr sah, kann ich über sein späteres Leben, das übrigens nur noch wenige Jahre dauerte, nichts Bestimmtes sagen. Jedenfalls hat er 1906 nicht an Gehörshal-luzinationen gelitten. Er war in der Zürcher Klinik zwei Mal interniert, wo ich ihn beide Male hauptsächlich wegen Kokainismus behandelt habe. Er erfreute sich eines unbeschränkten Grössenwahns und war immer der Ansicht, dass er die Aerzte inklusive meiner selbst psychisch

behandle. Er war schon damals sozial vollkommen verlottert. Er hat überhaupt nie irgendwelche systematische Arbeit geleistet, mit Ausnahme seiner Schrift über die Sekundärfunktionen, welche eine Theorie über die psychophysische Restitution der Reizfähigkeit enthält. Ich habe seine wesentliche Idee auch in mein Typenbuch aufgenommen. Sie ist an verschiedenen Orten, z.B. in Holland und Amerika gelegentlich von Psychologen wieder aufgenommen worden. Sie ist unzweifelhaft ein glücklicher Gedanke, der als allegorische Formel für gewisse Reaktionsabläufe entschieden verwendungsfähig ist. Sonstige Zeichen von Genialität habe ich keine beobachtet, wenn man nicht Gescheitschwätzerei und die Problemwälzerei als schöpferische Symptome ansieht. Er war sittlich und sozial völlig verlumpt und auch physisch infolge von Excessen dermassen heruntergekommen, dass er, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, noch vor dem Kriege einer Pneumonie erlag. So wenigstens bin ich berichtet (sic) worden. Er hat sich hauptsächlich mit Künstlern, Litteraten (sic) politischen Schwärmegeistern und Degeneraten jeglicher Beschreibung herumgetrieben und im Sumpfe von Ascona ärmlich-grausame Orgien gefeiert.

Ich muss meine sehr negative Schilderung aber doch noch dahin ergänzen, dass in all dem ungesunden Wust, den er entwickelte, gelegentlich etwas wie Geistesblitze aufleuchteten, um derentwillen ich mich bei seinem Anstaltsaufenthalt um ihn bemüht habe, allerdings ohne den geringsten Erfolg.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung, Ihr ergebener C. G. Jung.

12. I am grateful to Deirde Bair, Easton, Connecticut, who is currently working on a detailed biography of C. G. Jung, for providing me with a copy of this document.

13. Jung uses the term '*eine im Prinzip unheilbare Geisterkrankheit*' (a mental illness, incurable in principle) in a letter to Hans Gross of 6 June 1908 a copy of which was recently discovered by Dr Bernhard Küchenhoff in the Burghölzli Archive (cf. Küchenhoff 2000).

14. Jung's reference on the same page to Robert Sommer and his book *Familienforschung und Vererbungslehre* (Family Research and the Doctrine of Heredity; Sommer 1907), later highly valued by the Nazis for its racism (cf. Samuels et al. 1993), has been left unchanged throughout all editions. In 1907 Hans Gross wrote a highly positive review of Sommer's book (H. Gross 1907).

15. The copy in the Library of the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, London, carries Ernest Jones' signature on the fly-leaf and the date '9/07', the year before he met Gross, according to his memoirs. Yet in an earlier paper, Jones gives different dates. There he writes, 'My first meeting with another analyst was with the gifted but erratic Otto Gross in Munich in 1906, and in September, 1907 I met Jung at the International Neurological Congress in Amsterdam' (Jones 1945, p. 9).

16. Nicolaus Sombart writes that Gross personally knew Kropotkin (Sombart 1991, p. 110). In his paper 'Protest und Moral im Unbewußten', Gross speaks of 'the inborn "instinct of mutual help" ... already known from P. Krapotkin's (sic) discoveries' (Gross 1919b, p. 682).

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